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REVIEW.

JANUARY

1875.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
GÖTTE.

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THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1875.

ART. I.—JOHN STUART MILL'S THREE ESSAYS ON
RELIGION.

Nature; The Utility of Religion; and Theism. By JOHN STUART MILL. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1874.

THE characteristic tendency of Mr. Mill's intellect to exercise itself on all subjects of philosophical discussion, from the most intricate problems of Political Economy to the most complex questions in Mental Science, in Art, in Social Life, would have presented a strangely exceptional limitation, if the most momentous of all inquiries had not engaged his earnest attention. The judicious reticence perseveringly observed in all matters of theological speculation is now at length terminated and explained by the "Three Essays on Religion," recently published. Mr. Mill's previous disclosures of religious belief or disbelief, except in the celebrated outburst on the Christian Hell, in which he fulminated over English Orthodoxy, and shook its ancient stronghold with sublimely defiant eloquence, were not only singularly circumspect, but from an apparent admissibility of alternative construction, not always susceptible of a decisive interpretation. For one instance of this seeming but unintentional ambiguity, we may refer to the remarks on the formation of the Eye in "An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," where it was not easy to determine what was Mr. Mill's own appreciation of the argument from Design. Another instance may be found in the "Essay on Positivism,"

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originally published in the pages of the *Westminster Review*, in which it was not quite evident whether Mr. Mill accepted for himself, or only permitted to others the inclusion in a philosophical scheme, of the non-interventional Theism, which he represented as compatible with Positive principles. All indecision on the part of Mr. Mill's readers is now terminated by the distinct and final utterance of the author in this posthumous volume. The strong clear light in which we can now peruse Mr. Mill's carefully worded sentences, establishes the reality of a personal participation in earlier expressions of religious thought and feeling which we once hesitated to extend to Mr. Mill. Comparing corresponding passages in previous works and this his latest-published production, we now seem to trace a remarkable continuity of religious conviction, characteristically embodied in simple, modest, but sufficiently emphatic language.

In a brief introductory notice, Miss Helen Taylor imparts the requisite information respecting the circumstances of composition of the three essays in this volume. The two first, on "Nature" and the "Utility of Religion," it appears, were written within the interval 1850 and 1858, during the period which intervened between the publication of the "Principles of Political Economy" and that of "Liberty." The third, on Theism, was produced at a much later period, between the years 1868 and 1870, and was not intended as a sequel to the two essays which now accompany it. Slow in forming opinions, declining to be hurried into premature decision, anxious to bestow all the elaboration in his power on the adequate expression of conclusions, once definitely formed, Mr. Mill abstained for upwards of fifteen years from publishing his essay on Nature; but his avowed intention to give it to the world in the year 1873 is cited by Miss Taylor as evidence that the present volume was not withheld by him from reluctance to encounter whatever odium might result from the free avowal of obnoxious opinions. Mr. Mill's almost heroic energy is so little called in question, that his character for courage hardly requires the shield of this historical assurance.

After a second perusal of these proffered contributions to the formation of a religious philosophy, we are conscious of increased admiration for the fine intellectual faculty, the beautiful moral nature, the docility, the patience, the moderation, and the æsthetic or romantic enthusiasm of their lamented author. With wonderful caution in investigation are united prodigious boldness of thought, punctual emphasis of expression, careful analysis, lucid order, logical sobriety, and unabated mental vigour; while a noble Schiller-like tone of sentiment pervades, as a subtle perfume of the soul, the serener air of the writer's loftiest speculation. To one essay, indeed, that on Theism, we

cannot extend this eulogistic estimate without considerable qualifications. Its superficial defects, especially those of composition, may be attributed to the absence of that later elaboration and final revision which Mr. Mill was accustomed to bestow on his literary work. Its philosophical infirmities we are disposed to ascribe to the unconscious despotism of delicate personal predilections, to the tyranny of transcendental sentiment, to the shuddering recoil at the presence of the world's misery, and the amiable desire to deal tenderly with the fair humanities of religious faith.

Mr. Mill, in the priceless record of his own life and mental development, given us rather more than a year ago, struck the keynote to the philosophy of the first and most forcible essay in this new volume, when in the glowing commendation of the most admirable person he had ever known, he included in his praise complete emancipation from every kind of superstition, not omitting "that which attributes a pretended perfection to the order of nature and the universe." The æsthetic aspects of nature are so impressive, and, often in early life, so exclusively dominant, that there is a natural reluctance to admit the existence of the inherent imperfections of the material world. It is throwing stones, as the American essayist reprovingly declares, at our beautiful mother. The optimism of a theologian like Paley, or a poet like Leigh Hunt, has had its period of attraction for most of us. It is only with the painful experiences of our human condition, and an enlarged acquaintance with the phenomena of nature, that we gradually acquire a perception of the immeasurable amount of moral and physical evil in the world within and without us. The rose-coloured vision of early life darkens as we advance in knowledge, the subterfuges of theology fail to support our faith, the once plausible theory of "blessings in disguise" is discarded as a miserable delusion, and we begin to prefer with Coleridge the pantheism of Spinoza to that "Modern Deism" which the poet branded as the hypocrisy of materialism. The fashionable optimism at last becomes, in our eyes, what Mr. Mill calls it in his Autobiography—a superstition; and without denying the glory of the sunlight, or the splendour in the grass, or disparaging the many beneficent services of nature, we discern, not always with stoical indifference, her innumerable imperfections, her circuitous mode of attaining her alleged purposes, her contrivances without object, her monstrous and suicidal fecundity, her terrific machinery of destruction, her savage cruelty, and the inexorable necessity of laws "which have neither morals nor heart."

In his arraignment of the superstition which contemplates nature as perfect, Mr. Mill subjects the idea denoted by the

term to a searching analysis, and arrives finally at the conclusion that there are two principal meanings of the word. In the abstract, nature is the aggregate of the powers and properties of all existing objects, the sum of all phenomena with the causes which produce them; a collective name for facts actual and possible. But in this inclusive and scientific sense of the word the artificial is natural and art is nature; for art has no independent powers, but is merely the employment of the powers of nature for an end. Even the volition which designs, the intelligence which contrives, and the muscular force which executes are powers of nature. This consideration enjoins the recognition of at least two meanings of the term. In one sense nature signifies all the powers existing in the outer or the inner world and all the changes which take place by means of those powers. In another sense nature implies only what occurs without the agency or without the voluntary and intentional agency of man. It is in the second of these senses that we use the word, when we employ it or its derivatives to convey ideas of approval and even moral obligation. However at variance in the general tenets of their philosophy, Stoics and Epicureans alike regard nature as their standard, and conformity to her dictates as a duty. Following their guidance, the Roman jurists placed in the front of their exposition of law a certain *Jus Naturale*. In modern times ethical speculation has been influenced by this mode of thought, and though in the days of its ascendancy Christian theology, which proclaims the depravity of the human heart, arrested the mental tendency to erect nature into a criterion of morals, it provoked a reaction which ended in the assertion of the divinity of nature by the deistical moralists, who set up its fancied dictates as an authoritative rule of action. Against this conception of an ethical character in nature, founded on the presumed identity, or at least the close relation between what *is* and what *ought* to be, Mr. Mill enters a strenuous protest. If we take nature in the more comprehensive sense of the term, there is, he contends, no mode of acting which is not conformable to nature, for every action is the exertion of some natural power, and every effect is a natural result produced by natural powers or properties in obedience to natural law. But while rejecting the obligatoriness of physical law—the *sequi naturam* of the philosophical schools—Mr. Mill indicates the practicability of constructing a rational rule of conduct out of the relation which it ought to bear to the laws of nature in the scientific sense of the word. Obedience to the physical laws is *peremptory*; but all conduct is not regulated by knowledge of them. "Though we can do nothing except through laws of nature we can use one law to counteract another."

The rational precept *Naturam observare*, substituted for the absurd direction *Naturam Sequi*, would lead to the acquisition of the knowledge which gives effect to our wishes and intentions. Admitting that much of the authority of the latter doctrine is due to its being confounded with the former, Mr. Mill insists that its favourers and promoters invested with more important prerogatives of signification the maxim of conformity to nature. They intended to imply that the general scheme of nature is a model for us. On examination this doctrine proves untenable. In the first place, the practice of mankind is a perpetual demonstration of the futility of the theory. Far from acquiescing in the doctrine of nature's perfection, men who come into direct contact with the great natural forces are constantly rebelling against her presumed authority, and violating by artificial arrangements that Spontaneous Order, which if the tenet were sound they ought to respect. To avert the thunderbolt by the lightning-rod, to arrest the invasion of the ocean by the breakwater, to bridge shores which nature has separated, to abolish or diminish pain by the use of chloroform or nitrous oxide are direct infringements of the injunction to follow nature. The old religious feeling which led men to regard with suspicion all innovating and extraordinary efforts at improvement; the feeling which inspires the verses in which Horace denounces the profanity of shipbuilding and navigation; the feeling which survived amongst the Reatini,* when protesting against the projected system of draining, they pleaded the superior wisdom of nature's ordinances; and which, in no very remote period, received a curious illustration, in the argument, with which certain clergymen in Scotland opposed the introduction of Meikle's winnowing machines and mills, declaring that "winds were created by God alone, and it was irreligious in man to attempt to raise wind for himself and by efforts of his own"†—this feeling alone affords convincing evidence of the primitive assumption that a modification of the course of nature was an interference with the government of superior powers, a censure of the established order of the world. Concessions, indeed, were

* The Reatini are not mentioned by Mr. Mill. The passage, *Taciti Annalium*, i. 79, is so strikingly appropriate that we cannot forbear quotation:—

"Nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui recusantes, quippe in adjacentia erupturum: optime rebus mortalium consulisse naturam, quæ sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit: spectandos etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint. Quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus, accolis fluviis orbatum, minore gloriâ fluere. Seu preces Coloniarum seu difficultas operum, seu superstîtio valent, ut in sententiam Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat."

† See Smiles' "Engineers," 1st ed. vol. ii. p. 106.

granted, indulgences allowed, sacerdotal expedients devised for reconciling the impiety of infringement with the preservation of the sacred dread of encroaching on the divine prerogative. There still, however, remains a vague notion that though the control of a particular province of nature is allowable, her *imperial* scheme is a model for us to imitate. The ways of nature, it is asserted, are the ways of God. His inconceivable high works, sings the Archangel in *Faust*, are glorious as on creation's day. Man cannot rival their excellence, he can only reproduce an imperfect imitation of them. In the second place then, Mr. Mill combats the doctrine of natural perfection by substituting for the false ideal, a true portraiture of the character and procedure of nature. In pages of vivid and emphatic delineation, which startle us even after the powerful denunciations of Schopenhauer or Leopardi, with which they may be compared; Mr. Mill draws up his terrific indictment against the archetypal idol of the doistical moralist. The sublimity of the cosmic forces, it is true, superinduces a feeling, which though bordering on pain, we prefer to most so-called pleasures. But we must not allow ourselves to be misled by this æsthetic subordination of the judgment, since we are equally capable of experiencing this feeling towards maleficent powers. Far from exhibiting a discriminating beneficence, the cosmic forces, after their colossal grandeur and irresistible might, reveal as their most impressive attribute an infinite capacity for inflicting evil and an absolute recklessness in the exercise of their malignant activity. They go straight to their end, destroying not only the men whose death would be a relief to themselves and a blessing to others, but those who are engaged in the highest and worthiest enterprises. A hurricane, an earthquake, a pestilence vie in destructiveness and injustice with anarchy, or a reign of terror in the human world. Nature, in fact, sums up Mr. Mill, abridges human life, in modes at once the most violent and insidious:—

“Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyrs, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nabis or a Domitian never surpassed.”

In the torture which nature inflicts, even where she does not intend to kill, as in the infelicitous provision for the perpetual renewal of animal life; in the cardinal arrangement by which the sustenance of one portion of her offspring is made to depend on the destruction of another; in her explosions of firedamp; in

the pain inflicted and the loss of life occasioned by the parasites that find their way into the kidney or the brain ; in the desolations of a district by a flight of locusts, or the starvation of a million of people by "a trifling chemical change in an edible root," Nature, says her indignant accuser, perpetrates horrors, which, if men were or could be the authors of them, we should regard as crimes of unspeakable enormity. How then can it be contended that nature is a proper model for us to imitate? "Either it is right that we should kill because nature kills, torture because nature tortures, ruin and devastate because nature does the like ; or we ought not to consider at all what nature does, but what it is good to do." The constant efforts of mankind, continued through thousands of years, to diminish the amount of evil and increase the sum of good ; the accumulating capital of improvement, and the augmentation of resources for averting national evil, seem convincing evidence of Mr. Mill's assertion, that the optimistic plea by which the disorder and destructiveness of natural agencies are justified—namely, that they are ordained for wise and good ends, is in reality not believed by those who prefer it. It is a bit of insincere sentimentalism ; a suggestion of the pious hypocrisy of materialism ; or at best an exaggeration of poetic or devotional feeling. That good comes out of evil is perfectly true ; but it is true of human crimes no less than of natural calamities. Mr. Freeman discerns in the vices of King John the occasion of the extension of freedom and good government in England ; and in the exquisite piety of the saintly Louis of France the antecedent of the growth and concentration of despotic power. If it is in the order of nature that good comes out of evil, it is equally in the order of nature that evil comes out of good. It is part of the tragedy of human life, whether on the broad stage of public action or in the narrow scene of private existence, that the effects of any incident if felt at all are in the majority of cases both good and bad. If, says Mr. Mill, with a wise refinement of observation, the greater number of personal misfortunes have their good side, hardly any good fortune ever befell any one which did not give either to the same or to some other person something to regret. But notwithstanding this moral polarity, this double-sidedness of evil as of good, the tendency of either principle is to fructify each in its own kind, good producing good, and evil evil, so that good, in general, issues in further good, evil in an increase of evil.

Conformity to nature, then, has no connexion with right or wrong. The elementary impulses of the constitution of man unless subjected to artificial training, would fill the world with misery, making human life an exaggerated likeness of the odious scene of violence and tyranny which is exhibited by the rest of

the undisciplined animal kingdom. The purposes of the Creator are not registered in the order of nature, for the most conspicuous marks of special design, if they indicate any final end, indicate that it was the divine intention that "a large proportion of all animals should pass their existence in tormenting and devouring other animals." Such traces of beneficent design as can be detected in nature prove, if they prove anything (and Mr. Mill is of opinion that they carry with them a certain weight of probability), that the beneficence which they seem to illustrate is armed only with limited power. "Every indication of design in the Kosmos is so much evidence against the omnipotence of the designer." Assuming the self-existence of matter, the Maker might be appropriately said to exert power, in introducing order into the original chaos, for there would be obstacles to overcome, and the idea of power has its correlative in that of resistance. The word is tinged with anthropomorphic associations. Creation, in the metaphysical sense of the term, demands no effort. Creation, as Mr. Mill is pleased to call the construction of the world out of pre-existing materials, requires the possession of power; but every indication of design in the order of the universe is so much evidence against the omnipotence of the designer. An all-powerful being has no occasion to resort to the contrivances, the substitutions, the "make-it-do" apparatus of shifts, evasions, stopgaps, which do credit to the invention or ingenuity of a human artificer. The evidences of Natural Theology imply that the Author of the Kosmos worked under limitations, that he adapted himself to conditions supplied from without, and that he attained his ends by such arrangements as were practicable. With this hypothesis the general drift of evidence derived from the consideration presented in Mr. Mill's discussion of the argument for a first cause is in strict accordance. He tells us there, what Coleridge told us long ago, that causation is a generalization from experience; and he further explains that causation cannot be predicated of the material universe, but only of its changing phenomena. The essence of causation, as it exists within the limits of our knowledge, is incompatible with a first cause. There is, however, in nature, continues Mr. Mill, a permanent element, which, if it has no independent causality, enters into all causation, for the cause of every physical phenomenon is determined to be a certain quantity of force combined with certain collocations. The force itself is essentially the same; and if the "theory of conservation" be true, exists in nature as a fixed quantity. The plausible argument of the Platonizing objector, which asserts that mind is the only possible cause of force, because mind is the only thing which is capable of originating, Mr. Mill meets by the considera-

tion that the doctrine of conservation holds good, even when extended to the field of voluntary agency. For granting that the will originates motion, it originates it only by the conversion of force already existing (force evolved through certain physiological processes) into that particular manifestation. Volition, therefore, does not answer to the idea of a first cause; and Mr. Mill's conclusion is, that experience justifies the assertion that force has all the attributes of a thing eternal and uncreated.

But it may be replied, If will does not originate force, it may at least be an agency co-eternal with it, provided only we can be assured that force does not originate will; for if the will can originate not indeed force, but the transformation of force into mechanical motion, and there is no other known agency capable of doing so, the argument for the origination, not of the universe, but of the order of the universe, remains unanswered. To this representation our author replies that chemical action, electricity, heat, the mere presence of a gravitating body, are "causes of mechanical motion on a far larger scale than any volitions which experience presents to us." Volition, therefore, has no exclusive privilege of origination. Even assuming with the assertor of free will, that volitions are uncaused, the properties of matter, as far as experience informs us, are uncaused also, and have one great advantage which no particular volition can show. They are to all appearance eternal.

Theism cannot be vindicated on the ground that the existence of mind requires another and more powerful mind as a necessary antecedent, for the creating mind equally requires another mind, as the source of its origin, and if the nature of mind does not in itself imply a creator, all minds, within our experience, as having their beginning in time, must have been caused. It is not necessary, however, to attribute their origin to a prior intelligence, for the development from inferior orders of existence of orders superior in organization, is the general rule of nature.

If we are compelled to indulge in speculation on these recondite subjects, we can come to no other conclusion than that at which Mr. Mill arrived—that Theism; so far as it rests on the necessity of a first cause, has no support from experience. The evidences for Theism derived from the general consent of mankind from consciousness are appreciated in two separate sections of Mr. Mill's concluding essay. 1. The belief in Deity arose, he explains, among educated men from the supposed indications in nature of a contriving intelligence. In civilized countries the ignorant take their opinions from the educated. With savages, "if the evidence be adjudged insufficient, so is the belief." For the religion of savages is fetichism, or the ascription of animation and will to individual objects, gradually superseded by the substitution

of an invisible Being, supposed to preside over a class of objects having common attributes. With this error of primitive ignorance we can hardly confound the direct communication by the Deity of an instinctive knowledge of his existence. 2. The Cartesian argument, which asserts the veracity of consciousness, and argues that the idea of a god, perfect in power, wisdom, and goodness, being a clear and distinct idea, must have an objective correspondent, is rendered possible only by the denial of one of our most familiar and valuable attributes, that of idealization, or the construction from materials furnished by experience of a conception more perfect than experience affords. The inconclusiveness of this reasoning was admitted by Kant, who, while he referred the idea of the Deity to mental processes and not to external impressions, refused to acknowledge that the existence of a corresponding reality could be demonstrated by logic, or perceived by direct apprehension. With Kant himself the Deity was a necessary assumption, imposed by the reality of the moral law. The obligation of Duty, even if purely a mental growth, as Kant maintained, is practically felt by many who have no positive faith in God, and rather excludes than compels the belief in a divine legislator, for if it be spontaneously generated, it requires no external coercion to act in conformity to it.

We will now, still following Mr. Mill, pass, without further delay, to the far more important argument of the appearance of contrivance in nature.

This argument has many recommendations. It is grounded on experience; it presents a scientific aspect; it claims to be judged by the canons of induction:—

“Certain qualities, it is alleged, are found to be characteristic of such things as are made by an intelligent mind for a purpose. The order of nature, or some considerable parts of it, exhibit these qualities in a remarkable degree. We are entitled, from this great similarity in the effects, to infer similarity in the cause, and to believe that things which it is beyond the power of man to make, but which resemble the works of man in all but power, must also have been made by intelligence, armed with a power greater than human.”

Mr. Mill rightly discriminates the random resemblances from the select resemblances in nature to the productions of human intelligence. The representative illustration of the watch, immortalized by the lucid Paley, offers an analogy which “does not do full justice to the evidence of Theism.” The Reverend William Irons,* many years ago, in an essay on this celebrated argument, very properly drew attention to the fact that without

* “On the Whole Doctrine of Final Causes.” By William J. Irons, M.A., of Queen’s College, Oxford, and Curate of St Mary’s, Newington, Surrey. London: J. G. and F. Rivington. 1836.

a previous knowledge of the structure of a watch, and of the conventional distribution of time, no observer could possibly suspect the design of it, nor argue, as Dr. Paley had done, to a designer. When the African traveller Campbell showed his watch to a group of savages, they started back in alarm, conjecturing from the sound and motion of the works that it was a living and supernatural thing. Like these poor children of nature, we, her civilized sons, attempt to explain the universe without that preliminary knowledge which would justify the explanation. "To this horologe of the universe," says Mr. Irons, "there is no index, no mystic hand, no startling sound pealing forth to announce the mysterious end and purpose of creation."

After every concession, the force of the argument from design is overrated. The evidence of design in creation, according to Mr. Mill, can never reach the height of direct induction. An inductive argument, as superior to analogy as it is inferior to induction, is, however, derivable from instances, in which a number of structural details are found to conspire to a common end, and thus seem to point to that connexion with an intelligent origin which is a matter of common experience.

To simplify the question, Mr. Mill selects one impressive instance, the strength or weakness of which affords a measure of the strength or weakness of the entire argument of design. The parts of which the eye is composed, and the various collocations which constitute the arrangement of those parts, exhibit one common property. They all contribute to vision. Now an eye, as a particular combination of organic elements, had a commencement in time. The combination was effected by a cause or causes. The number of instances being so great as to preclude the hypothesis of casual concurrence, the rules of induction justify the inference that what brought these elements together was some cause common to all; and as they have the remarkable property of conspiring to produce sight, there must be some connexion by way of causation between the collocating cause and the fact of sight. Sight is thus the *final* cause of the production of the particular organ, which we call an eye. The efficient cause is not sight itself, but an antecedent idea of sight; and an antecedent idea of sight implies the existence of an intelligent will.

The great Master of Logic has exhibited, in his exhibition of this "legitimate inductive inference," his characteristic candour, acuteness of apprehension, patient discrimination and dispassionate eloquence. Yet, deservedly great as is his authority, and naturally disposed as we are to feel its persuasive force, we think we see good reason for questioning, not only the correctness of the inference which he has drawn from the particular

instance of collocation, which he regards as so convincing, but for dissenting from the general estimate of the design argument which he has placed before us.

The apparatus which Mr. Mill selects as a cogent illustration of the existence of intelligent purpose in the universe is that natural camera obscura, the eye. Sung by poets, extolled by philosophers, imitated by opticians, the eye, we are told, is an instrument which astounds us with its delicate complexity of structure and delights us with its magical efficiency of performance.* But immeasurably superior as it is to an original product of human ingenuity, it has yet so many defects that we hesitate to pronounce it the result of superhuman intelligence. Our recital of these defects shall be borrowed from the pages of an illustrious master of science:—1. The image which we receive by the eye, is compared by Professor Helmholtz, to a picture, minutely and elaborately finished in the centre, but only roughly sketched in at the borders. The consequence is that objects of a certain diminutiveness are to the greater part of the retina invisible. Hence, till we bring her image on the central pit of our retina, the lark, lost in blue space, “becomes a sightless song.” 2. The length of the axis of the eye, and that even in youth, is too small; in old age the surfaces become flattened and do not refract the rays sufficiently. 3. In addition to the defect of accommodation, the eye suffers from an imperfection, which we do not expect to find in an optical instrument—chromatic aberration or dispersion—a peculiarity which renders the size and position of the retinal images dissimilar, and so impairs the sharpness of outline. 4. To unite the rays which form the centre of the image the optician’s lens is required to have non-spherical surfaces; and curiously enough the refracting surfaces of the eye are in part elliptical, a circumstance which naturally generated the inference that spherical aberration was thus obviated. This, however, was an error. But what is more: 5. Defects, even that of spherical aberration, are detected in the eye; defects too, which, with a little care, the optical instrument maker readily avoids. The cornea in most human eyes is not a perfectly symmetrical curve, nor are the cornea and the crystalline lens symmetrically placed with regard to their common axis. These two defects of construction give rise to the condition called astigmatism, which prevents our seeing with entire distinctness, at the same time vertical and horizontal lines at the same distance. 6. The distribution of the fibres of the crystalline lens around six diverging axes, assimilates the

* “See Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects.” By G. H. Helmholtz, pp. 197-228.

human eye to an ill-centred telescope, which does not give a single illuminated point as the image of a star, but an irregular irradiation. Thus "the images which we see around stars and other distant lights are images of the radiated structure of our lens," and to the same cause is to be referred the apparent enlargement of the crescent moon. 7. If the glass of which a lens is made be not perfectly transparent a bright halo will be seen around each illuminated surface on the image; what ought to be black looks grey, and what ought to be white dull. The image which the eye presents of the external world corresponds, in this respect to the image reflected by the optician's glass. The crystalline lens of the eye is far from uniform in structure. Beads, rings, black dots, snaky lines are discernible within the eye. The veins of the retina itself cast their shadows on its posterior surface and exclude light. Corpuscles and folds of membrane swim in the vitreous humour. The *muscae volitantes*, or flying insects, which usually float in the highest part of the orb of the eye, occasionally pass in front of the central pit and impair sight. 8. Among the irregularities of the surface which receives the optical image, there is a break in the retina, at the spot where the optic nerve enters the eye. An object whose image falls on this blind spot, cannot be perceived. The image of a clock-face, a human head, the moon, thrown on this retinal gap, is invisible.

From this enumeration of the defects of the eye it is evident that, however exquisite as an organ of vision, it is far from ideally perfect. It has, indeed, every possible drawback incident to an optical instrument. With our knowledge of its numerous imperfections, are we warranted in ascribing the construction of the eye to a Divine Artificer, to a Being infinite in power, in wisdom, in goodness; or even to a Superhuman Intelligence, immeasurably greater than that of man? If the intractability of the materials be pleaded in extenuation of the shortcomings of the Constructor, we are reminded that, in one instance, that of *Astigmatism*, the defects in structure can be easily avoided by a little care on the part of the instrument-maker; in another, that the images formed by the human eye are even more inaccurate than those of the telescope. It is difficult, with these facts before us, to see in the structure of the eye evidence of superhuman wisdom, goodness, and power.

The embryological development of the eye, as described by Professor Helmholtz, explains these irregularities in the structure of the lens and the vitreous body. A dimple is formed in the integument of the embryo; it deepens to a pit; it expands till the orifice becomes relatively minute, and the pit is completely shut off:—

"The cells of the scarf skin which line this hollow form the crystalline lens; the true skin beneath them becomes its capsule, and the loose tissue which underlies the skin is developed into the vitreous humour. The mark where the neck of the fossa was seated is still to be recognised as one of the 'entoptic images' of many adult eyes."

As this physiological development of the eye explains the imperfections of the organ, under the present mode of the renewal and transmission of human existence, the palæontological development of Mr. Darwin or of Mr. H. Spencer appears to offer a plausible solution of the corresponding difficulty, in the original construction of the human eye. According to Mr. Spencer the rudimentary eye consists of pigment-grains, and vision was constituted by a wave of disturbance, which a sudden change in the state of the pigment-grains propagates through the body. According to Darwin, the eye is the gradual development of a sensitive nerve, which has arrived at its actual condition by numerous imperfect gradations, and is yet susceptible of further development in its progress to perfection. An examination of the structure of the eyes, says Mr. Bain, in their rudimentary types in the lowest animals, and in their successive phases of growth in the higher, has both suggested and proved, as some believe, that the eye is a modified portion of the skin. To Strauss, as to Büchner, the hypothesis of Darwin appeared adequate to the effects attributed to it. Helmholtz, in the remarkable essay on which we have so largely drawn, after referring to the presence in all physiological organs of the same character of practical adaptation to the wants of the organism, and expressing the opinion that there is, perhaps, no instance in which adaptation to function can be so minutely traced as that of the eye, declares that "Here the result which may be reached by innumerable generations working under the Darwinian-law of inheritance, coincides with what the highest wisdom may have devised beforehand." In the essay on the aim and progress of physical science, he says of this theory, "It shows how adaptability of structure in organisms can result from a blind rule of a law of nature without any intervention of intelligence." Nay, Mr. Mill himself allows that natural selection is not only a *vera causa*, but one proved to be capable of producing effects of the same kind with those which the hypothesis ascribes to it.* Had the lamented author of the system of logic lived to reconsider the question he would hardly have preferred, for explanatory efficiency, the alternative hypothesis of an intelligent will. His ultimate view would, in all probability, have accorded with the verdict of the distinguished

* See "Inductive Logic," vol. ii. p. 19.

physiologist who has so long and so ably advocated the claims of this grand conception to be a valid exposition of the origin of species. Writing in the *Academy*, October 9th, 1869, Mr. Huxley remarks: "The teleology that supposes the eye, such as we see it in man, or one of the higher vertebrata, was made with that precise structure it exhibits for the purpose of enabling the animal which possesses it to see, has undoubtedly received its death-blow." The same admission is made by Haeckel, and also by Scheiden; a reluctant witness.

The probability of this eventual accord, on the assumption of Mr. Mill's continuance in life, is not an unfounded conjecture, but an inference grounded on the acceptance of the theory of development, in an earlier section of the three essays on Religion; an acceptance so unqualified, that its rejection in his estimate of the value of the design argument can only be accounted for on the hypothesis that if the essay on Theism had had the advantage of that final revision, which we know was wanting to it, this extraordinary contradiction would have disappeared. As, however, of the two alternative views it is possible that Mr. Mill might, had he lived, have sacrificed the conception of Darwin to the argument from design rather than the argument from design to the conception of Darwin, we will look a little more closely into the character of the teleological doctrine.

The existence in the order of nature of adaptations, correspondences, and harmonies is undeniable. Feuerbach and Strauss doubt it as little as Paley and the Duke of Argyle. But to admit the existence of natural congruities is one thing; to refer them to design is another. It is, says Kant, reflecting reason, which, having brought design into the world, admires a wonder created by itself. The hypothesis of arrangement by an intelligence was once a plausible explanation of the order observable in nature; in the present condition of our knowledge it becomes increasingly difficult to acquiesce in the validity of the argument. The difficulties of Theism are a strong presumption against the intervention of a Divine Creator. In the first place, the conception of a Perfect Being is a purely logical conception; impressive as an ideal, the deity of the metaphysician cannot be demonstrated to have an objective existence. The physico-theological argument, if it prove anything, proves only the existence of an architect or constructor, of limited power, not that of an extra-mundane omnipotent and omniscient deity above time and out of space. The nature of this Infinite and Eternal Being is declared to be immaterial. Of such a mode of existence we have no knowledge. The constant concomitance of mental and material phenomena within the limits of our expe-

rience, reduces the separate independence of mind to a postulate of the imaginative reason. The boundaries of belief may not be limited by experience; the boundaries of proof are. Coleridge admits that there is no possible demonstration of the existence of a metaphysical deity. The Infinite Being of the theologian, like the intelligent will of the philosopher, implies an idea or archetype similar to that of Plato. It supposes the speculative existence of an object before its creation; the priority of the abstract to the concrete; of the universal to the particular; of conception to perception; of mind without the objects of knowledge; of omnipotence that has never exerted power, and of omniscience that has not present to it the phenomena of cognition. These are some of the preliminary difficulties which confront us when we are required to admit a Creator as well as an Ordering Intelligence.

A further difficulty meets us as we proceed to apply the hypothesis. There are all the *a priori* conditions for the complete realization of the idea, infinite power, infinite wisdom, infinite goodness, but the idea is not completely realized. The world is the realized idea of the Creative Mind. The portion of it with which we are best acquainted gives no evidence of its construction by Omnipotent Benevolence. There are, indeed, as Mr. Mill puts it, certain provisions for giving pleasure to animate beings, but there are also certain provisions for giving them pain. The fundamental ordinance of the Creator is an ordinance of death. The condition of existence for the lower animals is mutual destruction. Death by violence preceded the appearance of the Adamites. Of old, says Professor Owen, and even ere so high a creature as man trod the earth, it was a scene of conflict and carnage. Nor was this an arbitrary or accidental result. The argument from design proves that it was the end contemplated by the presumed Creator of the natural theologians. "For the variety, the beauty, the polish, the sharpness, the strength, the barbed perfection, the effectiveness in every way, of lethal weapons, no armoury can compete with that of the fossil world." (Owen.) Contemplating a caterpillar perforated by a dozen maggots and writhing in anguish, the late Rev. Frederick Robertson, of Brighton, exclaims: "I have never yet found the argument from the understanding, or a hint of it, which can make it pleasant to believe in a God who had made such a provision as this;" and he expresses the opinion that, though not without value to a believing vindicator of religion, Paley's argument from design has ever been, and ever must be powerless for proving God's existence, or demonstrating to one well-informed infidel the falsity of his opinion. As regards the human race, the idea appears to suffer a similar frustration. The volcanic eruption which destroys

cities ; the earthquake which tramples them to ashes ; the famine that starves a population ; the war that destroys its millions of men, that flings babes into the flames, as it did in the Crusades—that outrages womanhood and devastates a country ; the pestilence that depeoples an Athens, a Florence, a London ; the mortality which allows but one-half of the human race to attain the age of twelve years ; the misery, which in France, in one quarter of a century, drove more than 70,000 persons to inflict on themselves a voluntary death ; the physical arrangements, which in less than half of the peninsula of India brought about in the year 1869 the death from snake-bite of more than 11,000 persons ; the cancer that destroys life, the madness that desolates it, these and other forms of destructive evil show how entirely the presumed efforts of a Benevolent Omnipotence have failed to attain their supposed object, as regards the noblest specimen of the animal race. Still more flagrant appears the failure if we examine the question from the historical point of view. The civilized races have emerged to their present position of comparative knowledge and happiness, from one of indescribable degradation, corporeal and spiritual. The blessings mankind now enjoy have been purchased at a frightful cost, “by the sufferings and wasted lives of entire geological periods.” The Bosjesman, or the Andaman islander, represents the first results of the co-operant action of Infinite Love, Infinite Goodness, Infinite Power. Through nudity and inarticulate utterance ; houseless, raimentless ; through ignorance of the most ordinary moral distinctions, even as regards sexual relations ; through the superstition that makes divinities of rivers, fountains, and trees ; that sacrifices children in the flames ; that, even in the Christian period, burned nine millions of men and women for the impossible crime of witchcraft ; through voracious cannibalism and Samoeidic uncleanness, has man advanced, in many thousands of generations, to such a position of comfort and dignity, that for the élite of the human race, life is perhaps preferable to non-existence. Surely this survey of the animal and human world makes it impossible to regard an infinitely wise and powerful Creator as its author ; makes it impossible to see in the correspondences of nature indications of benevolent intervention or omnipotent activity.

Another difficulty arises from the impossibility of discriminating between designed and undesigned aptitudes in Nature. According to the Reverend William Irons, whom we have already quoted, all adaptation is not design. Design is only probable when it is carried to an exquisite and elaborate perfection. The degree is always open to dispute, and may be set aside by counter probabilities. Eloquent theological writers have dilated

on the wonderful provision by which nature, reversing her ordinary habit, causes water, after contracting till it reaches a temperature of 39° , to expand by cooling, swim on the surface of warmer water, admit of solidification and form, in the shape of ice, a protecting roof for the living things below. An obstinate deistical friend of ours was accustomed to point to this singular property of water, to use Professor Tyndall's words, "as an irresistible proof of design, unique of its kind and suggestive of pure benevolence." But, molten bismuth, where there are no fish to be saved, and no known beneficent purpose to effect, acts precisely as water acts. Intelligent power, it is said, has determined the development of man, and Mr. Wallace, a man of inquisitive and powerful intellect, considers the hairless condition of the human skin, as an illustration of this guiding providence. The Rev. T. Stebbing, on the other hand, refers its origin to the perception of its superior beauty or cleanliness, and considers it surprising that the great naturalist should picture to himself a superior intelligence plucking the hair from the backs of savage men, to whom it would have been useful and beneficial, in order that the descendants of the poor shorn wretches might, after many deaths from cold and damp, be forced to raise themselves in the scale of civilization, through the practice of various singular arts. If the imperfections of the eye make it more than difficult to believe that it was designed by an Omnipotent Creator; if the magical property of water, contracting and expanding, with the beautiful capriciousness which we have described afford no indication of design, if Mr. Wallace's hair-dressing or wool-gathering Process is scornfully rejected by a clerical naturalist as any indication of the existence of the divinity that is said to shape our ends; what prospect is there of selecting instances of design so indisputable as to coerce the judgment of inquirers of average incredulity? The production of monstrosities, the natural history of parasites, the extravagant fecundity of locusts and migratory pigeons which bring with them destruction, famine, and death; the apparently purposeless contrivances in the structure of animals and plants, appear to us to indicate the action of unreasoning forces, to refer to the Darwinian theory of the evolution of organic forms. By means of this theory we may explain, as Professor Helmholtz explains, the presence of the structural peculiarities of the lower animals in the embryos of others of superior organization, the special kind of development in the series of palæontological forms, and the conditions of affinity of the faunas and floras of limited areas.

There are numerous arrangements which appear to indicate design, but which prove to be only the consequence of material

conditions. We conjecture the existence of a plan where there is only an historical result. Of innumerable possible structures some attain perfection because the requisite conditions are forthcoming; others never enter into existence from want of the concurring conditions. The rudiments which ripen into complete development are, compared with those in which the idea of the creative mind is not realized, numerically insignificant. For one seed, whether vegetable or animal, which attains maturity, a million perhaps are fated to perish. Nature is a reckless and unfeeling spendthrift. Waste, abortion, frustration, fatuity attest the unintelligent character of her processes. The airless, waterless, unpeopled moon; the falling meteorite, the dissolving star shower, the barren tracts on earth, our zones of frost and fire, are all so many indications of the absence or defeat of omnipotent power. Why, on the hypothesis of design, has Saturn, already illuminated with eight moons, an additional light-emitting provision in a series of resplendent rings, while Mars is left in total darkness? Why has the fly a wonderful optic apparatus, and yet is unable to see the web of her deadly enemy? Why does the bee, with all its vaunted geometrical science and strange power which it possesses literally to make its queen, attempt to manufacture a sovereign lady no less from the drone than from the royal larvæ? Why, if a divine law reigns throughout all nature, does the comb of a cock inserted into the comb of another cock, grow and flourish in seeming defiance of that law?

Is it not possible to recognise adaptations or marks of *apparent* design, without adopting the view of the natural theologian? Aristotle, says Sir Alexander Grant, does not discover in these indications of alleged purpose, the machinery of a watch, and proceed immediately to infer the existence of a watch-maker, but rather the products of nature appear to him according to the analogy of the watch that makes itself. A few properties of dead matter, in the opinion of Dr. Chalmers, might conceivably account for the regular and invariable succession of effects and causes. Matter, moreover, is *not* dead, the matter of the natural theologian is a puerile fiction; the ideas of Matter and Force are inseparable. There is no object which is permanently unchanged. Every rock, every grain of sand, every metallic film is in unceasing motion. All matter attains form, oxygen in combination with carbon produces carbonic acid gas; in combination with hydrogen water; phosphorus in combination with chalk forms bone, in combination with fat it forms the substance of the brain. That matter and force are primeval and ultimate is a conclusion justified by experience. There is no proof that they owe their existence to an Omnipotent intelligence, and the hypothesis of creation is in itself incomprehensible. Assuming

with Kant and Laplace* that the masses of the solar system were once distributed as Nebulæ in space, they would, through the attractive force, approach and condense. Portions of the nebulous sphere would, under the action of the centrifugal force separate and form into single planets, or into planets with satellites and rings, until at last the principal mass condensed itself into the sun. Through condensation of the masses and consequent collision and adhesion of their particles, the energy of their motion would be annihilated, and would reappear as heat. Electricity, magnetism, light, are so intimately connected in the evolution of heat, that wherever heat is, these forces will be present. All changes in the world, says Helmholtz, are changes in the local distribution of elementary matter, and are eventually brought about by Motion. With this hypothesis, which involves but a minimum of assumption, the various phenomena of our solar system, the geological history of our own planet, the flattened form of the sphere of other planets, the existence of meteors and meteoric stones, of rings and satellites, and nebulous masses are in perfect harmony. How can we explain these phenomena on the hypothesis of an Omnipotent Creator?

But although Kant undertook to account for the mechanical order of the world from the universal and essential quality of matter and the action of general laws, he was unable to explain its living order on the same hypothesis. The doctrine of evolution alone throws any light on the mystery. It does not show indeed how life originated, but it points, as Mr. Mill confesses, to the development of inferior orders of existence into superior, to the conversion of inorganic into organic existences, to the elaboration of simple vegetable and animal rudiments into higher organisms, to the "continuous establishment of relations in the organism with relations already existing in the environments." Intelligence attains its highest point in the vertebrated series; instinct in the articulated; instinctive actions again are essentially reflex actions, effected solely through the ganglia with which the organs, the legs and wings of the articulated animals, are connected. The solitary bee that constructs his nest without education or experience is, says Dr. Carpenter, nothing else than a machine acting in accordance with its nervous organization. In this general method of nature we have a gradual development, perpetual adjustment; we are carried back from intelligence to instinct, from instinct to reflex motion; from man to the inferior forms of animal life, to the Zoophyte, perhaps to the "slimy protoplasm of the protiston," from the symmetry of planet life and animal life to the regular form of the crystal or

* See Helmholtz's "Essay on Intersection of Natural Forces."

the liquid flower of the snow. All the various phenomena which surround us, at least, appear to arise naturally and not supernaturally, out of some combination of forces, some action of the electric affinities of organic elements, some process of adjustment, or superaddition or transformation. There seems to be no doubt that the principle of adaptive colouring with the effect of concealment, prevails in various branches of the animal kingdom ; but the cause is a perfectly natural one. Correlation of growth, again, is produced by forces, one of whose properties is Polarity. It may be traced, we are told, from the simple to the most complicated forms of the organic world.. Animal modifications depend on habit. Limbs seem to be constructed on a type, but they vary from it in order to suit the requirements of the animal and its allotted sphere. "In the vegetable world, the radial symmetry, the bilateral symmetry, and the asymmetry which branches display in different trees, in different parts of the same tree, and at different stages of their growth, prove to be all consequent on the ways in which they stand towards the entire plexus of surrounding actions."*

The Theory of Development may be incomplete, the Self-adapting Process of Nature embarrassed by assumptions. But of the two hypotheses, perpetual special creation, and unceasing intervention by an intelligence, at once omnipotent, omniscient and perfectly benevolent, and the gradual evolution of order and life by unconscious forces and natural impulses, the latter seems to us the preferable one.

To Mr. Mill the evidence derived from the consideration of the facts of the universe appeared insufficient to establish the omnipotence of the Creator. Strictly speaking, Mr. Mill does not recognise creative but only constructive power. The two great elements of the universe, Matter the passive, Force the active element, are in his view eternal. The author of the collocations which adapt the world to the results which it exhibits, was not the creator of force or matter, or of any of their properties. Accepting the hypothesis of a *Designing Deity*, who had to fabricate a world out of pre-existing materials, we are justified in ascribing to him skill, contrivance, wisdom, an assumption which* in itself implies a limitation of power. The limitation of power allows us to entertain the supposition of absolute knowledge ; but ingenious and admirable as is the machinery of contrivance in nature, it affords no proof that the knowledge or skill of the Constructor is infinite. Possibly the refractoriness of the materials out of which the orderly world was composed, possibly the inherent deficiency of intelligence in

* Spencer's "Principles of Biology," vol. ii. p. 136.

the Divine Artificer, possibly a third and unknown alternative, may be the true explanation of the arrest of creative skill or the frustration of benevolent purpose. Random guesses being worthless, and even reasonable conjectures unattainable, we are compelled to admit that we do not know how the power of the Great Artificer is limited. Granting the existence of design, the normal character of the machinery for the production of physical and mental pleasure affords some ground, in Mr. Mill's view, for inferring that benevolence is an attribute of the Deity ; but to conclude that the final cause of creation was the happiness of sentient beings, is a conclusion directly opposed to the evidence. The notion of a providential government, for the sole purpose of promoting human welfare, must be dismissed ; other motives of action appear to influence the Deity. Even of His continual existence we have only the guarantee afforded by the presumption that, as the conditions which produce the liability to death are of his own making, he cannot be subject to the fatal law which affects human beings.

Such is the speculative construction of Deity, that one of the most eminent thinkers of our time, swayed by a yearning desire to accept all the fair possibilities which reason does not exclude, offers us. "Such is the Deity whom Natural Religion points to : and any idea of God more captivating than this comes only from human wishes, or from the teaching of either real or imaginary Revelation." Mr. Mill thus literally constructs for us the Probable God of Carlyle's sarcastic deprecation ; a Deity the probability of whose existence will be reduced to the lowest degree by the triumph of the principle, of which it seems little likely to afford us an affirmative illustration, the Survival of the Fittest. The limited Deity, thus called into being, reminds us of the Demiurgus of Gnostic speculation, the Maker but not the Father of the world. The mystery of origin remains unexplained ; matter and force, with their properties, are at least co-eternal with the Divine Artificer ; we have no explicit assurance of his self-existence ; we have hardly satisfactory evidence of his eternal continuance ; to explain the imperfections of his workmanship we arbitrarily limit his power ; his wisdom, though superhuman, may possibly be limited too ; and his benevolence, though probably a real and genuine attribute, is subordinated to motives which are called into activity by interests which lie beyond the sphere of human sorrows and of human joys.

The genius, the philosophical power, the logical acuteness, the religious aspiration, of Mr. Mill, have not, in our judgment, enabled him to rescue natural theology from the fate which appears likely to overtake it. Must not all such speculations be attended with ill success ? The Substance of Spinoza, with its

attributes of thought and extension; the Unknowable of Mr. Herbert Spencer; the Spirit of intellectual beauty and love celebrated in the musical verse of Shelley; the eternal Not-ourselves of Mr. Matthew Arnold; the personified reason of the deist Reimarus, are they not all Idola of the tribe and of the den? We believe that Mr. Mill has failed in his efforts to reconstruct the theology of nature, not from any intrinsic circumstances, but from the absolute impossibility of the task. If the logic of the Finite Sphere can demonstrate the existence of a Deity at all, the Deity whose existence it demonstrates must be the Deity of Mr. Mill's essay.

Next to the belief in an objective Holy Ideal, the belief most dear to mankind is the belief in the immortality of the soul. From the days of Plato to the days of Mr. Mill no philosopher, no logician, no theologian has succeeded in converting into glorious assurance the desire, the hope of an eternal futurity. Wisely, then, respecting the inevitable limits of the argument, Mr. Mill has confined his efforts to what seemed practicable. He has satisfied himself with an attempt to remove the great obstacle to the admissibility of the doctrine, opposed by the presumption that the relation of thought to a material brain, is a kind of metaphysical necessity. It is remotely possible, he represents, that thought, that feeling, may survive the dissolution of their companion organism. In his own idealistic language, the material brain itself is a set of human sensations, our states of consciousness a series of states which it is as easy to imagine without as with this physical accompaniment. A succession of thoughts connected by memories constitutes a thinking substance; and feeling and thought, the only known realities, may continue to exist after their visible and palpable accompaniment has ceased to be; the music may survive when the lute is broken, the splendour illuminate when the lamp is shattered, and, as in the beautiful abstraction of the poet, "the spirit may lie in the western sky, when we *love* but *live* no more." To one who finds cause for satisfaction or incentive to usefulness in the hope of a future, there is, Mr. Mill concludes, no hindrance to his indulging that hope, but on grounds of natural religion he gives us no assurance whatever of a life after death.

These speculations on a post human existence are followed by a discussion on the claims on our attention, not of the Christian, or of any other particular system of belief, but of Revelation generally. The evidences of revelation are commonly distinguished as external or internal. Accepting this classification, Mr. Mill maintains, that as the human faculties are capable of appreciating moral excellence, there is no ground for asserting their incompetency to discover it, and, consequently, that the

divine origin of an alleged communication from a Supreme Being cannot be demonstrated by its ethical recommendations, however admirable. Internal evidence, then, being inconclusive, we must have recourse to external evidence; in other words, to the exhibition of supernatural facts. The existence of God cannot be proved by a miracle: the existence of an Omnipotent Creator is contradicted by the testimony of nature. But if the existence of a God of limited powers be conceded, a sufficient standing ground is secured for Revelation, the presence of imperfections in a revelation being rendered plausible by the presence of imperfections in nature. Butler's argument, Mr. Mill contends, is conclusive from its own point of view, for "the belief of Christians is neither more absurd nor more immoral than the belief of Deists, who acknowledge an Omnipotent Creator." Butler's error lay in the refusal to admit the hypothesis of limited power. Accepting, then, the demiurgic deity, whose existence is rendered probable by the indications of design in the order of the world, there is no antecedent improbability in the supposition that a message may have really been received from him. On this assumption a miracle is not incredible. A survey of the subject, in its concrete relations, however, leads to the conclusion that the verification of a particular miracle is practically impossible. With a singular candour, with an impartial consideration of the alleged vulnerable points in anti-supernaturalist statements, with an over-generous readiness to appreciate the mental condition of believers, by the force of a sympathetic imagination, Mr. Mill travels, with a rapid but steady footstep, and with an eye that inspects the entire horizon of probability, over the moving morass of Supernaturalism. As in apparent anxiety to leave "a sister when she prays, her early heaven, her happy views," in a long and involved sentence, in which the chain of hypotheses vibrates as we read, Mr. Mill arrives at the tremulous conclusion, that "there is nothing so inherently impossible or absolutely incredible in this supposition (the reality of the Christian revelation) as to preclude any one from hoping that it may perhaps be true." But that "miracles have no claim whatever to the character of historical facts, and are wholly invalid as evidences of any revelation," is his own openly avowed and ultimate verdict.

An explanation of this intellectual urbanity and morally beautiful attitude of forbearance and indulgence to illusions dear to men, is, we conceive, suggested by occasional passages of wise thought and noble feeling, scattered over the fine essay on the *Utility of Religion*, and embodied in the closing section, entitled *General Result*. We are in an age of weak beliefs, complains our author, in one of these passages, and describes,

truly and sadly, the painful position to a conscientious and cultivated mind condemned to be drawn in contrary directions by the two noblest of all objects of pursuit, truth and the general good. We are paralysed by the apprehension, that freedom of speculation or enlargement of thought, by making men unbelievers might make men vicious and miserable; or we are averse to dry up the fountain of feelings which we imagine can emanate from no other source than religion. In his critical estimate of the influences of authority, early education, public opinion, Mr. Mill supplies a corrective to the morbid misgivings which incline many to the timid conservatism of a sceptical reticence. By showing that conviction is not inseparable from religious sanction, but is largely influenced by the general concurrence of mankind in questions of opinion; that the sense of moral duty, the sincerity, courage and self-devotion, which animate many excellent persons, are attributable to the impressions of early education rather than to the force of a dogmatic creed; that regard to the sentiment of our fellow creatures is a pervading motive in nearly all characters; that the theocratic religion of the Jews, with its presumed punctual incidence of reward and punishment, did not prevent disloyalty to their law, or check their frequent lapses into paganism; that the overpowering magnitude of the penalty, with which offenders, under the Christian dispensation, are menaced, does not deter them from the commission of sin and crime; by a comprehensive analysis, in brief, of the motives which determine human conduct, Mr. Mill encourages us to entertain the hope that the welfare of mankind will be better served by a frank recognition of the inaccessibility of certain subjects to our faculties, and the cultivation of those sources of virtue and happiness which can dispense with the artificial support of supernatural beliefs and inducements. But, though knowledge of right and wrong, or motives to moral conduct, are not, in the present state of human progress, inseparable from the sanctions of supernaturalism, the mystery of human existence, the insufficiency of human life to satisfy human aspiration, will beget an unquenchable desire for forms of existence, modes of life, higher hopes than we know on earth. So long, says Mr. Mill, with pathetic piety, as earthly life is full of sufferings, so long will there be need of consolations, which the hope of heaven affords to the selfish, the love of God to the tender and grateful. The poetic religion of Shelley made a profound impression on the mind of the writer of this paper, while yet a boy; the struggle between the Spirits of Good and Evil, so splendidly depicted in the opening canto of the *Revolt of Islam*, seemed to him almost an historical reality; and a belief in the Intelligent Spirit of Love and Beauty which that greatest

of the English poets of this century worshipped with musical adoration, took a temporary possession of his mind. Mr. Mill tells us that he has known at least one cultivated and conscientious person who regards Nature and Life not as the expression throughout of the moral character and purpose of the Deity, but as the product of a contriving goodness and an intractable material, as was believed by Plato, or a Principle of Evil, as was the doctrine of the Manichæans, and who accordingly was entitled to look on himself, as a fellow-labourer with the Highest, a fellow-combatant in the great strife, the ultimate issue of which would be the complete triumph of good over evil. It is evident from the concession which follows this sketch of his friend's creed, that Mr. Mill extended to the "pleasing and encouraging thought" of this modern Manichæan, the indulgence which he extends to the modern Christian. Apart from all dogmatic belief, there is for those who need it an ample domain in the region of the imagination which may be planted with possibilities, with hypotheses which cannot be known to be false. The contemplation of these possibilities is, he contends, a legitimate indulgence. Distinctly, Mr. Mill asserts, that the whole domain of the supernatural is removed from the region of Belief into that of simple Hope. As distinctly does he say that the benefit consists less in the presence of any specific hope, than in the enlargement of the general scale of the feelings. Impressed, as we conceive, with an over-powering sense of the appalling evils which desolate our mortal life, Mr. Mill recommends the indulgence of hope, "with regard to the government of the universe, and the destiny of man after death," as a legitimate expedient for elevating and solemnizing life. The reason once secured in its rights, the imagination may be permitted to follow its own end and do its best to make life pleasant and lovely. We are not prepared to go quite so far as Mr. Mill; but, while inclining rather to the view to which he gives so touching an expression, that "in a higher and above all a happier condition of human life, not annihilation but immortality may be the burthensome idea," we assuredly have no wish to circumscribe the area of the cultivated imagination, or to prohibit the indulgence of a blind hope, if its exercise be healthy and its conception genuine. Groundless hopes, however, and fair possibilities, are not sufficiently substantial to sustain the invasion of a continuous scepticism, or to survive the gradual decline of poetic sensibility, or the yearnings of passionate affection. Rather would we seek consolation in the identification of our own life, with the life of the race, in Action, in Science, and in the elevated joy which has its source in the contemplation of lovely and sublime objects in

nature, in life, and in art—in the inspiration of mighty poets, the enthusiasm of the great Masters of music.

A consistent conception of ideal goodness is invaluable to regulate conduct and inspire action; and the undoubting belief of the existence of a Being who realizes our own best ideas of perfection, has, as Mr. Mill points out, a remarkable efficacy in fortifying and sustaining our moral sentiments. On the other hand, this advantage, as Mr. Mill is equally ready to admit, is neutralized by the bewildering casuistry which vainly seeks a moral justification of the government of the world. If, as Coleridge contended, a demonstration of the existence of such an objective ideal is inaccessible to human faculties, is it not possible that with continued expansion of heart and intellect, with a wiser discipline of our emotional nature, with a growing correspondence of human life to human requirements, we may cease to demand objective reality for the divine thought which we create within, and limit ourselves to the contemplation of that Human ideal which is its imperfect embodiment, and of such concrete approximation to it as may be found in the "everliving dead men" of all ages and countries, who inspire us with their example, enrich us with their spiritual wealth, and console us with their ideal sympathy?

One such representative and guide of humanity Mr. Mill recognises in the Prophet of Nazareth, and though we cannot allow even the possibility of the express commission from God, which he somewhat reluctantly concedes, we are not unwilling to regard Jesus as a unique figure, and to assent, though not without qualification, to our author's admiring estimate of his character. A reformer, a martyr, a man of profound insight, with the eloquence of an orator and the spirit of a poet, Jesus has had an influence which we cannot think wholly undeserved. In the new commandment of love; in the recognition that the greatest are those who serve; in the reverence for the weak and humble; in the lesson of the Good Samaritan; in the doctrine of the essential equality of men, we believe, with Mr. Mill, that Jesus carried goodness to a greater height than had ever been attained before. Gleams of tender and noble sentiment indeed shine forth from the pages of Plato, of Seneca, of Marcus Antoninus; but the influence of Christ, and of the Christian life which he helped to create, concentrated the scattered rays into one luminous orb, to warm and enlighten the world. A not dissimilar appreciation of the character of Christ was embodied by Strauss in the popular "Life of Jesus;" and Shelley, in his fragmentary "Essay on Christianity," speaks of its founder in language not unlike that of Mr. Mill.

In addition to the powerful Arraignment of Nature, the striking confession of faith in the primeval character of the elements of Force and Matter, and the valuable thoughts on the utility of religion, may be found scattered here and there, through this last literary bequest of a fine intellect and noble heart, comments on human life, its joys, its sorrows, its objects, its discipline, with which we cordially sympathize. Glimpses there are in it of the affectional side of the author's nature, which we should be sorry not to have. If its publication will not throw fresh lustre on a fame already sufficiently brilliant; if, in some respects, we could have desired a treatise from Mr. Mill conceived in a different spirit, and executed with a steadier hand, we yet welcome it for its comprehensive and intelligible re-statement of old problems, for the courageous originality of its speculation, and for the charitable condescension of a philosophy which tolerates the mystical predominance of innocent and elevating possibilities.

The concessions which Mr. Mill offers will, in all probability, be turned to account by the despairing champions of Orthodoxy; but Truth is patient, and can smile composedly at temporary delays to her progress, or ineffectual efforts to arrest her triumph. And what, after all, do these concessions amount to? A Probable Deity: a hope of Immortality which cannot be disproved, but for which there is no warrant; a possible revelation, from which miracle is discarded, and which is discredited by flagrant moral difficulties and perversions; a revelation mutilated by the removal of atonement, redemption, original sin, and vicarious punishment. Are these concessions calculated to nerve the failing arm or revive the drooping energies of the Theological Giant Despair? Far from expressing an absolute approval of the attenuated Christianity to which he extends a reluctant toleration, Mr. Mill considers it, like all supernatural religions, to be morally compromised by the system of rewards and punishments which is a constituent of it, and through which it fosters the selfish part of our nature. The impressions which are derived from a faith or a hope in the possibility or reality of the divine mission of Christ, are principally valuable, it would seem, as impressions to fortify the purely human religion which we have already briefly portrayed. With Mr. Mill—

“The essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires towards an ideal object recognised as of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire. This condition is fulfilled by the Religion of Humanity in as eminent a degree, and in as high a sense, as by the supernatural religions even in their best manifestations, and far more so, than in any of their others.”

ART. II.—RAILWAY REGULATION AND RAILWAY PURCHASE.

1. *Royal Commission on Railways, 1867. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners. Report of the Commissioners. Report from the Right Hon. W. Monsell, M.P. (now Lord Emly). Report from Sir Rowland Hill, K.C.B., F.R.S.*
2. *Report from the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons on Railway Companies Amalgamation; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. 1872.*
3. *The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1873 (36 & 37 Vict. cap. 48), with Amended General Orders and Schedule of Forms and Table of Fees made in pursuance thereof.*
4. *Report of the Railway Commissioners, dated 31st August, 1874.*
5. *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners for the State of Massachusetts. January, 1874.*

THE science of government is certainly a progressive science. Ruling now to-day is not the same thing as it was some centuries ago, for even if we were right in supposing that human nature was always the same—and that seems to us a fatal fallacy—human interests vary from age to age, and it is with these interests that rulers have to deal. Just as in mechanics new inventions make novel precautions indispensable, so new modes of life make new laws absolutely necessary. In one relation the life of the English people has changed to a very remarkable extent during the present century. Formerly England led a very sedentary life, now its existence is largely nomadic. It is still a question whether the material prosperity of a country is to be desired above all other things; and there are those amongst us who regard the present condition of the English people as very unsatisfactory; and who look upon the nomadism we have mentioned as one of the ominous signs of the times. It may well be that the compulsory rest of a century ago was more conducive to many excellences than the restlessness of to-day, but on the other hand it may be argued that this nomadism has been a means of disseminating truth, a means of carrying culture into the fastnesses of ignorance, and that there has been no evangel like that of the steam engine. However, it is with the

fact which we have here to do. The fact is that the means of journeying have been enormously increased, that communication between places and persons has been greatly facilitated, and that the distribution of commodities has been rendered so easy and expeditious that the whole character of the productions of certain districts has been changed. A time will come when it will be absolutely necessary to use everything in such a way that it will yield the largest amount of wealth to the community. Even in these days this necessity presses, and the facility of the distribution of the products of the earth is rendering this more and more possible. In the old days a man's farm had to produce food for his household. Even though his land might only let corn grow through its clenched hand, as it were, corn must be wrested from it. Even though the hard slow earth might have yielded a good crop of some other useful thing, still it must be turned from its purpose in order that those of his household might eat bread. This work was necessitated by the want of facilities for the exchange of products. Whenever by means of railways you make the whole world, as it were, one farm, then wheat can be sown on the fat lands and sheep can graze on the green uplands, and the plough need no longer scrape the giddy heights. Again, the same law holds good in relation to manufactures as well as in relation to husbandry. Certain places are much more favourably situated to carry on the manufacture of linen than others. It can now be more quickly spun in large mills, and brought even to remote places, than it used to be, and the spinning wheels are banished from the cottage and the drawing-room. It is the steam engine which has broken them up. But this is true even on a larger scale. Not only does this facility of communication alter the economy of households, but it changes the industries of towns and countries. It is the misfortune of poverty that it has to do most things with unskilled hands, and in spite of adverse circumstances. It is the good fortune of the rich man that he can do all his many works with skilled fingers, and go where circumstances favour, or wait until their aspect changes. Now this is what has been done by railways. They have tended to make the world one large manufactory, so that now no longer do we need to set hands which are skilled in wood to weld our iron; so that now we no longer need to set our heads which can build our bridges and our reservoirs, to the peddling exigences of a falling roof, or a new cow shed. It is the steam engine which has placed the chisel and the hammer in the right hands. It is the steam engine which has made Lancashire the loom and Birmingham and Sheffield the forges of England. All this we owe to those facilities of communication which are going on increasing at the present

time, and these are no small debts. The first steam engine doubled the world's wealth.

But there is another aspect to this change. When the corn is all grown where it grows best, and the cotton is all spun where it is spun the cheapest, and the iron is all smelted where it is found beside the coal, it is evident that these places will be mutually dependent; and as they may be distant from one another many hundreds of miles, they must all be dependent for the exchange of their commodities upon the carriers of goods. In the old days that was not a great consideration. Men who had exchanges to make were but a short way the one from the other. If the carrier from A to B refused to carry the goods it was not difficult to find another horse and cart. But if in our day the railway companies refused to carry the thrashed out corn from the sunned south to the smoky north, if they refused to carry the woven cotton from the north to the south, if they refused to carry the beaten iron from the forge to the loom and to the field—the matter would be serious. A horse and cart if found would be a poor substitute for the iron horse with its train of waggons. What would become of the law of supply and demand under such circumstances? Supply would exist, demand would exist in a very terrible form, for there would be a cry for bread, but they would exist apart. While the bread was wasting in the barns and granaries of the south, the spades which were made in the north might be used for the digging of graves instead of furrows, and the products of the loom for the winding sheets of the dead instead of the clothing of the living.

Of course this is a very extreme case. Nothing of that sort is likely to happen in our day, but it serves as an illustration of the position which is at present occupied by the railway system of the country in relation to her industries. Although no such action may be taken in these times by the railways, still the railways do, by virtue of their monopoly of carriage, exercise a wide and powerful influence over the trade of this country, and they exercise a powerful control over the legislation of our Parliament. This influence and this control are so powerful at the present time, that it has come, according to the opinion of one who has much knowledge and experience of railways and railway legislation, to be a question "whether the State shall govern the railways, or the railways the State."*

This is no new discovery. The State has been for a long time quite aware that it was necessary to make some attempt to govern the railways, and the history of the efforts it has made to regulate and

* See Evidence of Captain Tyler; "Report of the Joint Select Committee of 1872," p. 664, question 7020, and p. 676, question 7179.

control the increasing power of the great Companies is not without instruction. In the early days of railways there was an impression that the Companies were only laying down easier roads for the public use, and that they would be entitled to charge the public for the user of their road by the private conveyances of their customers. Early Acts of Parliament, therefore, which empowered the making of railways, while they authorized the company to use their own engines and carriages, made it compulsory upon them to allow the carriages and engines of other persons to run on their lines.*

Everywhere and always there has been a strong belief that competition, which in a State is powerful in regulating trade affairs, would be sufficiently powerful to govern railways for the public good, and this first expedient upon the part of government was to be a means of facilitating competition, and in that way of bringing about all the advantages which are supposed to result from it. It was, however, found that such a use of railways as that contemplated by the framers of the statute, a use which would insure fair competition in carriage, although the permanent way was the property of one company, would be utterly inconsistent either with safety or convenience. There was nothing for it. The whole of the traffic on any one line must be under one control, and the whole of the traffic naturally fell into the hands of the company that owned the line. Soon after this time the power of railway companies began to be appreciated. In order that it might carry out its undertaking it had been endowed by Parliament with very large powers. No one doubted that the undertaking was one which was likely to be very advantageous to the public, and every one understood the necessity which existed of giving railway companies power to purchase property against the will of the owner, but it was as thoroughly appreciated that this necessity was a necessity only because the public was to be greatly benefited by the completion of the design, which, but for the bestowal of such compulsory powers of purchase, might have been interfered with. Granted that no benefit was to accrue to the public from the execution of a certain work, there could be no reason to sacrifice private interests. But further, private interests having been sacrificed, it behoved Government to see that the public did get the advantage for which the sacrifice had been made. It would not have been justified in sacrificing the rights of individuals to the aggrandizement of a company, unless that company was to be a means of public usefulness. This fact, then, introduced the notion that it was a duty upon the part of Government to see that railways

* 8 & 9 Vict. c. 20, ss. 92, 108.

were worked not merely with a view to the remuneration of those whose capital they represented, but for the benefit and convenience of the public. Up to the present time government has imagined, erroneously, we think, that competition would be a means of bringing about a strife upon the part of railway companies to do that which would be of greatest service to the community. For the last forty years it has been the abiding principle in politics and legislation to allow things to manage themselves. A very prudent principle that for the guidance of those who had not the capacity for managing affairs, but surely a wrong principle in every other sense. For a long time we allowed people to manage their own sanitary affairs, and the result was very frequent epidemics of smallpox, and other preventible diseases. For a long time we allowed people to educate their children, or not, just as they chose, and the result was the necessity for an increase of the police force. We call that governing the country ! Surely the people had a right to complain of a Government which exercised so little care, or was so busy in protecting life and property from personal violence, that it did not care to shut the door against death. Surely they had a right to complain of a Government which went on taxing it for an expensive cure of crime, which went on with a rigid system of punishments, when a cheaper and more pacific means of preventing ignorance and wrong-doing was ready to their hand. But upon every occasion Government has shrunk from the responsibility of governing, and has left things to themselves, hoping that chance might do something which they saw not their way to do for the suffering people. In no relation is this more strikingly illustrated than in relation to the railway legislation of this country. Government has gone on hoping against hope, that competition would remedy the many evils of which the people had to complain in relation to the railways, and even when compelled to do something positive in the way of regulation, has contented itself by passing statutes with a view to strengthening and encouraging competition. Even the last Act which has been passed with a view to the regulation of railways, was brought forward with the avowed intention of preserving the competition which exists by sea, and of supporting the competition by canal ; and there are several dead letter clauses in the act which are meant to effect that purpose. But from the beginning we may note the same timidity upon the part of Government.

Very soon after railways were constructed it was found that they had acquired a practical monopoly of the trade of carrying. They had acquired this monopoly at a time when, owing to the very facilities which railways were a means of introducing, the

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trade of carrying was becoming one of the most important, and when it was changing the distribution of industries over the whole country. Many persons began to look with anxiety upon this growing power of the railways of the State. A monopoly is never a very good thing for the public, but in order that it may not turn out to be a very bad thing indeed, it ought to be in the hands of an angel from heaven. In the hands of railway companies it was apt to become seriously subversive of the public interests, and very early in their career railway companies showed a strong tendency to use their power in a very arbitrary way, and to extend their monopoly to other departments of industry than that of carrying. Nothing is so apt to spread as this power of monopoly. Railway companies saw that they had it in their power to develop trade in one place, and to depress it in another; they had it in their power to carry for one man at a low rate, while from another they exacted prohibitive dues, by this means making one man and marring another; they had it in their power to extend their monopoly beyond the lines of their railway, into the towns through which they passed, by doing the collection and delivery by means of their own horses and carts, and thus throwing the whole of the town carriers out of employment. Having these powers, companies very early, as we have said, showed a tendency to increase them,* and it became usual, about the year 1842, to introduce clauses into the several railway Acts which provided that the same tolls should be charged equally to all persons, under the same circumstances. These clauses were called "equality clauses." In 1844 an Act autho-

* A precisely similar history has to be recorded with reference to Railway enterprise in America. Long ago it became evident that the exercise of the Railway monopoly called for some governmental interference, with the view of preventing what, in the law language of the State of Illinois, was called "unjust discrimination and extortion." A struggle has been, and is going on, in several of the States, which will in its result determine the question whether the Railways or the Government is the more powerful. In Illinois there was an attempt made in 1870 to govern railways in the public interest, and laws for the stringent regulation of railways were passed by the legislature, and a board of railroad commissioners was created, whose duty it was to see that the terms of the law were complied with. But the Railway Companies refused to recognise the validity of these laws, and the Supreme Court of the State decided that these enactments were unconstitutional. Further attempts were made to regulate railways in this State during 1873. And the Railroad Commissioners have re-arranged the tariffs of the various Companies in a way which, if it were carried into effect, would have been advantageous to the public. "It is, however, understood," says the Report of the Massachusetts Railroad Commissioners for 1874, p. 54, "that the corporations do not propose to pay any attention to them." So matters stand in Illinois. In Massachusetts there is some State interference, but that is of an inefficient kind. The Railroad Commissioners go to work with tied hands, and it is not to be wondered at if they cannot effect much.

rising, under certain prescribed conditions, the future purchase of railways by the State, was passed, and that Act empowered the Board of Trade to proceed against railway companies contravening the provisions of any Act relating to railways, when of opinion that such a proceeding would be for the public advantage. This was almost the first attempt to regulate railways, and the first time that the duty of Government to have a care for the public interest and convenience in relation to railways was publicly acknowledged. That this was an inefficient method of regulating railways can scarcely be doubted. So far as we know, only one proceeding against a railway company was instituted by the Board of Trade under this Act, and that was for an alleged contravention of an equality clause. Each parliamentary year after 1844 shows traces of what at the time was regarded as important railway legislation. First we find that an equality clause is made applicable to all railways;* then, with a view of bringing about greater competition—that the public might be advantaged thereby—we find an Act passed authorizing canal companies to vary their tolls, provided they charge the same rates to all persons similarly circumstanced.† And again, in another Act passed in the same year, we find canal companies who up to that time had been the owners of the canals and wharves only, empowered to purchase boats and barges, and in this way enabled to become carriers of goods upon their canals, and encouraged to enter into competition with railway companies.‡ In many ways canals are better suited for the conveyance of traffic than railways. They afford much greater facilities for loading and unloading, and they are better adapted for the carriage of heavy goods, or goods which are liable to be broken in transit, than railways. In some cases independent canals are paying high dividends, and it is said of some that they are in a position to compete successfully with railway companies. It was in this that the hope lay. Government was still hoping to manage the railways without managing them; it was still looking to competition as a means of keeping railway companies in their proper position in relation to the State; of making them do their duty by the public.

Again, however, it was disappointed. Railway companies had in many instances foreseen the danger and guarded against it, by purchasing important links in the canal system, and by means of prohibitory tolls or “bar tolls” charged upon those links, of which they were the owners, they raised the price of carriage by canal so much, or drove the traffic such a long way round by independent canals, that competition was out of the

* 8 & 9 Vict. c. 20, s. 90. † 8 & 9 Vict. c. 28. ‡ 8 & 9 Vict. c. 42.

question. But still, the matter was being considered, and a Committee in 1846 reported that it was "necessary that some department of the executive Government, so constituted as to command respect and confidence, should be charged with the supervision of railways and canals." In the same year an Act founded on this report, and constituting a board of five railway commissioners, to whom was transferred the whole jurisdiction of the Board of Trade in relation to railways, was passed. Five years afterwards their commission was abolished and its duties retransferred to the Board of Trade. So ended another effort to regulate railways. Then came the committee of which Lord Cardwell was the chairman. It produced five reports, and the result of these was the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1854. This enactment went further in regulating railways than any previous statute. Still, however, Government would have nothing to do with direct intervention between the powerful companies and the weak public; competition had failed, so the Government thought that if the interest of railway companies was insufficient to compel them to do justice by individuals, the interests of individuals might be sufficiently strong to compel them to seek a remedy at law against the unfairness of railway monopolists, and that, in this way, fair dealing might be brought about. The Act of 1854 provided positively that every railway company should afford reasonable facilities for receiving and forwarding both its own and through traffic; and negatively that no railway company should give any unreasonable preference to one person above another, or subject any such other person to any undue or unreasonable prejudice. Should any railway company contravene the Act in either of these respects it was open to the person aggrieved to apply to the Court of Common Pleas in England, to the Court of Session in Scotland, or to any of the superior Courts in Dublin, and it was competent for any of these Courts, on cause being shown, to enjoin obedience to the Act, and to compel obedience in case of contumacy. This was not a popular Act with the Common Law Judges. It was difficult to find a Court which was willing to wield the jurisdiction, and it is said that the then Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas signified the willingness of his Court to do the best they could with the Act without having consulted his brother judges, and contrary to their inclinations and desires. The Act gave no definition of reasonable facilities, of unreasonable preferences, or of undue prejudice, and the judges who had to administer the Act, upon more than one occasion confessed their inability to deal with the questions which most of the cases involved. The Act was really of very little use. During the eighteen years that the Act remained in force, five-and-twenty cases came

before the Court of Common Pleas, and four before the Court of Session. This Act also might be regarded as a failure. Government had made another effort to get people to manage railways for themselves, and had gone so far as to strengthen the hands of the public by putting some vague words in an Act of Parliament which judges said they could not understand or interpret, and which were nevertheless to be the grounds upon which private individuals were to seek a remedy against a great company, which had a way of ruining any opponent by carrying all cases through the Exchequer Chamber to the House of Lords. It is not much to be wondered at if this was another failure. Legislation had not ceased. In 1858 an Act was passed with the view of strengthening the hands of canal companies, which prohibited railway companies owning canals from having independent canals except under the authority of a special Act. A few years afterwards an Act (26 & 27 Vict. c. 92) was passed, which rendered all working agreements between railway companies void unless they were sanctioned by the Board of Trade; and the same Act made the provisions of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act applicable to steam vessels worked by railway companies. Again the matter was considered, and again in 1865 a Royal Commission reported in favour of the inaction of Government, but thought that through-booking for goods should be made compulsory over every other company's line. Still Government had not lost heart in its great endeavour to do nothing for the public, but to make the public do everything for itself. Again, with this view, an Act was passed which made it necessary for railway companies to publish passengers' fares at each of the stations from which they booked. It would not see that these fares were just and reasonable, but it would make the company hang them up on a board at the station that the public might judge whether or not it was being fairly treated. It called this the regulation of railways! No wonder that it required reconsideration. In 1872 a Joint Select Committee on Railway Companies' Amalgamation sat, heard a great deal of evidence and presented a report. By several of the witnesses the necessity of State purchase was urged upon the committee, but it hesitated to recommend purchase although it anticipated the possibility of its necessity at some future time. "The progress of combinations," it says, "between railways may possibly lead, at some future time, to the creation of corporations so few and powerful, as to render it expedient on political, if not on commercial grounds, that a fundamental change should take place in the present relations between railways and the State.

"So far as the evidence offered to the committee has touched on the subject, the only remedy suggested for such a state of

things is the acquisition of railways by the Government. But it does not appear that any present necessity exists for entering upon the full and prolonged inquiry which so great and difficult a question would demand." So the committee contented itself by recommending the creation of a tribunal which should amongst its members count one who had a knowledge of law, and one who had experience of railway business, to which all the cases which were formerly relegated to the Court of Common Pleas in England, the Court of Session in Scotland, and one of the Superior Courts in Dublin, should be remitted. It also recommended an extension of the provisions of the Act of 1854. It still hoped much from canal competition, and it was in favour of constituting the tribunal the constitution of which it recommended, a board of arbitration in railway matters, on account of the well-founded complaints which were made of the delays, difficulties, and expense attending the present system of arbitration. The committee was of opinion that if these recommendations were made the foundation of an Act, it would be the means of preserving the competition which now exists by sea, of giving immediately such support as is practicable to competition by canal, and both immediately and ultimately develop and utilize the capacities of canals; of letting the public know what they are charged, and giving them better means than at present exist for getting unfair charges remedied; of enforcing the harmonious working and development of the present railway and canal systems so as to produce from them, in the interests of the public, and at the same time of the shareholders, the greatest amount of profitable work which they are capable of doing. This Report was made the foundation of an Act of Parliament, and most of the recommendations of the committee became clauses of "The Regulation of Railways Act, 1873." Here, again, we see another attempt upon the part of Parliament to make the people manage railways for themselves. A tribunal has been established, but it is a tribunal only to try cases which are brought before it. It is true that a power is given to the Board of Trade to appoint a person to apply to the Commissioners in case of any contravention of the Act,* but it appears from the report of the Commissioners† which is before us, that although they discovered that a large number of railway companies were contravening the 14th section of the Act, by not keeping books of rates and distances at their stations for the information of the public, and informed the Board of Trade of the circumstance, it took no steps in the matter. But this new experiment of the Government has been tried. The Railway Commissioners have issued a report, and it

* Sec. 6.

† "Report," p. 8.

appears from that document that in relation to the regulation of railways the new tribunal is not likely to do more than the Courts which it superseded. Not that the Commissioners have been idle. They seem to have been doing some useful work. One of the statements of the Joint Select Committee was undoubtedly true. There was an urgent necessity for an arbitration board, which would be in a position to dispose of cases quickly and satisfactorily, and whose decisions, when made, would have force as precedents. The Railway Commission will, doubtless, prove invaluable in this respect. It appears from their report that some of the most important cases which have come before them have been of this nature, and that one case, which had been in the hands of an arbitrator for some five or six years, was satisfactorily disposed of by the Commissioners in as many weeks. In this respect the Railway Commission, which has already by its able and judicious decisions gained the respect of the public, and the confidence, at least, of the smaller railway companies, will, we cannot doubt, prove of use. But the Act under which the tribunal was constituted was called the "Regulation of Railways Act, 1873." The main object of the Act was, without doubt, to extend the usefulness of the Act of 1854. So far as we can make out, there have been three complaints of unreasonable preference made to the Commissioners during the year. Is the smallness of this number to be accounted for by the fact that railway companies are now dealing fairly with the public, or by the fact that private individuals will not bring grievances of the nature contemplated by the Act before any tribunal while a rich and powerful railway company is the defendant, and while all that they can get by so doing is an injunction upon the company not to do the particular act again. To us it seems that the latter is the more probable explanation of the small number of complaints which have been brought under the cognizance of this tribunal. Surely the grounds of complaint have not diminished! Surely the accommodation and facilities given to the public have not been increased! We are aware that the Railway Commissioners have no jurisdiction over accidents; we know that in the strict reading of the Act, facilities must be looked upon as "minor furtherances," and not as inclusive of "safe and secure" carrying; but surely accidents are an indication of a want of due facilities, are an evidence of a want of proper accommodations for the convenience of the public. In that way this new Court would seem to have an indirect jurisdiction in reference to these calamitous catastrophes. Whether they have or have not jurisdiction, surely it is a matter which might well be dealt with by a railway regulating Government! Surely the public has a right to demand a greater amount of safety, which can,

it seems certain, be secured by a greater amount of care and a very slightly increased expenditure of money. As yet, however, although within this last year of railway regulation accidents have increased in number to a most alarming extent, Government has done nothing but appoint a Commission to inquire into the causes of these misfortunes, and address a letter to the various railway companies asking them to be as careful of the lives of the British people as they can.

This is railway regulation! This is the wise governance of conflicting interests so that the greatest amount of prosperity shall result to the community! How then can this be remedied? Can any reliance be placed on competition? No! Can the Government regulate railways indirectly by giving to the person aggrieved by the unjust dealings of these wealthy and powerful corporations a means of obtaining a remedy in a court of law after a judicial inquiry? In answer to this question it may be suggested that it was at one time supposed that the power of bringing an action against a railway company for personal injuries would be a means of necessitating care upon the part of those who might be punished by the heavy damages awarded by a verdict. But although actions for personal injuries are very numerous, and although many juries give very "liberal" verdicts to injured plaintiffs, these half-punitive measures are not found to increase the safety of railway travelling. There is little ground for believing that any efficient system of regulation can be carried out thus indirectly by the Government making use of the self-interest of individuals to secure the benefit of the community.

In every country there had been a belief, at the time of the creation of railways, that these could be managed by natural laws. That the interests of the companies and the economical laws of demand and competition would be sufficient to regulate the actions of these powerful corporations. But in every country, as the Railroad Commissioners of the State of Massachusetts point out in their report (1874), this idea has been abandoned in favour of regulation by legislative enactment, and in most this has resulted in practical executive supervision. But these Commissioners go further and say that this process of evolution has invariably led to the recognition of the fact that the work of transportation by rail is one of the functions of Government. There can be little doubt in the minds of those who have watched the railway affairs of Europe that this inference is well founded; and the documents which are appended to the report of the Joint Select Committee contain much corroborating evidence. In many countries, as in America, we find that legislative enactment is taking the place of non-interference ;

in England we have got one step further, in France they have advanced further still, and in Belgium the State is the owner of the railways and works them in a cheap and able and judicious way.

There are only three other methods of railway regulation which recommend themselves as feasible. We shall consider these here : 1st. It would be possible to do something more than has been done in the way of railway regulation by imposing a stringent duty upon the Board of Trade, or upon some other public department, to bring all the evils of the existing system before some such tribunal as that which was constituted by the Act of 1873. The Board of Trade has, it seems to us, a very expensive staff of officials in connexion with its railway department, which does very little effective work. They have certain duties, and these they perform, we doubt not, with ability and zeal. But after all, these labours result in very little benefit to the public. The Inspectors of the Board of Trade hold numerous and lengthy inquiries, and write many and voluminous reports. But they result in nothing but a recommendation upon the part of the head of the department, or a vague request that railway companies, will during the holiday season at least, minimize accidents. This, to us, seems but fumbling regulation. If the Board of Trade has not the power of compelling the adoption of its suggestions, in heaven's name let us have some court, tribunal, or board that has that power, if these recommendations are worth anything. To us it seems that in the new Railway Commission we have a body qualified in many ways to determine the expediency of forcing useful reforms upon railway companies. Why should not the Board of Trade bring these under its notice, and why should not Parliament give this court the power of compelling obedience upon the part of Railway Companies? In this way we might expect railway regulation begun in good earnest, and might at last hope to find that the public was deriving some of that advantage from the railway system to which it is entitled. This is one plan, and this would, to our thinking, be better than no regulation at all. But there are nevertheless serious objections to its adoption. In the first place this would introduce a dual management of railways. There would be the management of the directorate or company, and the management of the Government or Commission. The external management would control the internal management, and that would in many ways lead to most unsatisfactory results. An external management which had no knowledge of the financial condition of the internal management, would proceed with arbitrary irresponsible power to enforce regulations which would in their opinion be for the benefit of the public; the internal management with an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the

company, would resist every decision of the Government, and as the executive is always, practically, more powerful than the legislative, might be able to resist these decisions successfully. But during this strife between the two managements, the public would be sure to suffer, and the ultimate result would be that one of these managing bodies would secure the entire control. If it were the Company the regulation would be a farce; if it were the Government, the railway would actually have to be managed by the department for the benefit of the public: a system which would have all the disadvantages of State possession and management, without any of the advantages.* Besides there is another objection to this scheme, which is not without weight. It would be the introduction of a spy system. One department of Government would be the informant or plaintiff, while another department would be the tribunal that would hear the case and give the decision. It might be said that the same thing was done by the institution of a police, and in so far as that was a spy system the introduction is to be deplored, and the evil working of the system is seen every day in our criminal courts. But in that case there is one safeguard which is here wanting. In every criminal case the prisoner is tried not by a judge paid by the State, but by twelve men who are sworn to give a verdict according to the evidence. On the whole then we cannot say that this first method of regulating railways recommends itself to us as satisfactory. Another plan might be suggested, which would find some favour in the eyes of those who hoped so much from competition.† Government might enter into competition with the railways. It might claim the right, which it undoubtedly has under the Railway Clauses Act 1845, of having its carriages and engines admitted upon the lines of the various companies, it might run Government trains, charging reasonable fares, and the times and facilities which the company was to afford the Government in exchange for the tolls it paid for the use of the line might be determined in each case by arbitration. This method would have some unquestionable advantages. It would at once make the whole of the lines in

* Practical men seem to regard the regulation of railways by such means as almost impossible. See evidence of Captain Tyler, "Report of Joint Select Committee of 1872," p. 680, question 7216.

† Competition between railways themselves is not to be thought of as a remedy. It is now on all hands admitted that competition is only an inducement to combination; and that there is no such thing as competition tending to the reduction of fares, or in any other way to the benefit of the public, existant in England. See "Report of Joint Select Committee of 1872," and evidence. And the Massachusetts Commissioners, speaking of America, say, "Competition among railroads beyond a certain point can, indeed, result only in their consolidation."—*Report for 1874*, p. 59.

the country, one system for the purpose of through booking, and other facilities and accommodations to the public; it would be the means of reducing fares and rates, and it would be a step in the direction of State-purchase. But although it has much to recommend it, there are countervailing disadvantages. This plan would imply an immense outlay upon the part of Government for the purchase of rolling stock, and for the constitution and maintenance of a State Railway controlling department. Government would have to undertake almost as much work with the view of running trains over the lines which are owned by companies, as it would for the whole management of the railway system, if it were owned by itself. Besides, so long as the permanent way is owned by companies, a large portion of the profits would have to go into their pockets, so that Government would have to undertake all the work without the prospect of any adequate profit. This would be a double evil to the public. It would deprive them of a profit which might relieve taxation, and it would prevent the reduction of the rates and fares to a minimum.

If this system did prove thoroughly effective it would only be through the ruin of the companies and the consequent purchase of their whole effects by the State, which would, we fear, be found an expensive mode of arriving at an end which might be much more easily and effectively compassed.

Again, some persons have suggested that State purchase without State management would be a means of accomplishing all the ends which are in the contemplation of those who desire reform in railway matters. This proposition involves the answer to two questions. 1. Is it expedient that the State should become the owner of the railways; and if it is expedient, should it manage and work its own lines or should it lease them to companies? It does seem to us that the time has come when the State should become the possessor of the railways, and the conviction is forced upon us that, after the failure of one or two more experiments at regulation of railways the State will give it up, and try purchase in its stead. Day by day the necessity is becoming more and more pressing. Day by day the evils of the present system are increasing. Day by day we read the grim details of accident after accident, and discover that it is much more economical on the part of the company to pay 100,000*l.* in compensation to those who were injured and to those whose friends were injured too much to be able to claim damages, than to adopt the necessary precautions for the prevention of those terrible casualties. Day by day we are made aware of the impossibility of inducing large and powerful companies to adopt the approved appliances for safety and comfort. Day by day we see the bad

results of the forced amalgamation of small companies with large, a process which begins with a working agreement, during the continuance of which the little line is worked by the great company in a way which renders profit impossible; which has no reference to public comfort or wants, and which enables the great company at the expiration of the term to purchase the little line at its own terms. And so the great companies go on increasing and extending, and in a very few years the whole country will be divided between a few large companies who will have a complete monopoly of the whole traffic of the country, who will work with a perfect understanding the one with the other, and with a callous disregard of public convenience and interest. If the State does not become the possessor of the railways before that time, then inevitably the railways will become the possessors of the State. At the present time the railway influence both in and out of Parliament is very great; but in those days it would be so gigantic that they could turn the scale at a general election, and oust and place governments at their will. If things are bad now what would they be in those days? Shall we go on making a pretence of regulating the railways? shall we go on with our patching and experimenting legislation? Has not competition failed, has not regulation failed? Shall we not try this last expedient—purchase? Already some of the wisest heads which have experience of railways, and of practical politics, have advocated the immediate purchase of the railways in Ireland. Mr. Mousell (now Lord Emly) who was one of the Royal Commissioners in 1865, appended a very able report to that of the other Commissioners in which he stated the cogent arguments for the immediate purchase of the Irish railways; and Sir Rowland Hill, another member of the commission, also a dissident from the general opinion that it was “inexpedient at present to subvert the policy which has hitherto been adopted of leaving the construction and management of railways to the free enterprise of the people, under such conditions as Parliament may think fit to impose for the general welfare of the public,” was also thoroughly in favour of the acquisition of the railways by the State. He said “We see in countries, where we believe there is certainly not more political honesty than at home, that Government proprietorship seems to be very successful in its results; that the fares are low, and that the Government is not a loser thereby, and we do not hear of political influence.” There can, we imagine, be little doubt that England is one of the last countries to adopt this beneficial reform, and as little, that those countries that have set England an example in this respect—and almost every country in Europe has done so—have found the advantage of so doing. A good means of testing the relative merits of a voluntary

enterprise, and a State proprietary system, is to be found in Belgium; and in relation to that country it is universally admitted that the State railways are in every way better managed than those which are in the hands of private companies. But there are very many arguments in favour of State purchase and management, only some of which can be alluded to in this place. But before referring to these we should wish to dispose of a suggestion which has been made, that the State should purchase the railways, but depute the management to certain companies. Those who are in favour of this scheme would farm the railways to companies as the taxes in Roman provinces were farmed to publicans. They would let the railways to companies. If it were simply a lease to a company and did not contain strict provisions as to the fares to be taken and the rates to be charged, it would be productive of more evils than even the present system. If it were a system of leases with conditions, the conditions would require to be so strict that no company would become the lessor. Even if they did, their whole interest being to get as much out of the railway as they could during their term, they would allow permanent way and rolling-stock to fall into any amount of disrepair which was consistent with the maximum of profit. This would lead to inconvenience, discomfort, danger, and casualties to the public as well as actual loss to the Government, who would have worn out ways, and battered rolling-stock returned upon their hands at the end of the term. If in order to prevent this deterioration Government gave much longer leases to the companies, in which case it would become the interest of the company to keep the plant and travelling stock in repair up to a time shortly before the determination of the term—then it would run the risk of great losses if the country through which the railway ran made a rapid progress and increased in its wealth and traffic soon after the lease had been entered into, and it would run the risk of the insolvency of the company in case the district which supplied the traffic for the line became less prosperous and the line in consequence less remunerative. All these considerations weigh against this suggestion. But there is still another, which has much force. Companies if they became lessors of the Government lines would do so because there was a profit to be made out of them. Why should that profit go to the company? Why should it not rather go to the State? But again, one of the great advantages which is to be desired in connexion with railways, both as a means of bringing about unity of working, convenience of travelling, complete through-booking and other facilities, as well as a means of economy, is central management. This would be lost if the Government leased its railways.

We cannot but think that if the Government purchases the railways it ought to manage them itself. That it should purchase them, we have already expressed a very decided opinion. That the management, which would then be undertaken only for the convenience and benefit of the public and not at all for profit, would be infinitely better than it is now we cannot doubt. Still, that profit would result seems almost certain. At the present time the average return for capital invested in railways is at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But one economy would at once be introduced by the substitution of one central in the place of many local boards of control. Much would soon be gained in consequence of the saving which would be effected by the termination of the hostilities which are constantly taking place between the owners of various parts of the railway system. Much would, we are confident, be saved, which is at the present time paid in compensation for personal injuries, loss of life, and destruction of property; for to us it seems certain that the accidents which do occur could be avoided by adequate precautions and by greater care.* Then it would be the interest of the Government to work every part of the system up to its capacity and in conformity to the needs of the public; at the present time many lines are, as we have seen, worked out of all proportion to their capacity, and in defiance of the requirements of the public, with a view it may be to a test balance sheet, and ultimately to a swindling bargain. Again, there would be a utilization of the canals of this country which would relieve the lines of railway of heavy traffic, facilitate light traffic and the carriage of passengers, and increase the wealth of the community. We cannot contemplate the immense advantages which would at once accrue to the State and the people from this possession. We do, however, believe that it would be an infinitely more successful speculation than the Post Office, and that it is quite as legitimately within the province of Government. We are not alone in our sanguine anticipations. Captain Tyler, whose opinion on matters connected with railways is always worthy of being listened to, and who has paid much attention to the subject, reported to the Board of Trade in favour of the acquisition of the railways by the Government. In answer to a question which was put to him by a member of the Joint Select Committee on amalgamation, he said:—

“I believe that if the State were to purchase the railways, they might so reduce the rates and fares, and so give extra facilities, that this country would be able to compete with every other country in manufactures and commerce in a way which has never been done

* See Board of Trade's General Report on Railways for 1872 and 1873.

before; and that the advantages to the country which would be so produced, would be far greater than those which would result from paying off the National Debt.”*

It is difficult to say how much the country advanced when all taxes on communication were done away with. The cheapness of our postage is one of the best boasts of our Government,† and is certainly one of the means which has conducted most rapidly to the increase of our commercial prosperity. But if the facilitation of the conveyance of information is a means to such ends, what would not the facilitation of the transference of commodities throughout the length and breadth of the land do for the prosperity of the country? Just as the reduction of the rate of postage at once increased not only the number of letters sent, but the amount of profit obtained, so the reduction in the rates and fares charged for the carriage of goods and passengers would have the effect of rendering all our products infinitely more mobile, and, consequently, infinitely more useful; and would, as a consequence, immensely increase the returns derived from the railway system.‡ This is not the place to consider the details of the system by which railways should be transferred to the State; and, indeed, the whole matter would require more thought and discussion than the time and space here and now at our disposal permit. When that transference had taken place, we cannot see why the Railway Department should not be administered in precisely the same way that the Post Office at present is. We cannot see that anything is to be dreaded from the fact that—say 200,000 persons—would at once thereby become the employes of Government. If it would have any political influence, it would be one which would tend to peace and order, but we cannot believe that the fact that these 200,000 persons were paid by the Government would tend to make them more blind to the faults of a party in power, or more deaf to the promises of the party out of power, than they are at present. The more employes Government has, the less is the likelihood of political reasons entering into State manage-

* “Minutes of Evidence,” p. 667, question 7057.

† See Mill’s “Political Economy,” B. V. ch. v. § 2.

‡ At the present time, however, we hear of increase instead of reduction of fares on the part of Railway Companies. Announcements have just been made that the Great Western and London and North Western Companies intend to increase their third-class fares by the amount of the passenger duty. And the boasted reduction upon the part of the Midland Railway Company turns out, in the opinion of many, to be nothing more than a change of names; it appearing that for the future the third class shall be called second; the second, first; and the first, Pullman’s Car. At best, it only seems to be a very slight concession of comfort to the travelling public; and whether it will even prove to be that, remains to be seen.

ment. Besides, the only persons who would be amenable to influence would be those at the head of sub-departments, for as for ordinary workmen Government would, of course, have to compete in the labour market. But in the case of senior clerks, or experienced traffic-managers, the possibilities of influence would be very small. Most of these would have to begin their duties in connexion with railways very early in life, if they desired to rise high in the service. There would not be much chance of a job in appointments made under these circumstances. On the whole we cannot see that there would be anything to fear in a political sense. Looked at financially, the undertaking is gigantic; but after all, it is only fools that are frightened by figures.* Granted that it would require more than 500,000,000*l.* to purchase the railways for the State: is that such a great thing? Within a very few years we have contracted debts to that amount, and the country has nothing for it! Surely no one thinks that the funds are not safe; but everybody would think that money lent for the purchase of the railways was safer. Besides, it is unnecessary to contemplate the actual purchase of the whole railways at one time, as if Government went into a shop, paid down its 500,000,000*l.*, and walked out proprietor of the railways. The process of purchase might be gradual. In that case, it is true that the benefits would only gradually accrue; but still, small benefits are better than none, and increasing benefits are better than small. One other suggestion we may mention in this place, as it holds out the hope of a golden age for England. It has been proposed that Government, when it did become the proprietor of the railways, should at once form a sinking fund, which would be perfectly compatible with increased accommodation, and a reduction of rates and fares, with the view of paying off the purchase-money in a certain number of years. There could be no reason why this should not be done; and if it were accomplished, what would not the position of England be? We would have free railways; or railways which would charge so little—with a view of paying for repairs of permanent way, rolling-stock, and the payment of a staff—that they might almost be called free. But the effects of such an event would be wide and far reaching, and are not to be mirrored in a few sentences at the end of an essay. Even at the best, they would be but imaginations; but one thing is certain, that the immediate and ultimate benefits of the purchase of railways by the State would be so great as to be incalculable. It is surely time these began. Every year the

* As to the finance of State purchase, see some evidence in the "Report of the Joint Select Committee of 1872," p. 660.

railways in this country are increasing in extent and riches. Every year it is becoming a more and more expensive thing to purchase them. It has over and over again been pointed out, that now is the time for the purchase of the Irish railways. The Companies are, for the most part, seriously embarrassed. Their poverty is so great, that even if their will was the best in the world, they could not do justice by the public; they could not be of use in developing the resources of the country in the way which would tend most effectually to the pacification of the country, and the forgetfulness of the grievances of which they complain. According to Mr. Monsell, it is the earnest desire of the people, and still Government will not move. During the last session of Parliament, Mr. Blennerhasset moved that the Irish railways be purchased by the State; and alluded to some of the many evils which this was the only means of remedying. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, however, harped about "Railway regulation" just as his predecessors of twenty years ago would have harped about "Competition." He dwelt upon the clauses of the "Regulation of Railways Act, 1873," and the capacity of Railway Commissioners to deal with all the questions involved in the complaints made against the Irish Railways. Curiously enough, Mr. Monsell's report is full of instances of undue preference, and of want of facilities which were given or neglected by Irish railways. Yet during the eighteen years that the "Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1854," was in force, not a single case was brought before any of the Superior Courts of Dublin; and, although these contraventions of the Act are still as common as they used to be, we find from the report of the Railway Commissioners that no Irish case has been brought before them. What is the good of a law which is never put in force, and which is in existence with the view of preventing what is taking place every day? Surely the nation will tire of being informed about the "regulation of railways;" and will demand the acquisition of railways by the State as the only means of regulating them efficiently and well.

ART. III.—THE BIBLE AND STRONG DRINK.

DRUNKENNESS is a loathsome vice. We have happily reached a period when this proposition requires only to be stated, and does not need to be argued. It is one of those vices which exactly illustrate Pope's famous couplet, a couplet which is not, we think, of universal application. Drunkenness, at any rate, is

“Of such hideous mien,
That to be hated needs but to be seen.”

It was not without reason that the Spartans plied their slaves with wine, in order to deter their sons from intemperance by the mere spectacle of intoxication: while the exhibition of some other vicious practices might have been dangerous, as being calculated to have an opposite effect. Perhaps this is the only social vice which is at once admitted to be one by all who practise it. The excuse is that a sudden temptation has been yielded to; or, in the event of the practice having become inveterate, that the victim, while deploring his bonds, has not the strength left to break them.

Polite society has stopped the open exhibition of intemperance within its borders, and has no doubt done a good deal towards checking its private indulgence, by passing what amounts to a capital sentence upon it. It has been degraded from a vice into an act of vulgarity. It is interesting, and at the same time agreeable, to note the great stride made by educated opinion in this direction, we do not say since the time when statesmen of eminence saw two Speakers in the chair instead of one, and judges hiccupped sentences of transportation from the bench, but actually in the course of the last generation. We take “Pickwick” to be a fair picture of the middle-class manners of forty years ago. We have just seen an amusing examination-paper, constructed on the model of those set in the Cambridge Senate House, and intended to test the reader's acquaintance with the immortal volume, in which this question is put, “How often is Mr. Pickwick represented as running?” We might ask, “How often is Mr. Pickwick represented as being drunk?” In fact, the book reeks of brandy-and-water from the first page to the last. No author of genius would write in this way now-a-days. No author would invest one of his characters with every quality calculated to attract our sympathies, and then proceed to submit him to a prolonged course of alcohol; to send him reeling home to his entertainer's house from a cricket-match, or put him to sleep in a wheelbarrow, overcome with the fumes of milk-punch.

We have written this much, that our object in what follows may not be mistaken. We yield to none in the horror with which we regard intemperance. That its prevalence among the lower classes is to be looked upon as a subject of national humiliation we readily admit. We should therefore welcome any well-considered legislation which might deal with the evil: though we candidly confess that it is not to any direct legislation on the subject that we look for a remedy. Most assuredly the Permissive Bill does not, in our opinion, come under the denomination of a well-considered measure. We have already expressed ourselves on the subject of this bill. We shall here only say, that if its promoters propose that the liquor interest should everywhere be bought up previously to being suppressed, the bill becomes at once a dead letter. There would be no more harm in passing it than in passing an act vesting the soil of the planet Mercury in a limited-liability company. The only harm done (and this would be on the whole not inconsiderable) would be that resulting from the spectacle of the representatives of the nation making themselves ridiculous. If this is not what is intended, if the liquor interest is to be made subject to extinction without compensation—and that this is the intention of the promoters is clear from the *projet de loi* which they annually submit to the House of Commons, in which not one word is inserted about compensation—then it is not too much to say that the history of civilized nations offers few parallels to a proposal for robbery at once so gigantic and so wicked. The effrontery of the plea generally put forward to the effect that the publican's licence is nominally an annual one, appears to us a circumstance of great aggravation. To confiscate openly is a more dignified course on the part of a great State than to sneak out of an agreement on the strength of a technicality. Happily the passage of such a measure of spoliation is, under any circumstances, impossible. An English Bishop lately said that he would rather see England free than England sober. There is yet another aspect under which he might have viewed the question. He might have said that he would rather see England drunk than England dishonest.

However, we have not taken up the pen to discuss the Permissive Bill, or to deal with Permissive Bill people at all, except in so far as these are identified with a movement of a still more extravagant character. We suspect that the greater number of them do sympathize with this movement: only, the cooler heads have sufficient discretion not to terrify the public by putting their extreme demands in the foreground all at once. The agitation of which we speak is that set on foot by the Good Templars. These Good Templars are the *intransigentes*, the

têtes-montées of the Temperance party; the men of burning convictions, who will listen to no proposal of compromise, who will set the universe on fire sooner than dally with the accursed thing. It is matter of experience that in all fanatical movements the most extreme fanatics always succeed in the end to their direction. In the event of the United Kingdom Alliance becoming a serious power, these are the men who would wield the power. *

The avowed object of these Good Templars—an increasing body, able to render the main streets of large towns impassable for several hours by their processions—is clearly set forth in the petitions which they have addressed to Parliament. They would render the manufacture, sale, purchase, and importation of all intoxicating drinks penal offences.

Let us pause for a moment, and glance at the state of things which would ensue if such legislation could ever be forced by a majority on a minority in this country. We will say nothing here of the hundred millions' worth of vested interests destroyed at one swoop. We will say nothing of the thousands of innocent persons reduced to starvation. These results must be held to be intended by the Good Templars, and would probably be welcomed by them. It is possible that they regard the brewer and the distiller and the publican much as the ancient Israelite regarded the Amalekite and the Hittite. It would be a godly work not only to spoil the foe of his goods, but to slaughter his children. We will say nothing of the enormous hole made in the national revenue, and of the fresh taxation necessary to fill it up. Philanthropy, it will be said, is quite above such a consideration as this. And certainly we should think very little of the philanthropy which, after emptying other people's pockets, refused to open its own. We will merely glance at some of the practical effects of the measure, when once set a-going. It would either be openly evaded, in which case it would hardly seem worth while to pass it; or it would have to be enforced with the utmost rigour, since it would be difficult to picture to oneself any Act which the dissentients would be more strongly induced to evade than this one. The latter course is no doubt that which Good Templars would advocate, and let us see what the adoption of this course would imply. It would be all very well to have disposed of the publicans and their families in churchyards and workhouses, but there would still remain in existence many millions of men who would believe that their daily lives, their habits, their comforts, their health, had been made the playthings of the most grinding tyranny. Every seaport, every bay, cove, inlet, every yard of the coast where a boat

could land, would have to be watched by preventive men commissioned to seize the devil's wares. Nearly every country squire and professional man, and well-to-do tradesman, would enter into secret arrangements with persons abroad, or with underground importing associations formed in the towns, for the purpose of obtaining wines and liquors. The search for and the seizure of these wares would give rise to great fights, in the course of which many of the army of spies and informers disseminated over the kingdom would get their heads broken. One out of every three labourers' cottages would be turned into an illicit brewery, where beer would be secretly manufactured out of the tea-pot. Always on the supposition that the majority were determined to enforce their views, the police would have to be increased into something like the dimensions of the forces of Xerxes. Such of the country justices as were not themselves in gaol for repeated violations of the law would decline to act : and would have to be replaced by functionaries commissioned to treat the matter in the same spirit, if not by exactly the same processes, as that of the envoys from the Convention towards the French provinces. The prisons would be full to overflowing with persons of every age, rank, and profession. The one subject of political discussion and agitation throughout the kingdom, the one point upon which every popular election, even to the most insignificant elective post, would turn, would be the maintenance or repeal of the law. As such a law, if we suppose it carried, must necessarily have been carried at a moment of popular madness, in the teeth of the whole wealth and intelligence of the country, it is easy to see that it could not be maintained for any length of time. It would be repealed, not improbably by a revolution. Then would come such a swing of the pendulum as the world has never seen or dreamt of. The licentiousness which followed upon the fall of the Commonwealth, the outbreak of frivolity which followed on the close of the Reign of Terror, would be nothing to it. The next generation of Englishmen would be sprawling in the gutters.

We are painfully conscious that to offer these observations to Good Templars is to plough the sea-sand. And, as they are perfectly unnecessary for sane people, we owe some apology to the reader (to whichever class he may belong) for having been betrayed into them. Our object in taking up our pen was quite different. It was, to call attention to a point which we think worthy of general notice ; and, for a reason about to be stated, worthy of particular notice on the part of, at any rate, the majority of Good Templars—under which designation we will take

the liberty of including all those similarly minded people who, whatever the institution to which they belong, and whatever the titles with which they decorate themselves, and the badges and collars with which they disfigure themselves, are bent on the common enterprise of suppressing human nature.

The greater number of these people belong to the most dogmatic Nonconformist sects, the sects which insist most strongly and sternly upon the infallibility of every verse, word, syllable in the Bible, and the consequent necessity of obeying it to the letter; or, where no literal command can be discovered, of conforming one's life to its spirit. Such, at any rate, is the result of our observation; though whether this be accurate or not, does not matter to our argument. We address ourselves to those advocates for the total suppression of drink who believe in the inspiration of the Bible, let them be few or many, or whatever Sect or Church they may belong to; for, as against unbelievers, our observations would have no force. Now we say that the Bible gives "no sanction whatever to the aims of these people: we will go further, and affirm that its letter as well as its spirit are diametrically opposed to these aims. That it condemns excess may be conceded; that its tone throughout is one of thorough and cordial approval of moderate indulgence in intoxicating drinks is still more clear. We are anxious not to be misunderstood. There are, no doubt, many people in the world to whom abstinence from drink is easier than moderation. It is obvious that such persons ought not to drink at all. And if some of these find by experience that what for them is unquestionably the proper course is much facilitated by enrolling themselves as members of Temperance Associations, they are quite right to join such associations. But this is quite a different matter from proposing to stop the supply of what other people deem necessary to their health and comfort and enjoyment. In face of such a proposal on the part of persons professing to be Christians, it is important to learn what their sacred books teach on the subject. Permissive Bill men and Good Templars are never tired of telling us that intoxicating beverages are "poison" and "the accursed thing." One would really suppose from this that while God made the streams, and the wells, and the tea-leaf, and the coffee-berry, the Devil invented the vine and the hop, sowing them as the enemy sowed the tares among the wholesome wheat. If this doctrine can be extracted from the Bible, we have nothing further to say. If the Bible takes an exactly opposite view of the matter, we hardly see how the doctrine can be put forward by those who profess to follow the Bible as their guide in all things, without gross impiety. Now, we repeat, nothing can be

more patent than that the Bible does set forth a view of intoxicating beverages the exact opposite of this.

We must remark, by the way, that we are well acquainted with the efforts which have been made to represent the "wines" and "strong drinks" of the Old Testament as non-intoxicating beverages, "syrops," "grape juice," and so forth. These attempts are not one whit less absurd and dishonest than would be attempts (which, for aught we know, may actually have been made) to commit the Scriptures to a system of Vegetarianism. The reader shall judge from one or two examples. *Shechar* is the Hebrew original of what, in our authorized version, appears under the form of "strong drink." Teetotallers have boldly challenged the correctness of the translation, and claimed for this compound the character of an innocuous syrup or orgeat. And this in the teeth of such passages as the following:—"Wine is a mocker, shechar is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise" (Proverbs xx. 1). "They are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with shechar" (Isaiah xxix. 9). "They are swallowed up of wine; they are out of the way through shechar" (Isaiah xxviii. 7). In many other passages of the Bible the word is used, with a context which is equally conclusive as to its sense.* Similarly indecent attempts, with an account of which we shall not trouble the reader, have been made upon other Hebrew words, which are correctly translated in the Septuagint by *οἶνος*, *μέθυσμα*, and in our version by "wine," the intoxicating properties of which are not merely implied, but distinctly set forth. Whoever desires further information on this subject may find it in a compendious form in the excellent Biblical Dictionaries of Smith and Kitto.

There is, however, one word of frequent occurrence in the Old Testament, about which there can be no dispute whatever. This is *Yayin*, the ordinary name used for wine; and etymologically connected with *οἶνος*, *vinum*, wine, as any one may perceive. It is with *Yayin* that Noah gets drunk, and Nabal gets drunk, and the Ephraimites get drunk. It is a mocker, it inflames, it causes people to stumble in judgment and to err in vision, makes men forget their poverty, makes them noisy and sick—in short it would be impossible to describe the effects of excess in liquor more graphically than the Bible sets forth the results of over-indulgence in *Yayin*, in a multitude of passages. Yet the manufacture of this liquid was not only permitted to the

* Again *tirosk* has been claimed as a teetotal liquor in the face of such a passage as this: "Whoredom and wine (*yayin*) and *tirosk* take away the heart." Hos. iv. 11.

Israelites, but actually enjoined on them by their religion. They were ordered to offer a certain portion of it to the Deity; and the Deity himself describes it as possessing "a sweet savour" for him. Can imagination conceive a higher sanction bestowed on the production of wine than this? Not only are they to offer wine to the Lord, but they are invited to consume it themselves at their feasts, in terms which, coming from such a quarter, look very like a command. "Thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen or for sheep or for wine (Yayin) or for strong drink, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thy household" (Deut. xiv. 26). In the Psalms, we are expressly told that Yayin has been given to man for the purpose of making his heart glad. No wonder that when wine is represented as a boon conferred by the Almighty upon the human race, we find it represented at the same time as one of the choicest blessings which He reserves for his chosen people when restored to their own land. "I will bring again the captivity of my people, and they shall plant vineyards and drink the Yayin thereof."

These are a few passages, fair samples of many others, in which the use of a word, which ignorance cannot mistake, or fanaticism pervert from its real signification, enables us to gather the light in which Scripture contemplates intoxicating drinks. It is clear that they are exhibited to us as good things in themselves: apart from excess, which *ex vi termini* makes anything bad—as too much meat, too much sleep, too much study, too much exercise, too much church-going, too much prayer, are bad. This results still more clearly, if we accept the various terms rendered by "wine" in our authorized version—as we are sure that a candid and dispassionate Good Templar, if such a being can be conceived, would be driven to accept them—as meaning what it is evident that they do mean. We have said that Pickwick reeks of brandy-and-water. We might say with reverence that the Old Testament is fragrant throughout with the aroma of the wine-cup. Wine, as we have seen, formed part of the "table of the Lord." It cheered God as well as man. And, let there be no mistake about this; God Almighty Himself is represented as consuming it. On certain occasions it had to be drunk by his faithful people in his immediate presence. Melchisedek, a mysterious personage, invested with Divine attributes, without beginning and without end, puts in a strange appearance in the Old Testament narrative. It is strange in all but one point. In harmony with so many of the other good characters in the sacred drama, he grasps a wine bottle; the tender of it accompanies the blessing which he pronounces upon Abraham in the name of the most high God. Patriarchs and prophets

drink wine, and, in some cases, drink a good deal of it. The failure of wine from the wine-presses is among the severest judgments pronounced by God upon disobedience. Among the glowing pictures presented to us of the happiness of restored Israel, a plentiful supply of the drink that makes glad the heart of man fills a distinguished place. The treader of grapes shall overtake him that soweth seed, the mountains shall drop new wine, the Israelites, as we have just seen, shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof. When this prophecy shall have been fulfilled, when the chosen people are "planted in their land, no more to be pulled up," it is clear that, whatever may be the case in the rest of the world, there will be no room for Good Templars in Judæa.

It is not inopportune to remark that the sanction everywhere accorded in the Old Testament to the use of wine is accorded to its use in a climate where strong drinks are far less necessary to man than in our colder latitudes. We should not have been surprised if the Bible had taken the same view of stimulants as that which may be gathered from the Koran, and put them on the Index along with pork and shell-fish. That it has not done this will appear to the reasoning mind one of the many proofs of its superiority to other sacred writings. And this consideration would furnish a fair argument to Mr. Henry Rogers and other supporters of its superhuman character. Certain it is that at the present day the most powerful and civilized nations are precisely those which consume the greatest amount of alcohol per head, while the water-drinking races are nowhere. It will be said that this is principally owing to climate. The foremost nations inhabit climates in which the temptation to drink would naturally be strongest. In other words, in cold and damp situations there is a natural craving for strong drink, just as among the Esquimaux there is a natural craving for blubber and sperm-oil. Such being the case we think it a subject of congratulation that the Bible has not attempted to repress this craving: that it has not enjoined an abstinence which might have appeared desirable in the case of the inhabitants of Palestine (though indeed the Bible itself proclaims that it was not desirable even there), but which would have been contrary to nature in the case of the Scotchman, the Englishman, and the German.

In connexion with the Biblical view of drink, there is another point which for obvious reasons we shall not press, but which must be noticed by the way. Not only is it clear that the Bible approves highly of stimulants; but a curious question might be raised as to whether it disapproves of a certain degree of elevation produced by the use of them. Downright intoxication and habitual indulgence in vinous excess are no doubt condemned in

a number of passages, as they are condemned in every code whether human or divine. But there are some passages in which hilarity seems to be condoned, if not actually commended. When Joseph, that type of every virtue, entertains his brethren, they all get drunk together. The Hebrew word used is precisely that employed to designate the drunkenness of Noah. We do not suppose that they fought among themselves, or fell under the table. But we are entitled to take it that they were decidedly elevated. Yet their conduct is related apparently as a matter in the common course, and without a word of disapproval. Again, the patriarch Jacob, in a dying and of course inspired rhapsody, pours out a particular benediction upon Judah. His tribe is to be distinguished by giving birth to the Messiah (this at any rate is the orthodox interpretation): his territory for the abundance and excellence of its wines. "His eyes shall be red with wine," which is among the effects noticed in Proverbs as resulting from excess. No doubt this is a figure: still it is strange to come upon a figure in such a book, which corresponds with our "he shall be flushed with drink, his eyes shall twinkle with drink," and to find that this is a metaphor for being particularly blessed by God Almighty. Again, in the book of Proverbs just referred to, we are told that while kings should be careful in the matter of drink, in view of the great functions they are called upon to discharge, it should be given to the sorrowful. "Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." In other words, "Let him drown his sorrow," as we term it. Nor can any other meaning be attached to the property of "making glad the heart" which is assigned to wine as a special gift communicated to it by the Almighty. It means exhilaration. In the prophet Haggai occurs a curious passage, in which the Lord tells the people that they have sown but reap little, they eat but they have not enough, they are clothed but are not warm, they drink *but are not filled with drink*. This was because he had brought a drought upon the corn and the land and the new wine. Here the not being "filled with drink" is represented as a state of misery and privation. This corresponds with a remarkable passage in Isaiah, headed in our versions, "The doleful judgments of God upon the land." The most frightful punishment pronounced upon a disobedient people consists in their being deprived of their wine: the very condition the Permissive Bill people and the Good Templars would conduct us to, under the pretence (a false one, if the Bible is to be believed) that it constitutes a Paradise. "The vine languisheth, all the merry-hearted do sigh . . . They shall not drink wine with a song . . . there is a crying for wine in the streets; all joy is darkened, the mirth of the land is gone!"

Of course it will be said—as it always is said, when any practice enjoined or sanctioned by the Old Testament happens to be displeasing to the orthodox mind—that the Old Testament legislation has been repealed, and its moral teaching superseded. The use of stimulants may have gone the way of slavery and polygamy, and the doctrine of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. We will grant this. We will further grant, for the sake of argument, that the picture of the restored Israelites treading their wine-presses, and drinking their wine, may be only a figure (though, by the way, it would be rather a strange one) for a nation of beatified Teetotallers. Unfortunately for the propounders of these views, the New Testament has still to be dealt with. Now, the authority of the New Testament is decisive on this point.

The Gospels hold out to us Jesus as the great exemplar, the model and pattern for human imitation. That there are some respects in which it would not be advisable for ordinary people to try and imitate Him is clear. For instance, it would not be advisable for most people to spend their whole time in preaching. Jesus' preaching was a necessary result of the extraordinary circumstances in which He was placed: and only those who feel themselves charged with a mission or gospel of some kind would be justified in imitating this part of His conduct. But the habits and practices of Jesus in what may be called His ordinary life, we look upon as being, from the orthodox point of view, of the highest import for human guidance. If Jesus ate meat, this is an intimation from the highest quarter that it is not wrong to eat meat: and a condemnation by anticipation of all those who would prevent such as think with Jesus from enjoying meat. The only exception we can think of to this inference being drawn would be the case of meat being wholesome in Judea, but not universally wholesome. Or to put it thus:—It is conceivable that Jesus might have appeared in a cold latitude, and lived with His followers principally on pork. Yet this would be no reason why the rearing of pigs, and the sale of pork might not be very properly forbidden by law in a climate where swine's flesh was proved to be unwholesome, even though many of the inhabitants might be partial to it. As to this, if any difference can be established between the use of wine in Judea and its use elsewhere (except as before mentioned in the fact that it is less necessary, and, consequently, less wholesome there than almost anywhere else) we will throw up our case.

What really is the position which Jesus is represented as taking up with regard to strong drinks? And what is the significance of that position? There can be no pretence that there was less necessity for setting an example of total abstinence then

than now. The Greek and Roman populations (to say nothing of the Jews) from whom the early Christians sprang, were as much given to drink as any civilized peoples or populations that the world has seen since that time. Granting that this was not so, yet if we accept Jesus for what the majority of Good Templars believe Him to have been, He must have foreseen perfectly the terrible scourge, curse, poison, accursed thing, devil's gift, anathema, which intoxicants (even if not at that time entitled to these appellations) were one day destined to become. He must have foreseen that His slightest action with regard to them would be eagerly scrutinized by countless millions of unborn men, would be contemplated as so many encouragements to, or warnings against, the use of stimulants, by generation after generation of human beings. He might have made total abstinence a dogma of the Church which He founded, and, as far as we can judge, He might have done this without the slightest danger to its infant vitality. The people who were prepared to leave all things for His sake, to be persecuted and spit upon, to give their carcasses to the birds of the air, to strew the floors of amphitheatres with their bones, would not, we should imagine, have been appalled at the prospect of having to drink water. The people who were ready to sacrifice their blood would hardly have shrunk from sacrificing their wine. Even though He had declined to erect total abstinence into a dogma, yet a word thrown out by Him on the occasion of the Sermon on the Mount, or in the course of any of His other public utterances, would have had immense weight with posterity. Failing this, His own simple example as an abstainer from intoxicating beverages, would have been considered, and justly considered, as an invitation to follow it.

The course pursued by Jesus was the exact opposite of this. Indeed we have sometimes thought that it was of a kind to saddle some difficulties on the missionary, in his dealings with the Oriental inquirer. The first manifestation of His supernatural powers was, as is well known, the production of some hundred and twenty gallons of choice wine at a banquet, where it is clear from the context that the guests had by no means confined themselves to water. No sophistry will evade this. There can be no doubt on the part of any one who dispassionately reads the narrative, as to the meaning of *οἶνος* here, even if the word could be shown to apply anywhere else to unfermented liquor, which to the best of our belief it cannot. Imagine, as we may without irreverence, Jesus appearing in the present day, and working such a miracle at a wedding-breakfast, and what becomes of Good-Templardom? Is there a consistent Good Templar who would not arrive at the conclusion that the

production of such an amount of "poison" was distinct evidence of Satanic agency? Yet here is the very Being whom the majority of these people profess to follow as a God. And here is a miracle which, though wrought eighteen centuries ago, must be held by the orthodox to have been wrought not merely in a corner of Judea, but in view of the whole world, for all time; to be presented to the Englishman of the nineteenth century quite as much as to the Jew of the first. There must be some object in it, some lesson to be derived from it, beyond the mere evidence which it furnishes of Jesus' miraculous power. That end would have been equally well attained by the contrary process of turning wine into water: an exploit which Teetotalers would have everywhere hailed as giving an unmistakeable sanction to their principles. What the real object may have been, we are not sufficiently versed in theology to conjecture. But we commend Dean Alford's opinion to the attention of those who share Dean Alford's views on inspiration. The italics are his own. "The Lord here most effectually, and once for all, stamps with His condemnation that false system of moral Reformation which would commence by *pledges to abstain from intoxicating liquors.*"

That Jesus was a wine-drinker all through His public career is plain. That His associates were wine-drinkers is equally plain. He Himself, in two notable passages, contrasts His conduct in this respect with that of John. The people He tells us jeered at Him as a wine-bibber. He makes no attempt to repudiate the accusation. It is evident that he had no sympathy whatever with the monkish asceticism which would seek to shelter itself under the shadow of His great name. But it was reserved for the end of His career to impart the most solemn sanction to the use of wine by an act which even unbelievers in inspiration (not always the worst friends to Jesus' real fame) will admit to be historical. His ministry commences with the production of fermented liquors: it closes with their sanctification. The one kind of drink, the manufacture of which is rendered incumbent on man—from which it has been ordained that no man who literally follows the orders of Jesus can *entirely* abstain—is precisely a form of strong drink, the fermented juice of the grape.

We refer of course to the Last Supper. That the wine used was the fermented juice of the grape admits of no doubt. It has however been urged that the wine, as well as the bread, were mere accidents. Those who advocate this view should be in a condition to support it with some strong arguments. To us it appears entirely opposed to the plain narrative, the character of the occasion, the sense in which the order was at once taken,

and the various other passages confirmatory of this sense, in the New Testament. When the founder of a religion has enjoined upon his disciples to eat bread and to drink fermented wine (*oivos*) in memory of him, it is safer to conclude that he meant precisely what he said, than to infer that he may have included under these designations bread and unfermented wine, or meat and milk. If wine had no real significance, there is no earthly reason why Jesus should not have substituted water for it. We gather from the Epistles and the Fathers that the celebration of the Sacrament was often made the occasion for scandalous intemperance: but no proposition for changing the contents of the chalice was ever listened to by the Church. It is clear that wine, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, was from the beginning understood by the Churches to be the liquid enjoined. And it is equally clear that its original selection was no accident. The occasion was the Passover, and red wine was always used at the Passover. This red wine, more nearly than any other liquid resembling blood, was henceforth to be typical of the blood then about to be shed. We cannot pursue this subject further, and if we were to write volumes we should produce no effect. Nor, we suppose, should we have the slightest effect upon those who affirm that the liquid consumed on this occasion was "the pure blood of the grape expressed from the cluster." Jesus and His disciples were armed with large bunches of grapes—in spring time too—and employed themselves in squeezing them into their cups! And this is what people are to do in the dead of winter, in honour of him, at Edinburgh and St. Petersburg, at Montreal and Quebec! Our observations are not intended for those who, have got as far as this. They are intended for those who, with some glimmerings of reason, have preserved some shreds of honesty.

Let such persons, if they can shake themselves ever so little free of their prejudices, consider for a moment what is implied by the act of a God who, on the eve of His departure from a world which He has favoured with His presence, leaves behind Him an order to drink wine in His honour: a God, let it always be remembered, who has first revealed Himself to mankind by the miraculous production of wine at a festive party, who has drunk it all through His earthly career, who has not given a hint or uttered a syllable in condemnation of its use—as, indeed, how could He, under these circumstances? And it matters nothing whether this command of which we speak was addressed to all men, as Protestants and Greek Churches affirm, or to the clergy, the special ministers of the God, as the Roman Catholics affirm. Literally and technically the command would necessitate the manufacture of just so much red wine as would suffice for the

celebration of the sacred rite. That this would be but a very small quantity is evident. The annual cultivation of a very few acres of vine-land would enable the whole world to communicate. But to suppose that the command was meant to imply this and no more is to impute an ignorance of human nature to its promulgator, such as it is impossible to charge upon a Divine being, or even a man of ordinary sagacity, or indeed any one but a Good Templar. A God who should leave injunctions to slaughter and eat sheep in his honour, without specially limiting the performance of these acts to the particular occasions indicated, must evidently be taken to approve of the slaughter and eating of sheep for food generally. The founder of a religion, who orders that vineyards and wine-presses should be kept going in his honour, must be held to imply that vineyards and wine-presses *may* be kept going generally, and, more than this, he *must* intend that they *shall*. All this would be as plain to every one as the sun at noonday in a narrative of Jupiter or Osiris, Buddha or Mahomet: and it results just as plainly to the unprejudiced mind from the recorded acts of Jesus.

In the Epistles there are a few allusions to wine drinking, not one of which can be cited by Teetotalers as making in their favour. The Apostle Paul tells the Ephesians, just as he might in the present day tell the Londoners, not to be drunken with wine, in which (not in the wine, but in the getting drunk on it) is excess. Bishops are not to be brawlers, deacons are not to devote themselves to toping, old women are not to be the slaves of drink: excellent advice, doubtless, much needed at the time. Timothy is actually ordered to leave off water, which it is evident that Paul looked upon as doing him harm, and to take a little of what it is now the fashion with some persons calling themselves Christians to style poison: an order which he would have found it impossible to comply with if Permissive Bill men and Good Templars had turned the heads of the good people of Ephesus. It is not difficult to conjecture from the whole spirit of Paul's teaching what he would have thought of these heretics—for as such he would have undoubtedly held them—who commanded "to abstain from what God had created to be received with thanksgiving." When at a later period persons holding these views made their appearance, the most eminent Fathers of the Church—Clement of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Augustine—denounced them on the very ground which we have here briefly set forth, on the ground that their aims and objects were diametrically opposed to the Inspired Records and the spirit of Christianity.

These observations we have felt compelled to lay before those members of the great Temperance organizations who believe in

the inspiration of the Bible. It is just possible—perhaps hardly probable, but at any rate possible—that here and there one of them, impervious to all other warnings, may be staggered by the suspicion that he is flying in the teeth of his Sacred Books. The more carefully he looks into the matter, the more will this suspicion deepen into certainty. And with the view of furthering the return of such a wanderer into the fold of common sense (which happens in this instance to coincide exactly in its limits with those of orthodox Christianity) we would strongly exhort him to the close study of such writers as have taken the opposite view to ours—Dr. F. Lees for example. We are confident that he will be surprised at the little that can be said on that side, and at the process to which that little has to be submitted—the “fermentation” as we will delicately put it—before it can be made to appear anything. We know it is said that *any* doctrine can be extracted from the Bible. We will not dispute this, with one limitation—“any doctrine save and except that of Good Templars.” These good people, who are making the Anglo-Saxon race ridiculous in the eyes of the civilized world, must really take their choice between pouring down our throats inspiration on the one hand, and their ginger-beer and other nasty compounds on the other. We believe their agitation to be foolish and mischievous; yet, with history before our eyes, we can derive from this consideration but feeble hopes of its collapse. But when dogmatic religion is, as in the present case, allied with common sense in opposition to fanatical projects, we are sure that the combined influence of the two powers will in the end prove irresistible.

ART. IV.—ROCKS AHEAD; OR, THE WARNINGS OF CASSANDRA.

Rocks Ahead; or, the Warnings of Cassandra. By W. R. GREG. London: Trübner and Co. 1874.

MR. GREG'S recently published volume, which is remarkable alike for the gloomy views it depicts and the great ability with which it is written, has attracted considerable attention; but the alarm to property and to the best interests of the nation has been sounded so often that it has now lost something of its force, and when we hear this well-known tocsin ring out just after the most Conservative House on record has been returned by a household suffrage electorate voting by ballot, we cannot but think that the essays constituting Mr. Greg's volume scarcely seem to be well timed. And, strange to say, in the same pages where we are prepared for spoliation by the proletariat, we are yet told "that whatever section of the community preponderate at the poll, whoever may be the governing classes, the actual members of the Government, the parliamentary rulers of the country, will become more and more the men of *inherited* rank or wealth, members in some sort of the aristocracy, in short." As the term aristocracy has for many years in England meant titled or untitled wealth, independent, except in rare instances, of peculiar personal merit, we fail to see any symptoms of the approach of the threatened measures of confiscation; it seems to us that this oft-repeated alarm is entirely imaginary, and that when brought to the test of experience it is found to be baseless. When the suffrage, forty-five years ago, was mainly in the hands of the propertied classes, when the House of Commons was in fact nominated by the House of Lords, Lord John Russell brought in a bill to emancipate the responsible middle classes, and during the debates on that measure, no less a statesman than the late Sir Robert Inglis, speaking of the proposed Reform Bill, said: "The House and the country may judge what it is, but I will state in one word, that it is revolution—a revolution that will overturn all the natural influence of rank and property;" and Lord Lyndhurst said, "in another place," "I must say that I think the whole will form what the noble duke near me has described: namely, a fierce and democratic assembly." More than forty years have elapsed, an incomparably more democratic measure has passed, with the ballot, one of the most dreaded points of the Charter, and now, we ask, can the present House of Commons

be called "a fierce and democratic assembly" bent upon confiscation?

After all, is there such an immense difference as is alleged between the proletariat and men of property in their habits, ideas, and modes of life? Of course if we compare the Duke of Westminster and John Smith, the day-labourer, the contrast superficially seems pretty wide; but between these two men (for even a duke is but a man, liable, like John Smith, to the toothache) there is much more in common than learned writers suppose. It is quite possible that the labourer has as strong a sense of the sacredness of property as the duke himself has. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the proletariat and the men of property; and the former, be it remembered, have some millions in the Savings Banks. A labourer while a young man has almost inevitably relatives in the propertied classes, and he himself may, and in thousands of cases does, rise in life and perhaps become part owner of cottage property. We knew a member of Parliament who in his youth had been a labouring man; he was of course a strong Conservative, and especially indignant at the idea of labour representation in the House. One of the characteristics of Mr. Greg's proletariat is that they live from hand to mouth. How many surgeons, solicitors, clerks, clergymen and preachers of various sects are there who live from hand to mouth? Are these to be included amongst the dangerous classes?

True enough property is in danger if people in power are not sharply looked after, and this under every form of human government. If the best citizens of any free State are too supercilious to descend into the dusty and dirty arena of popular government, inevitably power will fall into the hands of rogues, as in New York, and when the robbery has reached an unendurable point the better classes will arouse themselves, purify the municipality, and all will go well until the lethargy of the rich and well-to-do allows history to repeat itself. This well-worn example of New York and some other American cities is usually made to do duty for the Washington Central Government, but it is a remarkable fact that the more enlightened members of Congress have frequently attempted to turn to useful public purposes certain obsolete endowments, such as our Parliament has frequently diverted to better uses, but hitherto such attempts have failed owing to the strong and even fanatical respect for property which exists in the most democratic assembly in the world.

But cliques will always attack property. When our Government was exclusively in the hands of an aristocracy, the plunder of Church property, of common lands, and of public money by

flagrant sinecures was at least as bad as anything in the worst annals of New York corruption, and under absolute Governments, such as those of Turkey and Russia, the plunder that goes on can only be appreciated by those who have watched it on the spot. On the occasion of each extension of the suffrage there is raised a cry that property is in danger and that the proletariat will vote away the money of the rich. Hitherto the nation has been robbed only by the rich, simply because they have governed as cliques unchecked by public opinion or by the nation.

In 1645 the feudal landlords or tenants of the Crown having then absolute power in Parliament, shifted their Crown dues devoted to the military defence of the nation on to the shoulders of the people ; in other words, took absolute possession of the land, declining in future to pay the Crown rents ; and by the 4th of William and Mary a similar robbery was effected—instances too often cited and doubtless too familiar to our readers to require detailing. Up to within the last two years the army of England, for which the people paid pretty heavily considering its numbers, did by no means belong to the nation, but to the officers. A corrupt system of trafficking in commissions had grown up which rendered all good government of the army out of the question. The officers were recompensed both for the tolerated and the illegal purchases, and yet a cry arises that they are robbed. The soil of England, the land on which and from which we live, move, and have our being, has been laid hold of by a certain number of families, not for productive purposes, the proper use of the soil, but to confer honour and glory on rich families. These have formed a system of entail which locks up a vast territory from the market, renders a great part of it unproductive, and diminishes a hardy population, thereby starving the army of men. It is proposed by some that such entails should not be allowed, that primogeniture should be discouraged ; but let any propose this in Parliament and a cry of revolution and robbery would at once be raised. And yet in no other country in the world is a clique of families allowed to play dog-in-the-manger with the soil of the country, which no man made, which no man can increase, to which all owe their existence, and which therefore should be used with some attention to the good of the community. But before we give way to panic, let us be sure that robbery means robbery in particular instances. Any proposed reorganization of any old institution is sure to be branded by the terms confiscation or robbery, just as any difference of opinion on religious matters is termed atheism. When the wealthy West Indian planters were buying stolen slaves and forcing them by the lash to wear out their lives in enriching

them, certain philanthropists proposed to redeem these unfortunates, paying a heavy compensation to the planters, not to the negroes. The cry of robbery was raised, not on behalf of the negroes, whose liberty and labour had been forcibly taken, but on the part of the planters who had robbed them, and the money compensation was all paid to the planters. In still more modern times it was considered a scandal that one small sect of Protestants should have all the Irish religious endowments, and when it was proposed to divert these endowments to other public purposes a cry of robbery was raised. We asked who was to be robbed? It was answered, "The Church." Of what is the Church composed? Of priests and people. The former are amply compensated, the latter by their representatives in Parliament decided to divert the money. So they were not robbed. Who, then, is plundered?

The landlords of Ireland were accustomed regularly to pocket every increment of wealth caused by the labour of their tenants over and above their rent. A bill was brought in which allowed the tenant to claim what is fairly created by his labour. This too is called confiscation and robbery, and is, we think, about as unfortunate an illustration as Mr. Greg could have found of what he calls "giving up entirely the principle of the sacredness of property;" for to whom belongs the result of the farmer's labour after he has paid his rent? If to the landlord, then of course the bill was one of confiscation; but if to the tenant, then the sacredness of property acquired a fresh guarantee by law. The good old maxim, as sound as the eighth commandment, that "honesty is the best policy," received a fresh illustration in this instance, for the landlord is enriched by the rise in value of the land in consequence of this law.

We have given a few instances (out of many that could be furnished) of the plunder of property by those in power, and some examples of what are falsely and absurdly called confiscation. It may be said that we have proved Mr. Greg's case, that as the upper classes have plundered, so will the lower when they feel their power. But, we answer, the upper classes plundered because they had the exclusive and unchecked power, which the lower classes never can have. They may have numerical power, and indeed long have had, but the influence of wealth and intelligence is always supreme. We appeal confidently to facts against theory. After all, the ultimate power is brute force, and with whom is this now, with whom has it ever been? We answer, with the poor common soldiers, the humblest of the proletariat. Why do they not take possession at once of the accumulated wealth of the nation? Theory would show that we are in imminent daily and hourly peril from this source, and

yet let the ruffians of a city rise to plunder and burn, and we should call upon our army to fire upon the rioters, with the most perfect confidence that they would not murder their officers and join the plunderers. It may be answered that they are restrained by discipline ; and so are the voting proletariat by the discipline of a society founded thousands of years ago and cemented by many generations.

Mr. Greg says that the proletariat "always, from the necessity of the case, constitute the *least* instructed, the *least* intelligent, the *least* leisurely, if not also the *least* contented portion of the community, and therefore the *least* competent to judge political questions, or to choose political guides or rulers." We would refer the writer to the trite maxim, that Knowledge is Power : as long as the proletariat have the least knowledge they will have the least power ; if ever they attain more knowledge they will inevitably acquire, as they will deserve, more power, but they cannot have a monopoly of either.

The system of representation in vogue before the first Reform Bill is well described in an article in the *Quarterly Review* quoted by Mr. Greg (the system but not the results), and the writer sighs over it and says we were then the envy of nations. To a certain extent, no doubt ; for bad as we were, it was easy to find countries in still worse plight. No man in George the Third or Fourth's reign could be arrested and tried without due form of law, but a vast number of miseries and grievances flourished in those days. They were not bad times, however, for the privileged few : there were majors and captains in the nursery drawing their full pay, there were gentlemen ornamenting Bond Street who were receiving large salaries for important posts in the colonies which they filled by deputy, and the Church was crowded with unworthy and worldly sinecurists. No conscientious man who presumed to differ from the dogmas of the Thirty-Nine Articles "could hold any municipal office, be legally married or buried, or have his children legally registered, or entered at any University, or enjoy any office of trust or distinction under the Crown." With all this we were the envy of nations who were still worse off. The Russians, subject to the knout or Siberia ; the Turkish rayah, liable to have his children torn from him as tribute, doubtless envied us ; and the Ashanti, liable at any moment to have a knife stuck through his cheeks and be led to execution, may have envied the superior position of the Turkish rayah. With regard to other European nations it appears to us that we are a little too apt to indulge in the vain-glorious feeling that we are objects of envy. "According to my own experience, and I have lived much abroad," says a credible witness, "I am bound to say that I oftener hear some of our

customs spoken of with curiosity and dislike than with admiration and envy."

We cannot but think too that the absolute ignorance of the proletaire is too confidently assumed. For our part, we think he will compare favourably with the members of those classes who have had the suffrage ever since we had representative institutions. Only the other day we met with a leading citizen of London, a member of a learned Club, who insisted that the Communists of Paris fought for a community of goods, instead of for the Commune, and he was by no means thankful for our proffered correction, conveyed in the gentlest manner. And we are informed that the general notion amongst men of his class (the upper middle) is that the Communists had actually adopted the revolutionary principles of the Apostles as we read of them in the Acts. During the election of 1868 young ladies and curates went about lamenting the proposed persecution of the Irish Protestant clergy, who were to be turned out of house and home ; and even now the party who proposed the disestablishment of the Church are usually considered Atheists and enemies of all religion, unless they happen to be Ritualists. In fact it seems to us that the real demagogue is as often on the reactionary side as on the liberal or revolutionary, and his dupes are as often clothed in broadcloth and silk as in fustian and cotton.

Mr. Greg, speaking of our proletariat, says " they are sound at heart, they are not envious, and they are as a rule both energetic, industrious, and of an independent spirit. Properly led, properly trained, properly dealt with, we are satisfied they would make out and out the best proletariat in the world." And he then seems to say, though he says it not directly, that they would best be led by the squire and clergyman. We venture to doubt that the interests of the landlord are absolutely identical with those of the labourers ; and if not, then assuredly he would be no safe guide for them—less so possibly than one of their own class, who would of course be called " a ranting demagogue " if he ventured to differ from the squire ; and as to the clergyman, the dogmas he preaches are somewhat losing their hold of the multitude, and unless he is devoted to the principles of the Gospel—in other words, has a decided leaning in favour of Lazarus and a dislike to Dives—his advice may not be implicitly adopted. According to all past experience, in any dispute between Dives and Lazarus, one may fairly predict that the ecclesiastic will take the side of wealth and rank, and judging from some of the latest examples of clerical sympathy displayed during the grand struggle between the slaveholders of the South and the liberators of the North, it would seem that the clergy are in favour of the working classes being kept in a state of slavery.

These things are notorious; and the peasant, with all his dulness, cannot fail to perceive that the clergyman is not his political friend, though individually he may tend him in sickness and comfort him in sorrow.

Orators and agitators are accused of making the labouring classes discontented. We have as little admiration as any for the professional agitator if his object be a bad one; but we are to be the judge as to whether his cause be good or bad. Some years ago a Royal Commission was appointed to examine into the state of the agricultural classes. The report therefrom showed a state of things that was a disgrace to any civilized nation: men, women, and children were living, or rather existing, under the fostering care of our semi-feudal system (the envy of surrounding nations) in miserable, crowded huts, in circumstances impossible for decency, impossible for morality. A large number of our industrial population had learned to live upon less food than that determined by scientific men, during the Lancashire famine, to be the lowest necessary for healthy existence. Under these circumstances, Joseph Arch, himself an agricultural labourer who had reared a family on ten shillings a week in days gone by, began to preach unionism. He, poor man, was a proletaire—a man living from hand to mouth. His committee accorded him a pound a week to live on while he preached unionism. He is now a professional agitator; but who is capable of pronouncing upon the good or evil of his cause? Are we to take implicitly the opinion of the farmer, or the landlord, or judge for ourselves? The Archbishop of Canterbury is, or ought to be, a professional agitator, for is he not paid and appointed to denounce the pomps and vanities of this wicked world and induce men to follow the footsteps of the proletaire Jesus? But Joseph Arch is accused of making the agriculturists discontented with their lot, and there are vast numbers of people of the better classes who will swallow this idea, and believe that our labourers, living in far worse condition than most savages, would have continued happy and content to the end of time, had it not been for Joseph Arch and such as he. Suppose some professional agitator of the higher classes, say a clergyman, should try and make the squires discontented with their lot, what success would he be likely to have? If he were paid by results he would have a sorry trade. Unquestionably discontent (unless of the morbid kind only known to the rich and idle) is never excited from without. Mr. Greg is right when he asserts that the English working man is not an envious being—on the contrary, he is as proud of his squire's fine horses and equipages as if they were his own; there is no man in the world more patient and long-suffering; and if he

were fairly housed and fed, he would require no bishop to suggest ducking an agitator in the horse-pond, for he has much of the feudal feeling still clinging to him. We once attended from curiosity a small Republican meeting composed of the extremest party amongst the London proletaires, in fact *the Reds* of London. We were prepared to hear the utterance of the fiercest sentiments, but were astonished at the good sense and moderation of the speakers. One very young man spoke in a somewhat revolutionary, hot-headed fashion and denounced the upper classes as wholly selfish, on which a greyheaded man arose and spoke much as follows: "I am an old Chartist of '48, and have ever been foremost in many Radical movements before citizen Smith was born. I know more of my fellow citizens than he does, for I have three times his experience; and speaking from that experience, I declare that I have as often found a sound and generous heart beating under broadcloth as under fustian." This sentiment was received with general applause; and yet these men (of extreme opinions, for theirs were not the politics of the London clubs) would have been deemed quite capable of burning down London because they were Republicans. The ordinary London shopkeeper is, in our opinion, decidedly below the London workman in political intelligence. The former takes names for ideas, and would be astonished and indignant if you tried to show him that England is a republic, though an imperfect one; while France is a despotism or nearly so, though called a republic.

Mr. Greg says, "the welfare, even the safety of a community like ours, depends upon the thorough comprehension of a multitude of concurrent or conflicting influences, some economical, some moral, some legal, which would tax any ability and any experience; years of discipline and study are barely sufficient for the work; it demands, as we habitually recognise, in words at least, the *best wisdom* and the *best virtue* of the nation. How is the best wisdom and best virtue to be discerned, selected, and preferred by the especially unthinking and uninformed?" Mr. Greg draws a terrible picture of the danger we are in. For our part we take comfort from the saying of Oxenstierna, "You do not yet know, my son, with how little wisdom men are governed," and from the experience of the past. If indeed we need so urgently the "best wisdom" and the "best virtue," representative government is simply impossible, and surely the history of the world teaches us that any other form of government is still worse, still more liable to convulsive changes. According to a large majority of the electors Mr. Gladstone and his ministers represented neither wisdom nor virtue in their government, and we think Mr. Greg will allow it to be just

possible that in a certain number of years Mr. Disræli and his followers may have the same sentence pronounced upon them. Strange it is that a writer, with such sentiments so eloquently expressed, warning us, Cassandra-like, of the rocks ahead, should not remember that our Senate, the House which is supposed in theory calmly to criticise the work of the popular Chamber, is mainly composed of a chance medley of wealthy men, for whose wisdom and virtue we have no more guarantee than for those of a crowd of pigeon-shooters at Hurlingham. That the debates of the House of Lords are often able to prove simply that in any collection of Englishmen there will be able men; but the votes, the brute votes, are notoriously at the command of those who appeal to the personal interests of this trades union of landlords. How can the "best wisdom" and "best virtue" of the nation be found in such a Chamber except on the theory of divine inspiration?

"The very depth of a true statesman's sagacity, the very forecast of a true statesman's vision will alienate from him the sympathies of the average elector," says Mr. Greg most truly. That mediocrity is not indifferent to, but hates genius, is a truth recognised by all thinkers. "*Les idées générales haïes par les idées partielles, c'est là la lutte même du progrès,*" says Victor Hugo, but we fancy this peculiar hatred is found mainly amongst the well-to-do. "The common people heard him gladly," was said of a Great Teacher. When one of the greatest philosophers in Europe, more honoured on the Continent than at home, presented himself to the electors at Westminster, he was opposed by a wealthy newsvendor, the incarnation of respectable success and orthodoxy. This gentleman's committee was crowded with the names of dukes, marquises, and the like. The hatred of the philosopher was intense; his ideas were as odious as those of the Galilean carpenter to the respectable people of his day. Nevertheless the mass of working men, the mob if you will, supported the philosopher. Did John Stuart Mill flatter their prejudices? Just the reverse. The people were clamouring loudly for the Ballot, he steadfastly opposed it, and never shrank from avowing an opinion on account of its unpopularity. Then again is it a fact that the working men have as a rule less leisure than the classes above them? Has the shoemaker less time for political reflection than the attorney? Has the carpenter less leisure than the doctor? We believe the better classes, as they are called, are even harder-worked in gaining their bread. And we would ask are the mass of those who have wealth and leisure much more capable of forming just conclusions on political problems, and above all less inclined to be misled by their personal prejudices? How many of the great ideas that help forward the civilization of the human race come from people of

wealth and leisure? It is notorious that the mass of mankind abuse their leisure and spend their wealth frivolously, while many of those who work for their daily bread at sedentary trades are well informed by reading and thinking, and it is no theory but a practical fact well known to those who have worked with and for the labouring classes that these are the men who guide their fellows. That they should have "a lively sense of their own wants and a strong feeling of their own grievances" is most natural, and proves, if proof were needed, that they are of our own flesh and blood, for have we not all these? but that their favourite candidates will be those who "share or flatter their prejudices" is a reproach which assuredly need not be exclusively flung at the working classes. Neither Mill nor Fawcett have ever stooped in the slightest degree to flatter their prejudices; both have opposed them, and yet both have been deservedly favourites of the proletariat.

With regard to the fears entertained by Mr. Greg respecting our possible Indian policy under a more democratic government we may safely say, "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." When a nation is governed despotically by another nation, alien in speech, thought, religion, and civilization, at the other end of the world, and within short periods is afflicted by famines and wars in which millions perish, we should hesitate before implicitly accepting the dictum that our rule has proved so signal a blessing to the heterogeneous nations of Hindustan. We venture to predict that when the ignorant constituencies make themselves felt the policy of gradually teaching the natives to govern themselves will be initiated, a policy even now approved by the foremost Indian statesman, but which it is impossible to inaugurate in consequence of the "interests;" for strange to say, our present upper and middle class governors are decidedly "more swayed by personal interests than by political considerations, the first touch them very closely." A son or nephew in the Indian Civil Service has more effect on the vote of a gentleman than considerations of justice and broad general policy.

The foreign policy of democratic nations has been, in our opinion, somewhat too hastily assumed to be dictated by the passionate mob. It is not so long since a hot-headed American officer snatched from under the flag of England two rebel envoys. It was a time of peculiar exasperation, for America conceived herself to have been insulted, mocked, and sneered at by the English press. Society on this side of the Atlantic considered war inevitable. The American Government would doubtless be desirous of keeping the peace, "but then you know," said the Club quidnuncs, "they cannot resist the mob." The result proved that no autocratic power could have better

restrained popular passion and with more decided effect. There appeared to be in England a sort of disappointment that the American mob had not read the world a practical lesson on the evils of democracy—a disappointment almost as great as when the same democratic Government shed not one drop of blood on the scaffold after the suppression of the mightiest rebellion in history.

“If we had a House of Commons dependent on the suffrages and reflecting the sentiments of uneducated and therefore susceptible millions,” &c. &c., “how long,” asks Mr. Greg, “could we stave off Continental or Transatlantic hostilities, or those ‘strained relations’ which are almost as obnoxious as war? Fancy a foreign policy dictated by an ignorant democracy,” &c. Here again, let us leave the domain of theory and descend to facts. Was that House chosen by an ignorant democracy that cheered when the *Alabama* broke loose on her errand of devastation? Was it the democratic party that constantly provoked the Americans by gibes and insults during their life and death struggle? Were the “strained relations” that cost us millions, and had nearly cost us a war of inconceivable disaster, whether we had been victorious or the reverse, caused by the democratic or aristocratic party? Were those meetings in Exeter Hall, which were gathered together to protest against our intervention, and which were presided over by men upon whom the *Times* and *Standard* poured contumely, crowded by aristocrats or by the common people? The answer to these queries is so obvious that we need not further pursue the subject.

Surely there are few who will dispute Mr. Greg’s dictum, that “for the future our main security will be *the wider diffusion of property*, and in all such measures as will facilitate the result;” but we greatly fear that the moment we should stray beyond this plausible generality and come to practical measures we should widely differ. We have long held the opinion that the State, in its dealings with the land, should encourage its partition and facilitate its transfer, instead of doing the reverse. No man should be allowed to tie up land for unborn children. At present there are millions of acres in Great Britain that belong to no one. The occupier has a limited life interest in the estate, the heir has a limited expectant interest in it, and the unborn babe has a sort of veto on the selling of any part of it; and under this blight the land becomes in a great measure unproductive and depopulated. In no other country in the world are these impediments to the purchase of landed property by the industrious allowed, and yet we doubt not that most respectable people think the system little short of divine; and why? Because the modern *cultus* of Great Britain is wealth.

We talk of the American worship of the almighty dollar ; but what is their worship to ours ? They doubtless respect a rich man inordinately ; but their god is mortal. We give ours immortality. A wealthy grocer or banker who amasses a heap of gold is officially ennobled, he is crowned with a coronet, is included in the liturgy, and not only he but his offspring are set apart as a sacred caste, their estates protected from the results of their imprudence, and our whole land system forced into an unnatural channel to meet this curious species of idolatry.

It is all very well to say that in a rich country, the land of which is scarce, the poor man would be unable to keep his land, but would seek more profitable investments. We answer, that theory has no right to stand in the way of practical justice. In other rich countries where land is scarce the anticipated result does not follow. In Belgium it is not so, nor in Germany, France, or Switzerland, nor indeed in any country. The poor Englishman who is content with 2½ per cent. in the Savings Bank would hardly make his land pay less. Such theoretical paper objections to a peasant proprietorship as those usually urged are worthless in the presence of flourishing peasant communities in most civilized countries, and as long as artificial hindrances to the buying and selling of land exist. Remove these and let things take their natural course, or else show a valid reason why the nation should be sacrificed to an oligarchy.

We boast of living in a free country ; we would omit the word country and substitute that of cities. The country districts of Great Britain are governed by an oligarchy more tyrannical than that of any European State. The land being in the hands of a few proprietors, these have simply put a ban upon free thought, either civil or religious. As a rule no landlord will accept a tenant who does not profess to be a Conservative in politics, and a member of the Church of England. On the occasion of an election anything like individuality has been sternly weeded out ; and this going on for several generations has produced as abject a breed of cultivators as any despots could desire. Time was when at the call of the country the yeomen of England rose and fought and conquered her liberties. Their degenerate descendants would be more likely to fight as hirelings for any form of slavery and superstition—if, indeed, they could be got to fight at all. The country system of England is not calculated to develop anything like human progress ; and in this opinion even the *Times* will bear us out ; for in its pages, and in a leading article, occur the following pregnant words : “ The English live under squires, territorial potentates, extensive employers, and local oligarchs ; and under this

régime they endure an amount of positive tyranny, or negative neglect that they would not find surpassed under the most despotic system of the Continent."

The subject of the second essay in Mr. Greg's volume, is "The approaching Industrial Exhaustion or Decline of Great Britain." He asserts that the captains of industry already detect symptoms hidden from the inexperienced and unlearned of this approaching decline. The advantages that have given us our manufacturing supremacy are stated to be three :—

1. Abundant coal and iron.

2. Indefatigable industry and *workmanship*, blended skill and conscientiousness.

3. Our enormous command of capital.

Mr. Greg asserts that our coal is in process of exhaustion, and that "our artizans work shorter hours, less steadily and conscientiously than formerly, while the skilled labour and enterprise of other nations are improving;" and the "*cost of production* of our manufactured articles is increasing both positively and in comparison with competing countries." But Mr. Greg admits that our capital is more enormous than ever, and that an astonishing expansion and elasticity of our foreign trade has taken place during the last decade, which he thinks proves nothing but that the operation of these causes has not yet become apparent, "their effect being as yet only inchoate or concealed by the counteraction of other agencies."

Provided these causes continue to be counteracted by other agencies, we have, as it seems to us, no need for alarm, since it may be presumed that other agencies may increase in strength as well as the peccant causes. For example, more hopeful people think that the loss arising from the shorter hours of our workmen may be counterbalanced by more vigour and intelligence arising from the opportunity of rest and self-education; for, however deplorably the present race of workmen may misapply these advantages, surely we may hope for some improvement in the future.

We see the old question arise here of free labour *versus* slavery. It is not long since the laws which regulated our working classes, especially the miners, actually reduced them to a species of slavery; the change from that degraded condition has of late years been rapid. No wonder that the self-improvement of these labourers, whose mothers, nearly naked, were yoked to underground trucks, should not be as complete and rapid as one would desire. Still, as free labour answers best in the tropics, we may hope it will do so here.

The exhaustion of coal is treated of by Mr. Greg in a thoroughly fair and scientific manner, leaving nothing to com-

plain of, unless it be the very dark view of the future to which we are presented. In these days of marvellous scientific discovery it is scarcely the over-sanguine who hope that the means of economizing the consumption of coal (which still continues recklessly extravagant, both in our houses and factories), and the use of other sources of motive power, may be the product of invention stimulated by dearness of fuel. Such changes would doubtless deprive us of our comparative monopoly of manufacturing power, but would still leave us our enormous capital, and that superiority in thoroughness and capacity of labour best known to those who have had experience with both English and foreign workmen. To harp on the fact that our supply of coal is not inexhaustible, that after many generations coal will be worked out, is surely adding unnecessarily to our anxieties, which are enough to occupy us for this generation. Those dire questions, and many others which we dream not of, will have to be dealt with by the statesmen of 2074.

In discussing the question of diminished production as the result of the reduced hours of work, and the rules of trades unions, Mr. Greg seems to predict that our workmen will go from bad to worse, and destroy the industry of the country. He does not seem to take into account the fact that great changes in the organization of industry through which we are passing, are inevitably attended by painful and even dangerous crises, but that workmen collectively have often as enlightened a view of circumstances as the masters, and are quite as ready to hear reason and to submit to self-denying privations. How often of late have we not seen workmen agree to a 10 per cent. reduction in their wages. Possibly a diminution of hours of work involves a certain decrease of production ; and what then ? There are limits to the workmen's claims, and we venture to assert that these claims (with certain exceptions) have not been unreasonable, and cannot, in the face of increased exports, be said to have injured British manufactures.

Mr. Greg is eloquent on the mischievous operation of some of the less enlightened proceedings of trades unions in still further increasing the cost of production in this country. The benefit of trades unions has been immense—without them the condition of the workmen would be deplorable ; but no one can assert that their rules have always been wise. They betray too often the ignorant and exclusive spirit of the middle ages ; and in some cases even a dishonesty equal to that of our legal trades union, which imposes on a man seeking an opinion to pay a fee to an attorney as well as to a barrister. Perhaps mechanics may have taken the example of those above them in the social scale.

"The colliers," it is said, "are now, under the direction of their

leaders, striving directly and avowedly to keep up the late high price of coal, and thus to paralyse the iron trade and injure many other industries, as well as harass every householder throughout the kingdom (the poor far more than the rich), by artificially restricting the output." Why single out the colliers for blame when the ironmasters have their combinations throughout Europe for precisely the same ends? We do not defend the colliers, nor do we condemn them ; we only object to the working men being singled out for reprobation when their betters set the example. Moreover, if these movements were confined to England, there would be more cause for anxiety ; but trades unions, strikes, lock-outs, and all such industrial wars are as common on the Continent and America as here, so that the pressure on commerce is like that of the atmosphere, it is equalized throughout civilized countries. Mr. Greg, referring to this says : "But if their artizans are no wiser than ours, their Governments, so far at least, are stronger." As he speaks of "our most formidable rival being the United States," we presume he means that a Republic is a stronger Government than a Monarchy. But in a question of strikes, what is a strong Government to do? Surely, we cannot go back to the policy of our forefathers and fix the rate of wages? The function of a Government is to keep order, not to compel any particular class to sell its labour at less than the market price. Mr. Greg utters a truism when he says that, "Our operatives and artizans, will not be driven to be more disciplined and amenable to work longer hours, and to be content with lower wages, *except under the unmistakable pressure of adversity.*" Neither, we take it, would Mr. Greg except under the same pressure.

The third part of Mr. Greg's book treats of our National Religion and the dangers we incur from the divorce of the intellect of the nation from its religion. The eloquence, boldness, and beauty of this part are especially admirable. It is well thought out and most of it we believe to be unanswerable. "The religion of the nation," he says, "ought to be the embodiment of its highest intelligence in the most solemn moments of that intelligence. It should be, if not the outcome, at least in harmony with the outcome, of the deepest thoughts, the richest experience, the widest culture, the finest intuitions of the best and wisest minds that the nation counts among its children." "But at least the religion of a nation, its creed, its notions concerning supernal natures, and invisible things, its views of God and a future life, in short, ought to be such as the noblest and most enlightened intelligence of the nation can cordially accept and embrace ; and will not either last or guide, govern, purify and elevate the

nation if it be not." Mr. Greg boldly alleges (and who will contradict him?) that the highest intelligence of the nation has long since repudiated the national religion, not openly and honestly, but passively, so as to produce a widespread hypocrisy, and moreover a grave and undeniable peril to the nation.

The mass of the people, on the contrary, he alleges to be sincere though inconsistent believers. He admits them to be utterly illogical, and their practice to be what Christ would be unable to recognise as his teaching, but he credits many of them with a genuine Christian spirit, and these have modified the social aspect of the nation. We may remark in passing that this "genuine Christian spirit," if it means humility, returning good for evil, doing unto others as we would be done by, &c., may be Christian Spirit, but it would be more correct to call it a religious spirit, as it belongs to and is inculcated by religions more ancient than Christianity itself.

Mr. Greg admits the existence of great religious activity too. "The nation's religion has long stood in the way of the nation's education. The Church is at least vigorous and aggressive." Still he thinks that all this is not inconsistent with the fact that the intellect of the nation is breaking away from the old moorings of creeds, dogmas, and churches.

Few can deny this assertion, but to us it seems that we are far from having agreed upon the definition of religion and Christianity. A hundred sects squabble over the latter. We much doubt if the finest intelligences are divorced intellectually from the principles that were preached by Jesus on the Mount, and which had long before been inculcated by some of the greatest teachers of mankind. But how do these accord with the monstrous dogmas of the Churches, repugnant too often to human reason, enforced on weak minds by the threat of damnation, and of at least social ostracism in this world? How do the teachers of the Church place themselves with regard to the ever new discoveries of science? When geologists show us by the clearest proofs and reasoning that this world is of an age beyond human calculation, their pulpits resound with anathemas against those patient workers after truth, because the results of their researches do not accord with the writings of some unknown and semi-barbarous Hebrew whose book has been pronounced sacred and inspired by some conclave of ignorant and semi-barbarous monks and priests. When, however, the intelligence of the people cannot resist the proofs of geologists, then the preachers adopt a non-natural reading of their scriptures, and translate "*days*" into "*periods*" or "*ages*." Take again the ordinary position of the National and Christian Church during any great political questions involving morality. When

the conscience of the nation was touched by the infernal horrors of the slave trade, what part in that struggle did the Bishops and Priests of the Anglican Church take? were their voices heard loudly denouncing the inhuman traffic? On the contrary, without actually defending it, their votes and silent influence (with but few noble exceptions) were all on the side of wealth and slavery.

In quite modern times again, when the horrible institution of slavery in the Southern States (which for its preservation required penal laws against instruction, and burning alive as one of its punishments) was on its defence, the so-called Christian pulpits of those States rang with denunciations against any form of abolition, and the mass of our clergy here were unquestionably firm adherents of the Southern planters. It is almost too disgusting to reflect on the part they took in the revolting Jamaica question.

Take too the ordinary practices of the Christian Church, its avowed simony, its greed of and respect for wealth in strange contrast to the preachings of Christ, its furious electioneering practices, and then let us ask how can intelligent people regard it as anything but a purely political institution, one of the bulwarks it is thought of order, inasmuch as the parson holds out the hope of a better world to keep men contended with their foul hovels in this, and threatens them with eternal punishment in the next, if they are spiritually or otherwise insubordinate. There are of course certain enlightened men in the Church who "modify, volatilize, ignore, eliminate," the grossest superstitions of the Church, but how are these large-minded men regarded by their brethren? Let Dean Stanley appear on the platform of St. James's Hall at a clerical meeting, and you have an uproar of groans and hisses that would do honour to an election mob.

Mr. Greg thinks a large proportion of the operative classes in towns are total unbelievers, and these not the reckless and intemperate, but the best of the skilled workmen. Seeing the extraordinary influence of the Methodist and other forms of Dissent, we are constrained to doubt this assumption, but there is certainly a large number of the best of the workmen whose faith is far from orthodox. Still when the writer fears so intensely the effects of the proletariat ceasing to believe that a capricious God has ordained their lot in this life with the intention of making up for it in the next, we cannot but join issue with him.

If really and truly our system of morality be based on hypocrisy and falsehood, the danger lies in its continuance. Is it good for any class of mankind to be contented with a foul unhealthy life, crowded in hovels and starved in body and mind, because

their priests tell them (without being able to prove their assertion), that their wretched lot is to be changed hereafter, for something more glorious? Is content under such circumstances to be desired? Is it not fatal to enterprise, industry, even to providence?

But if every working-man were to discard what is called Christianity to-morrow, where would be the danger? Would they on that account throw over morality? How is it then that since, according to Mr. Greg, the best of the skilled workmen, "probably the majority," are already unbelievers, they are not also criminals. The contrary is notoriously the case. Nay, if you would have a body of men absolutely orthodox, you will find it in our largest prisons;—not that we would quote these criminals as religious men, or as discrediting in any way the Established Church to which most of them nominally belong, but as a proof that morality, on which all societies are based, is absolutely distinct from any particular form of religion. The orthodox clergy of the Southern Church never quoted the Eighth Commandment to the ruffians who stole the slaves from their homes in Africa, but applied it only to such men as John Brown, who helped them to be free. Our own clergy, who assisted to impose on a Catholic country a Protestant Church, quietly ignored the precept "do unto others as ye would they should do unto you."

We cannot but think that the "widest *police* influence" of the Gospel has been somewhat exaggerated.* True, the *compensation* doctrine of a better life for the poor has been made much of, but those who attend Church will also read the more than doubtful morals of the Old Testament. They will hear the hideous tales of Lot and his daughters, Judah and Tamar, the massacre of the Shechemites, the Levite of Ephraim, David and Bathsheba, Amnon and his sister, &c. They will hear of the Deity as a consenting party to infamous deeds. They will be edified by the history of Jacob, who is represented as being specially blessed by the Deity, but at the same time a liar, a trickster, and a scoundrel who for gain basely deceived a blind old father. Will it then be for good or evil when the poor man "wakes up with a start to the bewildering conviction that *if* he is to rest, to be happy, to enjoy his fair share of the sunshine and the warmth of life, he *must do it now here at once, without a moment's delay.*" We do not believe that there would be at once a great change in the life of the peasant or proletariat. In the first place we doubt that Christianity, such as he has learned, has had so great an influence on his morals. All travellers beyond Christendom will agree with us that our poor are not the most virtuous in the world. A Moslem

village is far more cleanly, decent, and chaste than an ordinary English hamlet despite the bad government of the former. The war of the sects has kept the Englishman ignorant, he has lived and does live under as despotic authority in his village as any Asiatic hind, and the habits of servile deference and unthinking passive obedience to the powers that be are not broken in a day, a year, or a generation. Slowly and gradually he would be enlightened as to what was false and unreliable, and surely we may assume that ideas of justice, fairness, in short, of the morality on which all societies are based, would grow up and replace worn-out creeds.

When the change indicated by Mr. Greg "shall have come over the religious belief of the working classes, the burden of protecting our anomalous and unequal system, and of maintaining the social hierarchy as it now exists—hitherto sustained by the belief in a compensating world hereafter, by the force of ancestral sentiment and habit, and by the armed force of government and law, *i.e.*, by the three in combination—will be thrown upon the two last powers exclusively," one being weakened and the other deliberately undermined.

It appears to us that the writer lays too much stress on the idea that Society has hitherto been kept in order mainly by orthodox religions, and especially by the teachings of those religions. Doubtless religions have had immense effects on the human race, hecatombs of slaughtered and tortured victims marking history at every stage, but the bases of morality, as we have formerly remarked, have always stood firm (during peace at least), being built upon the experience of mankind, independent of so called revelations. Doubtless the Conservatives of our day, who think that our present English organization, so pleasant to the rich, is the best of all possible systems, may well dread any symptoms of change. It may occur to the poor man to ask why the estate of an insolvent Duke should be preserved from the hammer in order to keep up that particular family, as if no better could be found; it may occur to ask why such absolute property in our land should be allowed as to encourage the deportation of peasants to make room for deer. The usefulness or necessity of an established sect, whose chief function is that of a Conservative political association, will doubtless be more urgently asked as time goes on, and the question why a certain number of eldest sons in certain families should by Divine Right be allowed to veto our legislation may and doubtless will be menacingly asked—and what then? Other nations live, flourish, and are happy without these menaced institutions, why then should not we? We may hope that the influence of a better education and more enlightenment may

teach these privileged persons wisdom and self-denial, in the absence of which is our only danger.

As Mr. Greg says, "at least we may remedy those more flagrant discrepancies which no logic can defend, and no sophistries can gild." We cannot re-distribute property, but we may see to it that no unwise or partial laws favour unequal distribution.

ART. V.—ARISTOTLE.

Aristotle. By GEORGE GROTE, F.R.S. London: John Murray. 1872.

THESE volumes are the last effort of the Historian of Greece. Begun in the year 1865, immediately on the completion of his work on Plato, they were carried on without pause until his death in the year 1871. It is needless to say that their publication had been anxiously expected. Mr. Grote having directed the greater part of a laborious life to the task of representing the political and social history of the Hellenic world, had long ago proposed to himself to show the speculative activity of this remarkable people by a critical examination of the works of the chief thinkers in whom that activity culminated. His former volumes on Plato and the companions of Sokrates had proved him to be eminently fitted for this task. He had vividly realized the external circumstances which gave their colour to the great intellectual movement inaugurated by Sokrates; he had exhibited with great breadth and minuteness the teaching of the immediate Sokratic school, and had placed himself, so far as a modern may do, at the point of view occupied by the original hearers of Aristotle; and while no one regretted the precedence, necessary on historical grounds, given to Sokrates and Plato, it was felt that the work on Aristotle would be, in many respects, more congenial to the tendencies of Mr. Grote's own mind, and that parts of the Aristotelian writings, the Politics and Ethics for example, would afford him an opportunity of exerting his powers on a field peculiarly his own. Had he lived to complete his task, these anticipations would, doubtless, have been completely realized. There is every probability that Cicero's hyperbole would have been justified by Mr. Grote's last appearance as an author; *famam ingenii expectatio hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superavit*. Unhappily, this important work, designed, together with the Plato, to form the

last chapter of the History of Greece, is unfinished. How great a loss the readers of that history, of philosophy in general, and especially of Plato and Aristotle, have sustained by the author's death will be best understood by whoever most fully realizes the peculiar relationship between Aristotle and Plato, their points of likeness and unlikeness, and the manner in which these two great thinkers mark the speculative tendency of Hellas, and illustrate the history of her people. To the vain regret with which we regard an incompleted whole must be added a regret, not less vain, with which we survey the part which is incomplete. It is a noble, and, indeed, a colossal fragment, worthy in every respect of its destined place as the coping-stone of the greatest history of modern times. But of its proportions, of the finish it would at last have received under the author's hand, we can only judge very imperfectly. One section only of Aristotle's numerous works, the "*Organon*," has been completed. Fragments of the *Metaphysics* remain, together with a most valuable analysis of the *De Anima*. The rest is a blank. The *Poetics*, the *Rhetoric*, the *Ethics*, the *Politics* and the *Physical works*, properly so called, are all wanting. Had Mr. Grote lived to carry out his intention we should have had a critical and exegetical commentary on Aristotle, written on the level of modern scholarship, and containing the results of the most recent discussions on the various philosophical questions which arise in the course of such a work. Nor can we doubt that, merely as a commentary, it would have ranked high among the similar works of the most distinguished men of the Greek, Arabian, and Latin Schools. Whether Albertus, Averroes, or Alexander Aphrodisiensis would have been compelled to surrender their titles to Mr. Grote it is impossible to say; but of the relative value of their works and his, considered as an aid to understanding Aristotle, there can be no question whatever.

No one who is aware of the part which the Aristotelian doctrine has been made to play in theological, metaphysical, and logical controversies, will doubt that there is room, even in the present day, for an elimination of foreign matter. It will be considered by many more doubtful whether it is worth while to restate in its original form a theory which, whatever its merits in the fourth century before Christ, cannot now be accepted either as complete or satisfactory. But apart from the historical interest which attaches to the first attempt of which we have any record to reduce our knowledge to a systematic whole, there are good reasons why Aristotle should be studied, both as a disciplinary exercise and as an instrument of general culture. Not only the language of mental science, but that of common life, owes much to this original and discriminating thinker who so constantly

practised his own rule of "coining words for the sake of clearness."* Many distinctions generally recognised, but not precisely expressed, have received from him an appropriate name. The language of Logic is almost entirely the language of Aristotle; the language of Metaphysics is in the main his language; that of Moral Philosophy differs, where it differs, for the worse. As Trendelenberg justly remarks: *Nullum fere erit nomen a philosophis frequentatum quin ad Aristotelem redeat*. To those, therefore, who wish to avoid the confusion arising from calling unlike things by a common name—a confusion which the English language somewhat encourages, and to which, more than to any other single cause, inaccurate thinking is due—there can be no better exercise than a familiarity with the Aristotelian form of expression. And for this reason alone Aristotle deserves to be included in the list of standard works whose study forms part of a liberal education. The elements of his logic, as adapted by Professor Trendelenberg for the schools of Prussia, would be a valuable supplement to the study of Euclid. His moral treatises are marked by a manly good sense and a freedom from theoretic extravagance which make them an excellent preparation for the business of active life. On many subjects we cannot acquit Aristotle from the charge of loose, ill-considered and one-sided statement. But he had studied men, and in his analysis of moral motive and action he shows a broad and judicial spirit. Neither the brilliant paradoxes of the Academy, nor the formal demonstrations of the Cyrenaics made him forget that human actions must, after all, be judged by a human standard, and that in determining the moral qualities of acts we must be guided by that experience which forms the test of judgment in the ordinary affairs of life. As we have before observed, Mr. Grote's work is complete in one part only, and it is with reference to this part that we propose to examine it. This article will therefore be mainly devoted to a consideration of the *Organon*, as interpreted and commented upon by Mr. Grote. But before entering upon this subject we shall give the substance of the two important chapters on the Life and Canon of Aristotle, which form the introduction to the work before us.

In his first chapter Mr. Grote gives us the personal history of Aristotle. The industry of modern scholars has long since collected all the facts which can be deemed authentic, together with all the anecdotes, scandalous and laudatory, current in antiquity respecting the founder of the Peripatetic school. These

* "Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτων τὰ πλείω ἀνώνυμα, πειρατέον δ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, αὐτοῦ δ' ὀνομαστικοῦ ἐινε; σαφήνειας ἕνεκεν καὶ τοῦ εὐπαρακολουθῆτον.—Eth. Nicom. ii. 7. 11.

materials are arranged and sifted with the skill which long practice in similar work had made habitual to Mr. Grote. We learn that Aristotle was born about the beginning of the fourth century before Christ at Stageira in Thrace. His father, Nicomachus, was a distinguished medical practitioner of the heroic Asclepiad clan, the confidential friend and professional attendant of the Macedonian Amyntas, the father of Philip. Nicomachus possessed, and probably constructed, a building devoted to medical and surgical practice, in which his drugs and instruments were kept, where the anatomical studies mentioned by Galen as the traditional teaching of the Asclepiads were carried on, where also medicines were compounded and the more important operations performed. Such a building is described by Hippocrates, and it must have closely resembled the surgery of a general practitioner in an English country town at this day. After his father's death Aristotle carried on the practice to which he had succeeded in this surgery. He retired from the profession at the age of thirty, shut up the building and joined the school of Plato at Athens. Thus ended the first phase of Aristotle's life—his purely special and professional career. Its influence on the bent of his mind must have been great. So much so that we feel inclined, on the internal evidence of his writings alone, to reject another story said to be vouched by good witnesses which omits all account of a preliminary trial of the medical profession. Allusions to medical practice are so frequent in Aristotle, and occur so spontaneously in the way of illustration and argument, that it is difficult not to believe him speaking from experience. It may be added that sometimes the prejudices of the practitioner are visible, as for instance in a well known passage,* in which he compares those who listen to moral discourses without putting the precepts into practice, to patients who hear all that their doctor has to say, but carry out none of his directions; "a man will never get well who treats himself thus," adds Aristotle, innocently evidently from the professional point of view.

For the next fifteen years Aristotle continued at Athens profiting by the society and lectures of Plato. On the death of Plato in the year 347 B.C., Aristotle quitted Athens, accompanied by Xenocrates, and on the invitation of Hermeias, a friend and former fellow-pupil in the school of Plato, took up his residence in the Mysian town of Atarneus over which Hermeias ruled. Whilst there he married Pythias, the niece or adopted daughter of Hermeias. Two or three years after the death of Hermeias he was invited by Philip into Macedonia to become the tutor of

* Eth. Nic. ii. 4, 5.

Alexander. He continued in this capacity until Alexander's accession in the year 336 B.C., and in the next year he went to Athens and established a new school in the gymnasium attached to the temple of Apollo on the eastern side of the city, ever afterwards memorable as the Lyceum. In that school for the succeeding twelve years, during which Alexander was engaged in the conquest of the East, Aristotle continued to lecture and teach. In the year 323 B.C. Alexander suddenly died, and an outburst of anti-Macedonian feeling took place at Athens, the effect of which as bearing upon the position of Aristotle is elaborately explained by Mr. Grote. It gave an opportunity to the party, considerable in point of numbers, which was hostile to Aristotle to make a public attack on him. He was accordingly indicted for impiety at the instance of one Eurymedon the Hierophant, as Sokrates had been accused before him and on very similar grounds. He retired to Chalcis in Eubœa, leaving his school and library at Athens under the care of Theophrastus, intending, as Mr. Grote surmises, to return to Athens when the storm had blown over. He died, however, shortly afterwards in September 322 B.C. at the age of 68 or 70 years. Such are the brief outlines of the life of a man who has exercised a greater influence on the cause of abstract speculation than any other thinker of ancient or modern times.

Mr. Grote proceeds in his second chapter to the examination of the Aristotelian Canon. The subject is one of well-known difficulty, and in the present state of the evidence no decision can be accepted as final. But no part of the volumes before us better deserves reading than this second chapter, which is full of interest to scholars, and affords the general reader an excellent example of the difficulties which have to be overcome in settling questions relative to the authenticity of the ancient texts. We shall accordingly summarize the chief statements and conclusions contained in it. Mr. Grote begins by pointing out that there are in fact two distinct lists of works entitled with the name of Aristotle. (1). Those contained in the edition of Andronikus, put forth in the generation between the death of Cicero and the Christian Era, and which forms the foundation of the editions we now possess; and (2). Those mentioned in the Catalogue given by Diogenes Laertius, a writer on the History of Philosophy, whose date is uncertain, but who lived not earlier than the second century after Christ, and who probably framed his Catalogue from the titles of such Aristotelian books as were contained in the Alexandrian Library.

Of these two independent enumerations of the works of Aristotle it is to be observed, that the greater number of the treatises comprised in No. 1 are not specified in No. 2; and that

No. 2 omits the titles of various works not now extant, but which Aristotle himself informs us he really composed. And this is not the only difficulty.

"Both Cicero and other writers of the century subsequent to him (Dionysius Hal., Quintilian, &c.) make reference to Aristotle, and especially to his dialogues, of which none have been preserved, though the titles of several are given in the two catalogues mentioned above. These writers bestow much encomium on the style of Aristotle; but what is remarkable is, that they ascribe to it attributes which even his warmest admirers will hardly find in the Aristotelian works now remaining. Cicero extols the sweetness, the abundance, the variety, the rhetorical force which he discovered in Aristotle's writings; he even goes so far as to employ the phrase *flumen orationis aureum* (a golden stream of speech) in characterizing the Aristotelian style. Such predicates may have been correct; indeed, were doubtless correct in regard to the dialogues, and perhaps to other lost works of Aristotle; but they describe exactly the opposite of what we find in all the works preserved. With most of these (except the 'History of Animals') Cicero manifests no acquaintance; and some of the best modern critics declare him to have been ignorant of them."

These difficulties have been resolved by opposite hypotheses. A critic quoted by Mr. Grote, Valentine Rose, considers that the works enumerated in the catalogue of Diogenes (No. 2) were not composed by Aristotle but by various unknown members of his school. This judgment, which would impeach the genuineness of the first five books of the *Nikomachean Ethics*, has not been generally accepted. Heitz urges to the contrary, that the internal evidence leads to the conclusion that the works mentioned in the catalogue are the true works of Aristotle, and that most of the works we possess and which are due to the edition of Andronikus are spurious. To neither of these hypotheses does Mr. Grote assent. He sees no ground for distrusting the catalogue given by Diogenes as in the main an enumeration of the genuine works of Aristotle, collected from time to time and lodged in some great library, probably that of Alexandria. He reconciles the want of agreement between that catalogue and the edition of Andronikus, and escapes the difficulty arising from the fact that Cicero, Plutarch, Athenæus, and other ancient authors seem to have been unacquainted with the works contained in his edition, by accepting the story told by Strabo as to the fate of Aristotle's library. This story, if true, does no doubt dispose of part of the difficulty, but of part only. The account is shortly this. Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle in the school at the Lykeium, possessed a valuable collection of books, containing among other treasures Aristotle's own library and original MSS. Theophrastus bequeathed his entire collection to one

Neleus, who removed it from Athens to his residence at Skepsis near the Troad, and no great distance from Atarneus, where Aristotle had formerly resided as the guest of Hermeias. Skepsis formed part of the region subject to the kings of Pergamus, who about the year 250 B.C. commenced to form a great library. The Attalid kings seem to have had too much of the spirit of book collectors to think any harm of stealing a MS. They adopted, and perhaps originated the rule now fully recognised, that a MS. belongs of right to any one who has once, no matter how, possessed himself of it, and their feeling was so well known that the heirs of Neleus took the precaution of hiding their literary treasures in a cellar (*κατὰ γῆς ἐν διώρυγι τινί*), where they remained for over a century subject to great injury. On the death of the last of these kings in 133 B.C. the MSS. were brought out and subsequently sold to a wealthy Peripatetic scholar named Apellicon. The manuscripts and library both of Aristotle and Theophrastus were thus about 100 B.C. opened to the learned world for the first time since 287 B.C. On the capture of Athens by Sylla in 86 B.C. the library of Apellicon was carried to Rome, where Andronikus obtained access to the Aristotelian writings contained in it, and published an edition of the philosopher's works with an amended text and a fresh arrangement of the treatises.

"The purpose of Andronikus," writes Mr. Grote, "was not simply to make a catalogue (as Hermippus had done at Alexandria), but to render a much greater service, which no critic could render without having access to original MSS., namely, to obtain a correct text of the books actually before him, to arrange these books in proper order, and then to publish and explain them, but to take no account of other Aristotelian works in the Alexandrine library or elsewhere. The Aristotelian philosophy thus passed into a new phase. Our editions of Aristotle may be considered as taking their date from this critical effort of Andronikus, with or without subsequent modifications by others as the case may be."

While, therefore, we know Aristotle chiefly through the more difficult and abstruse treatises contained in the *editio princeps* of Andronikus, ancient scholars, including Cicero and all of an earlier date, knew him chiefly from the more popular works, copies of which had from the attraction of their style or subject matter got into circulation in the lifetime of their author, and some of which were preserved in the school, or had found their way into the Alexandrine library. It is possible, though Mr. Grote does not expressly suggest it, that of these works so circulated as Aristotle's some were merely notes or recollections of lectures shaped by Theophrastus, who was celebrated for the elegance of his style. This would help to account for the marked discrepancy, as regards literary finish, which

exists between the works Cicero read and those we read. Too much should not be made of these differences; for examples of excellent and even of poetically beautiful writing are to be found in our Aristotle, and apart from this, it is sufficiently common to find the same writer varying in the most marked degree in the form of his composition at different periods of his life, or when engaged on different subjects. The general conclusion arrived at by Mr. Grote with regard to the Aristotelian canon, is that there is no such strong antecedent presumption either in favour of this catalogue of Diogenes or the edition of Andronikus as may be claimed for the Platonic canon of Thrasyllus; the question of the authenticity of the individual treatises is in each case open to some doubt, and that doubt must be resolved by balancing any reasons which can be urged against the treatise, and the presumption, considerable though not conclusive, that the ancient critics decided rightly.

The examination of the canon terminates at this point. Mr. Grote no doubt intended to supplement what he has written by one or more chapters devoted to an examination of the internal evidence furnished by Aristotle's writings as to their authorship. Every scholar will regret that this most important and interesting part of the plan was not carried out.*

The third and succeeding chapters, to the tenth inclusive, are devoted to an analysis of the eight treatises collectively known as the *Organon*. This analysis is accompanied by very full illustrative and critical notes containing not only references to the text, but where the occasion requires, extracts from the commentators, principally of the earliest Greek and modern age, those of the mediæval period being for the most part omitted. A very elaborate discussion on Universals and a chapter (in two parts) on the first principles of scientific reasoning, both placed in the appendix, belong to this part of the subject, as does also an unfinished chapter, Chapter xi., designed as an introduction to the *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, in which the line between Ontology and Dialectic is traced and their points of relation shown. An analysis of the *De Animâ* forming chapter xii., and of six books of the *Metaphysics* and two of the *De Cælo* in the appendix, forms with an essay on Epikurus and one on the Stoics the remainder of the work.

It will be obvious from this description how far short the work actually is of what was intended. The exposition of the analytical and dialectical doctrine is complete with the exception perhaps of an intermediate chapter, but no other part of the philosopher's system is fully set forth. We shall therefore most usefully employ the space here at command in attempting to describe what Mr. Grote has done in that important part of his task which he has actually completed, and the remainder of this

article will accordingly be devoted to his treatment of the *Organon*.

This name is not sanctioned by the usage of Aristotle himself as the designation of any particular division of his works; it was applied by Andronikus to the treatises entitled the *Categories*, the *Interpretation*, the *Analytics*, the *Topics*, and the *Sophistical Refutations*, on the ground that these treatises constituted an instrument of thought, with the use of which all must needs become familiar who wished to solve the problem of philosophy. As regards the Aristotelian philosophy this opinion is perfectly just; it is impossible to understand it without an acquaintance with the terms, definitions, and leading principles enunciated in these treatises. With good reason, therefore, they have always stood at the head of the works of their author, and on account of their intrinsic importance have attracted a large share of the attention both of the friends and foes of his systematic teaching. It may be added, without injustice to anybody, that relatively to their importance and to the pains which Aristotle himself declares he bestowed upon them, none of his writings have been less diligently read. They are, indeed, frequently quoted, and no reader of the Peripatetic philosophy is unfamiliar with isolated passages and with some of the most celebrated expressions and definitions. But only a small proportion of those who think it worth while to make themselves acquainted with the *Ethics*, the *Politics*, the *Rhetoric* or the *Poetic* take the pains to familiarize themselves with this group. The reason of this comparative neglect is twofold. In the first place it cannot be denied that the cardinal books of the *Organon*, that is to say, the first and second *Analytics* and the *Topics*, are uninviting and in parts exceedingly difficult. In the second place, the system expounded in them has been so discredited by writers of influence from Bacon downwards, that the stimulus to undertake the labour necessary for an acquaintance with it in its original form has been wanting. We express no opinion for the moment on the justice of these criticisms; we propose something antecedent to criticism, namely, a statement of what the author of the *Organon* intended to set forth in it.

The treatises composing the *Organon* are divided in the editions into six:—1. The *Categories*; 2. The *Hermeneia*; 3. The *Prior Analytics*; 4. The *Posterior Analytics*; 5. The *Topics*; 6. The *Sophistical Refutations*. Grouping them with reference to their subject they may be arranged as follows:—

A. MATTERS PRELIMINARY TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE SYLLOGISM.

- (1.) The enumeration of the various significations of disconnected terms of propositions—(The *Categories*;)
 - (2.) The classification of propositions as such—(The *Hermeneia*).

B. ANALYSIS OF THE SYLLOGISM.

- (3.) The statement and analysis of the syllogistic process; that is, of the mode in which cogent inferences can be drawn from combined propositions—(The *Prior Analytics*).

C. APPLICATIONS OF THE SYLLOGISM.

- (4.) The epideictic syllogism; or, the application of the syllogistic process to the data of science—(The *Posterior Analytics*).
- (5.) The dialectic syllogism; or, the application of the syllogistic process to the data of probability, and of ordinary and usually accepted belief—(The *Topics*); including herein a classification of the chief sources of error to which the Dialectic Syllogism is liable, or to which it may be consciously applied—(The *Sophistical Refutations*).

We shall have to deal in an exceedingly summary way with the vast mass of debateable matter contained in these works. As a matter of course we shall not occupy space by describing the technical system elaborated by Aristotle in them, important as that is, because it can be readily ascertained by reference to any ordinary Manual of Logic. It is, unfortunately, necessary to make a selection even of those doctrinal subjects to which prominence has been assigned by Mr. Grote.

But before proceeding to describe, so far as is here possible, the leading principles enumerated in this aggregate of treatises, it will be as well to make a few observations on them, as a whole. Their scheme is obviously not co-extensive with logic as that word is now understood. It neither satisfies the requirements of a definition which resolves logic into the science of the laws of thought, nor of one which reduces it to the science of the laws of proof, nor yet of one which extends it to the science of objective existence. It centres in the syllogism. Although the part played by induction in the process of cognition was clearly discerned by Aristotle, and repeatedly and even emphatically stated, he makes no serious attempt to analyse the inductive process, nor does he point out its function as a means of verification and proof. Mr. Grote states this part of the case with much force and clearness:—

“He (Aristotle) signalizes, with just emphasis, the universalizing point of view called Science or Theory; but he regards it as emerging from particular facts, and as travelling downwards towards particular facts. The misfortune is, that he contents himself with barely recognising, though he distinctly proclaims the necessity of the inductive part of this complete operation; while he bestows elaborate care upon the analysis of the deductive part, and of the rules for conducting it. From this disproportionate treatment, one half of logic is made to

look like the whole; science is disjoined from experience, and is presented as consisting in deduction alone; everything which is not deduction is degraded into unscientific experience; the major premises of the syllogism being considered as part of the proof of the conclusion; and the conclusion being necessarily connected therewith, we appear to have acquired a *locus standi*, and a binding cogency such as experience could never supply; lastly, when Aristotle resolves induction into a peculiar variety of the syllogism, he appears finally to abolish all its separate dignity and jurisdiction" (i. 286-7).

But while recognising this omission, it would be unfair to charge it to a defective conception, on the part of Aristotle, of the method of reasoning. For although logic is more closely identified with his name than any other subject of which he treated, the word is not his, nor have we any reason to assume that, in the group of treatises before us, he imagined that he had worked out a complete logical theory, or that he distinctly aimed at anything more than he, in fact, accomplished—an analysis of the deductive mode of proof. In giving the prominence he did to this side of logical method, he was probably guided, in part at least, by the wish to supply what he felt to be a pressing want in his time. The essentially public life of Athens, as of the other free Hellenic states, and the habit of determining important questions of civil rights and civil policy by the issue of a popular debate, put great power into the hands of an effective plausible speaker. The data on which such a speaker reasoned, and the facts to which he appealed by way of illustration or proof, constituting, as they did, the common stock of opinion, prejudice, and belief current at the time, are not, in fact, appropriate subjects for the application of a strict inductive method. They admit, indeed, of being examined, sifted, and cleared of the misleading applications to which general propositions of that class are especially liable. And, to a great extent, Sokrates had already performed this necessary operation, in bringing popular assertions to the test of what Aristotle well calls his "inductive conversation." The tangle of various meanings and assertions which grow round a general term, obscuring its precision, and rendering it unfit to be made a link in a chain of reasoning, had been, to some extent, removed by the dialectical labours of the Sokratic school, or, if not removed, attention had been pointedly called to this particular source of error. But in the course of a long debate, especially if the subject be one in which many speakers are engaged, there is at least as much chance of error on the deductive side as on the side of induction. Conspicuous examples of almost every form of vicious inference are abundantly found in the Platonic dialogues, and we cannot wonder if Kleon or Alkibiades, in the heat of political debate, frequently fell into mistakes which were not avoided by Plato in the composition of philosophical treatises. Against errors of this kind, before Aris-

totle wrote his *Analytics*, no warning sign had been put up. "It is not," he says, "that a part of this subject had been previously worked out, and a part not, but absolutely nothing existed."* Aristotle, then, may well have considered that in supplying this want, and in generalizing the rules adopted by accurate deductive thinkers, he was rendering a service to philosophy and to practical politics not less than the one which Sokrates had rendered, and complementary of it. Next to the objection of a total omission of the inductive analysis, the charge most frequently made against the *Organon* is, that it runs counter to the true principles of that analysis, indirectly sanctioning, if it does not expressly proclaim, a loose and erroneous inductive inference, and developing its principles without any reference to external fact. It is true that a scheme dealing with verbal propositions admits of being constructed without reference to the question whether the words used respond correctly or incorrectly to objects without the speaker. So long as terms have a precise meaning, and that meaning is consistently preserved, they may be legitimately combined, and inferences, formally correct, may be drawn, irrespective of the question whether the inferences are verifiable or not.

Those who represent logic as the science of the formal laws of thought, claim no more for it than that it does this, and they assign to special sciences the task of determining the material truth of the propositions used. *Inasmuch, however, as Aristotle did not conceive the process of inference to be a law of thought, but an expression of the relations of things, he is undoubtedly open to the objection frequently raised against him, of neglecting material probability. "The syllogism consists of propositions, propositions of words; words are the symbols of notions. If, therefore, the notions be confused, and carelessly abstracted from things, there is no solidity in the superstructure."† And that this defect ran through the entire application of the syllogism by Aristotle; that it forced assent and not things; that he was everywhere more anxious about definitions, and the verbal accuracy of propositions, than the truth of the objects for which the propositions stood;‡ that he made his physics the slave of his logic is repeatedly insisted upon by Bacon. It would not, however, be difficult to extract from the writings of Aristotle, and in particular from the *Organon*, warnings against this error almost as emphatic as are to be found in the "*Novum Organon*" itself. Aristotle was perfectly well aware that words are the signs of things, that they ought to correspond to things, and that the truth of every proposition is determined by the exactness of the

* Ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας οὐ τὸ μὲν ἦν, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἦν προεξεργασμένον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν παντελὸς ὑπῆρχεν.—*Sophis. Elenc.* xxiii. 16.

† *Bac. Nov. Org.* i. Aph. 14.

‡ *Nov. Org.* i. Aph. 13, 54, 63, 67.

correspondence between the nominal sign and the real counterpart.* He likens the use of language in reasoning to the use of counters in arithmetic, and observes that words are a makeshift only, whose use is obligatory because things themselves cannot be imported into discussion; nor does he forget to point out that in consequence of this we are too apt to assume that the accidents of language rest on corresponding distinctions in that stratum of reality which language represents.† It is true that his practice not seldom falls short of his precept, but in view of the theoretic side of his system this is irrelevant. Whether he always applied them or not, Aristotle had singularly just views of the position of logic among the sciences, and of the function of language as a logical appliance. He looked on logic as a branch of knowledge dealing with a certain class of the objective manifestations of that many-sided eternal reality which he called Being. He looked on language as a conventional way of representing to ourselves these and other manifestations of the same reality. In opposition to the Platonic Kratylus, who maintained the natural adaptation of names to the things they signify, he lays down that speech is significant by convention only, regarding it as a mathematician does his symbols, a convenience in the process of reasoning, always convertible with the things it stands for, and when accurately used, always precisely representing those things and no others. In order, therefore, to judge of the logical doctrine stated in the *Organon*, it is first of all necessary to be acquainted with certain facts, or what Aristotle supposed to be facts, of existence considered as the substratum of which language was the interpretative symbol. Aristotle conceived the sublunary sphere, or portion of the universe lying immediately around us—ὁ περὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ τόπος—to be subject to irregular motion, and therefore under the dominion of Chance, while the exterior, and vastly greater region of the universe, lying beyond the sphere of the moon, was the seat of orderly and regular motion, and was governed by Nature operating according to fixed principles. Founded on this physical fact, as he conceived it to be, and answering to it, is the distinction between Nature and Reason, and between the Necessary and the Possible. His conception of Science and Opinion was not one of varying degrees of exactness in our knowledge of the selfsame subject matter, but of different kinds of knowledge, whose difference depended on a corresponding difference between their respective subject matters. He

* *Metap.* ix. 10.

† *Sophis. Elenc.* i. 4.—Ἐπεὶ γὰρ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα διαλέγεσθαι φέροντας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀντὶ τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμεθα συμβόλοις, τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγοῦμεθα συμβαίνειν, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ψήφων τοῖς λογιζομένοις. Τό δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοιον.

thought that corresponding to Science there was the objective reality of necessary matter, always regulated by uniform and constant changes, which excluded the possibility of imperfection or error—Science being the knowledge of this reality, and proceeding from it in the way he imagined all knowledge to proceed—namely, by apprehension of external objects of sense; Opinion being the apprehension of objects ever changing and variable, and that owing to this peculiarity in its object, Opinion received its characteristic quality, and not in consequence of any want of information, or other want on the part of the observer or thinker. This theory of the essential objective difference between necessary and contingent matter pervades the whole Aristotelian doctrine, and, more than any single error, has confused and vitiated his general system. But it is *an error a parte rei*; it does not spring from a false logical method, but from an unwarrantable assumption of physical fact. Bacon put the saddle on the wrong horse in saying *physicum logicæ suæ prorsus muncipavit*. Aristotle's theory of proof depended upon his theory of the nature and constitution of external things the subject of proof. He was not content with a logical scheme which merely satisfied the exigences of dialectic, rhetoric, and other special arts. He considered himself bound to show the consistence of his scheme with the facts of the whole order of nature, and its place in that order. Fully recognising the value and originality of the Sokratic point of view, he notes its deficiency of scope in this respect—*Σωκράτους δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰ ἠθικά πραγματευομένου, περὶ δὲ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως οὐθέν*—and he gives us on one side the epideictic syllogism, or deductive reasoning applied to necessary truth; and on the other side the dialectic syllogism, or deductive reasoning applied to contingent and probable truth.

The groundwork of Aristotle's logical system is accordingly laid in the facts of the Kosmos. Logic was not in his view a branch of psychology, though it had a psychological side; he did not consider so much the mode in which we think of things as the mode in which things may be made known to us. And this objective point of view is brought prominently forward in the *Categories*, and distinctly, though less markedly, in the *Hermeneia*. In those two treatises he deals with the proposition, first as resolved into its terms, and next as a complete whole. He introduces the whole subject, not by an analysis of mental states, but by an enumeration of the various manifestations of Being. Propositions affirm or deny one thing of another. This process when honestly performed and not vitiated by conscious error, states or is believed to state certain correspondences between things. He therefore thinks it necessary to explain in what way Existence or Being can enter into predication. The subject of

the proposition is a concrete individual object, the predicate consists of some of the various attributes which he classifies into distinct heads. Being, he remarks, in one of its four forms, must be regarded with reference to this scheme; it manifests itself in the shape of a single object with various enumerated and classified attributes. In the *Hermeneia* he regards being in another of its manifestations as susceptible of truth and falsehood. He points out, not indeed in that treatise, but in the *metaphysics*, that when we speak of a proposition as true or false we are adding somewhat to the simple conception of Being, for that in things themselves there can be no distinction of true or false, such distinctions being subjective merely.* To the same purpose is the remarkable logical distinction between matters past and present and matters future. With certain exceptions he lays it down that in every pair of contradictory opposites one must be true and the other false. But he refuses to admit this as to future events, on the ground that by so doing we should affirm the sequences in them to be all necessary, whereas we know that many among them depend on deliberation and volition, and are not necessary. Mr. Grote points out that "this distinction is founded on Aristotle's ontological or physical doctrines respecting the sequence and conjunction of events." However unfounded in fact, it shows in a remarkable manner how deeply Aristotle was impressed with the conviction that logic was a science dealing with objective relations and not subjective ones. Had he been considering the laws under which we think, the fact that certain sequences depend upon those laws would have afforded the strongest of all reasons for including in his system the propositions which announce them. Upon the same material distinction is founded the difference enunciated by Aristotle between necessary and problematical propositions, known as the doctrine of the modality of propositions. "Many logicians, and Sir William Hamilton very emphatically, have considered the modality of propositions as improper to be included in the province of logic, and have treated the proceeding of Aristotle in thus including it, as one among several cases in which he had transcended the legitimate boundaries of his science." The criticism of Sir William Hamilton serves to bring out how widely different Aristotle's conception of logic was from his own. If logic be the science of the necessary law of thought, modals have no place in it. By including them, Aristotle has added one to the numerous instances which show that he considered logic as a science not of thought but of things.

Plato has been described, by a not inappropriate figure of

* *Metaph.* v. 4, 2—οὐ γάρ ἐστὶ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ ἀληθές ἐν τοῖς πηγάμασι, —ἀλλ' ἐν διανοίᾳ.

speech, as having carried philosophy from earth to heaven; of Aristotle it may be as truly said that he brought it back again. And nowhere is his tendency to reduce within the limits of experience facts which had been explained on a transcendental hypothesis more clearly shown than in that theory of cognition which he framed in direct opposition to his great predecessor and teacher. One of the chief difficulties which pressed upon Plato and Aristotle, and upon all earlier thinkers who had approached the question, was how to account for knowledge of various orders. There are some subjects upon which all men are practically agreed, and on which one man's opinion would be admitted to be as good as another's; of this nature are the simple facts given by the senses. There are other subjects on which all men are agreed who have studied the subject and know the meaning of the terms they employ: such are the truths of arithmetic and geometry. But there is a wide range of subjects susceptible of truth and falsehood, on which both the instructed and uninstructed judgments of mankind diverge very considerably: morals, æsthetics, politics, belong to this order. How is knowledge on these subjects attained? why do the opinions even of those who profess to have studied them differ, and on what common principle can we be said to "know" facts apparently so diverse as those which we learn from our senses, the data of mathematics and the assumption of practical life? Plato cut the knot by denying that the term knowledge was applicable to the facts of sensible perception, or to any particular facts whatever, and by explaining our knowledge of general facts or universals on the hypothesis of the pre-existence of the human soul, and of its having been made acquainted in its former state of existence with the general or universal forms of which the presentations of mundane existence are only a feeble copy. The Platonic theory involved the following propositions:—That the only real substance was the universal. That this real substance was not directly cognizable by any human being, existing as it did in a world far removed from the one in which human beings live. That it was cognizable indirectly only by a reminiscence of what had been made known to the soul in its former state of existence in the world of forms. That this reminiscence was brought about by dialectic debate, of which only a select few were capable, and they only after a long and laborious training.

Of the specific objections raised by Aristotle to this theory it is not necessary to speak. Mr. Grote justly says that they are not superior in acuteness to those which many dialecticians of that age could have framed, or to those that Plato himself produces in the *Parmenides*. Aristotle's merit is that he framed a counter theory, and that he embodied it in an elaborate and original system of logic, metaphysics, and ontology. In the *Cate-*

gories Aristotle joins issue with the main proposition of Platonic realism by his statement that the first and only real substance is the particular sensible object the subject of the proposition—this man, this horse, this tree; and in the same treatise the universal is treated as removed in degrees, varying according to its generality from real substance, and relegated to the position of predicate. "There is no doctrine," declares Mr. Grote, "that he protests against more frequently than the ascribing of separate reality to the universal. The tendency to do this he signalizes as a natural but unfortunate illusion, lessening the beneficial efficacy of universal demonstrative reasoning."* In the *Categories* Being is considered merely in its logical aspect, its other modes of distinction into fundamental and concomitant, potential and actual, belong to the metaphysics, which are closely connected on this subject with the logics. These distinctions, however, form, equally with that insisted on in the *Categories*, part of what Mr. Grote describes as a portion of that philosophical revolution which consisted in the displacement of the seat of reality, and the transfer of it from the cogitable universal to the sensible particular. How great that revolution was, and what important consequences followed from it, philosophers are occasionally apt to forget. The next step taken by Aristotle was not less decisive and fruitful in consequences. Having established the reality of particular objects, he proceeds to show by what process we ascend from these particulars to the universal propositions of demonstrative science and of knowledge. Of induction as the instrument by which the general term is arrived at, something will presently be said; we are here concerned with the succession of the steps, each involving an inductive inference by which we mount from sensible impressions to the widest generalizations of science. This succession, expressing the order of the development of our cognitions, was very vividly realized by Aristotle, and is described by him with great clearness in the second book of the *Posterior Analytics*.† All animals, he says, are born with a certain discriminative power; with some the act of perception remains for a longer or shorter time in the mind, with others it does not. Those animals which are able to retain it are capable of a knowledge beyond that which perception gives. The knowledge so gained varies in different animals according to their various powers; in some it reaches reason, in others it falls short of it. Out of perception arises memory; out of repeated memories of the same thing comes experience, which is only the expression of many memories; out of experience, or out of a general notion beyond the particulars constituting it,

* *Analyt. Post.* i. 24.

† *Analyt. Post.* ii. 19; *Metaphys.* i. 1.

when it has rested in the mind, we get the principle of art and science—of art if the principle relate to anything to be made, of science if it relate to existence simply. These mental habits are accordingly not found as distinctly marked off from each other, nor do they spring from other habits of greater cognitive efficacy—they arise from sensible perception, and we may illustrate their growth from what happens in the flight of an army in battle, where first one runaway stops, and then another, and then a third, until at last a number docile to command is collected.* One characteristic feature of the mind is to be susceptible of this process. We see thus that nature presents to our senses only concrete and particular objects in which abstract and universal notions lie hidden, and from which they are disengaged by a faculty of the mind appropriate to this duty and correlating with them. It is plain, concludes Aristotle, that we necessarily arrive at our knowledge of first principles by means of induction, for it is thus that sensible perception generates the universal.

The formation of general propositions out of particular instances by the aid of induction is thus the doctrine which Aristotle opposes to the Platonic hypothesis that we get at the general term by a shadowy recollection of a prior state of existence in which we had directly contemplated universal substances. Aristotle takes a distinction between those universal propositions which constitute the first principles of exact or demonstrative knowledge, and those which form the starting points of probable knowledge, both with regard to the materials whence these propositions are respectively derived and as to the faculty of the mind by which the inductive process is applied to the materials. His solution of the difficulty to which we have above adverted, whence the great difference in knowledge of various orders? depended in part on the distinction between the sphere of Nature and the sphere of Chance, and in part on the assumption, common to him with Plato, that things generically different must needs be apprehended by generically different functions of the mind. The mental function appropriate to the region of probable or indeterminate knowledge was called by him Sense: the mental function appropriate to the region of certain determinate knowledge he called Intellect or *noûs*.† Unfortunately he has used the same term (*αἰσθησις*) to signify the act of perceiving, the thing perceived and the faculty of the mind by which perception takes place, and for this reason his meaning is apt to be misunderstood in isolated passages, but that the result is what has been

* *ἕως ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν ἦλθεν*. We have adopted Mr. Grote's paraphrase of these words, i. 371.

† *Ἐθνικ. vi. 1.*—*πρὸς γὰρ τὰ τῷ γένει ἕτερα καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μορίων ἕτερον τῷ γένει τὸ πρὸς ἑκάτεον πεφυκός.*

stated cannot, we think, be disputed. The exact relation of nous to the principles which formed the material on which it operated is a difficult point in the Aristotelian psychology :—

“He certainly,” says Mr. Grote, “did not mean that the first principles of reasoning were novelties originated, suggested, or introduced into the soul by noëtic influence. Not only does he not say this, but he takes pains to impress the exact contrary. In passages cited a few pages back he declares that nous in entering the soul brings nothing whatever with it; that it is an universal potentiality—a capacity in regard to truth, but nothing more; that it is in fact a capacity not merely for comparing and judging (to both of which he recognises even the sentient soul as competent), but also for combining many into one, and resolving the apparent one into several; for abstracting, generalizing, and selecting among the phantasms present, which of them should be attended to, and which should be left out of attention. Such is his opinion about the noëtic functions, and he states implicitly that the abstract and universal not only arise from the concrete and particular, but are inseparable from the same really—separable only logically.”*

We are now in a position to understand the capital distinction between induction and syllogism, so frequently alluded to, not only in the logical treatises, but in the other works of Aristotle. In this, as in so many other cases, we are indebted to him for a valuable contribution to the language of mental science. Both words are found in Plato; syllogism in the sense of reasoning generally, or of abstract reasoning; † induction (ἐπαγωγή) without any logical signification whatever. These terms were taken up by Aristotle and invested with the technical meaning they have ever since continued to bear. He defines syllogism as “a reasoning in which some things having been posited, a something different from these positions necessarily follows from the fact of their being laid down.” ‡ The three propositions involved in this definition, taken together, are called a syllogism. Aristotle undertakes to show how such syllogisms shall be framed in order that the conclusion shall be necessarily true, if the premises are true; and this he does in the *Prior Analytics*. Although the word “induction” in its distinctive sense belongs to Aristotle, it was doubtless borrowed from the Platonic use of the verb ἐπάγειν—the bringing in of a number of examples for the purpose of establishing the desired conclusion. This process Aristotle himself signalizes as especially distinctive of Sokrates. § “There are two things,”

* Grote, ii. 237.

† *Theæt.* p. 186, C. See Grote's *Plato*, vol. ii. p. 372, u.

‡ *Analyt. Prior.* i. 1. § *Metaph.* xii. iv. 2.

says he, "which one may fairly attribute to Sokrates, inductive discourse (*ἐπακτικὸς λόγος*), and the framing of universal definitions." In the hands of Sokrates the method did not amount to more than the accumulation of various instances in support of a general proposition. Thus, if the driver who understands his business is the best, and so of the steersman, the shoemaker, and the rest, it is concluded that on any given subject the man who understands that subject is best.* The process here indicated was applied by Sokrates almost exclusively to those questions of human action which formed the principal subjects of his discourse. He would have repudiated as strongly as Plato himself the notion that the highest generalizations of science could be reached by any such means. In Aristotle the process (whether legitimate or otherwise is not here the question) was susceptible of no limitation. He says plainly that the universal propositions which form the premises of scientific inference, are obtained by the inductive process, and by that alone, and he bases this process ultimately on the facts of sensible perception, just as in tracing the ascending steps of our knowledge he rests on the same groundwork.

"It is clear," he observes, in the first book of the *Posterior Analytics*, that "if any kind of sensible perception were wanting, some kind of knowledge must necessarily be wanting also, which knowledge we could not obtain if, as is the fact, we learn either from induction or by demonstrative syllogism. Now the demonstrative syllogism proceeds from universal propositions, and induction from particulars. But it is impossible for us to see the universal otherwise than by induction . . . Draw an induction without the aid of sensible perception we cannot. For as sensible perception is of individual objects, in the absence of such perception we cannot acquire any knowledge of those objects, not from universal propositions, without the aid of induction, nor through induction in the absence of the perceptions of sense."†

This passage gives concisely Aristotle's view of the function of induction in his system as the means by which universal propositions are general, and at the same time it clearly indicates the source whence the inductive conclusion is derived. We see that induction operates through the particular facts given by the senses—many individual objects seen and remembered, many impressions received, compared, and coalescing together form the data on which universal propositions are built up. This Aristotle clearly saw, but when he proceeds to formalize the process in the second book of the *Posterior Analytics* he involves his readers in the utmost obscurity. He says that induction and the syllogism therefore consists in proving the major term to be predicable of the middle by means of the minor—an inver-

* Top. i. 12.

† Arist. *Analyt. Post.* i. 18.

sion of the ordinary syllogistic method by which the major term is proved to be predicable of the minor by means of the middle. This attempt to throw induction into the syllogistic form must be pronounced alike complicated and unfortunate, and the explanation of it is probably (as Mr. Grote suggests)*—

“That the syllogistic forms appear to have exercised such fascination over his mind, that he could not be satisfied without trying to find some abnormal form of the syllogism to represent and give validity to induction. In explaining generally what the syllogism is, and what induction is, he informs us that the syllogism presupposes and rests upon the process of induction as its postulate. For there can be no valid syllogism without an universal proposition in one (at least) of the premises; and he declares unequivocally that universal propositions are obtained only through induction.”†

But when we turn from Aristotle's formal enunciation of the inductive process to his *obiter dicta* upon it we get clear of this obscurity and we find him using language which would be generally accepted as just by thinkers even of the strictest Baconian school. He points out with almost every variety of expression the antithesis between syllogism and induction: induction is the course to the turning-post of the stadium, and syllogism the course back; the one is the passage from particular objects up to the general term and the other is the downward road. Induction is more persuasive, clearer, and more directly known; syllogism is more cogent and of greater efficacy against disputants; the one is prior by nature, the other plainer to us:—

“*To us* means to the large variety of individual minds, which grow up imperceptibly from the simple capacities of infancy to the mature accomplishments of adult years, each acquiring its own stock of sensible impressions remembered, compared, associated, and each learning a language, which both embodies in general terms and propositions the revised classification of objects, and communicates the current emotional beliefs. We all begin by being learners; and we ascend by different paths to those universal notions and beliefs which constitute the common food of the advanced intellect; developed in some minds into the *principia* of philosophy with their consequences. *By nature* or *absolutely* these principia are considered as prior, and as forming the point of departure: the advanced position is regarded as gained, and the march taken is not that of the novice, but that of the trained adult, who having already learned much, is doubly equipped either for learning more or for teaching others; who thus stands on a summit from whence he surveys nature as a classified and coherent whole, manifesting herself in details which he can interpret and sometimes predict.” “Both the two main points of Aristotle's doctrines—the antithesis between Induction and Deduction, and the depen-

* i. 276.

† Arist. *Analyt. Post.* i. 276.

dence of the latter process upon premises furnished by the former, so that the two together form the two halves of complete ratiocination and authoritative proof—both these two are confused and darkened by his attempt to present the Inductive inference and the analogical or Paradeigmatic inference as two special forms of Syllogistic deduction. But when we put aside this attempt and adhere to Aristotle's main doctrine of Induction as a process antithetical to and separate from Deduction, yet as an essential preliminary thereto—we see that it forms the basis of that complete and comprehensive system of logic recently elaborated in the work of Mr. John Stuart Mill. The inference from example (*i.e.*, from some particulars to other similar particulars) is distinguished by Aristotle from Induction, and is recognised by him as the primitive intellectual energy common to all men, through which Induction is reached, its results he calls experience, and he describes it as the real guide, more essential than philosophical generalities, to exactness of performance in detail. Mr. John Mill has been the first to assign to experience, thus understood, its full value and true position in the theory of Ratiocination, and to show that the Paradeigmatic process exhibits the prime and ultimate reality of all inference, the real premises and the real conclusion which inference connects together. Between these two is interposed the double process, of which Induction forms the first half and Deduction the second, neither the one nor the other being indispensable to inference, but both of them being required as securities for scientific inference, if we desire to have its correctness tested and its sufficiency certified: the real evidence whereby the conclusion of a syllogism is proved being the minor premiss, together with (not the major premiss itself, but) the assemblage of particular facts from which by Induction the major premiss is drawn. Now Aristotle had present to his mind the conception of Inference as an entire process, enabling us from some particular truths to discover and prove other particular truths; he considers it as an unscientific process, of which to a limited extent other animals besides man are capable, and which as operative under the title of experience in mature practical men, is a safer guide than Science amidst the doubts and difficulties of action. Upon this foundation he erects the superstructure of Science; the universal propositions acquired through Induction, and applied again to particulars or to lower generalities, through the rules of the deductive syllogism."

If therefore we set aside Aristotle's reduction of the inductive inference to the syllogistic form, and attend to his practice on the subject, and to his view of the function of induction as the means by which all general terms are arrived at, we shall see how considerable an advance he made towards a true theory of cognition. Of the secondary use of induction as a means of scientific verification he appears to have been ignorant. But of its primary use as the path by which we move from the known to the unknown he had a far clearer conception than many of his modern critics.

He understood what is sometimes forgotten, that the process by which any addition is made to our knowledge must of necessity be one in which the conclusion contains something that the materials do not contain, and that otherwise we are not adding to our knowledge but only restating it. If, with Aristotle, we call this process induction, induction must be guesswork in the first instance. Until verified, the new proposition, the proposition containing something previously unknown, is a guess. This guess may range through every degree of probability from a random shot to a deliberate well-directed aim, but it is not less the process described by Aristotle as that by which from the observation of definite observed particulars we infer an assertion regarding particulars not observed. This process, which mankind have always habitually used as a means of discovery, was brought into prominent notice by Sokrates as a means of ethical examination and inquiry. Not the least among Aristotle's contributions to a rational method, was that he laid his hand upon this instrument, gave it a name and declared its universal applicability to knowledge of every order, from the probabilities of common life to the highest generalizations of science.

Here this discussion must end. We feel convinced that an attentive perusal of Mr. Grote's volume—the latest and most valuable contribution to the literature that has gathered round the name of Aristotle—will deepen the admiration which every man of education must feel for the most comprehensive and original mind of antiquity. Much of Aristotle's work is now obsolete; much seems trite, familiar, and obvious; but if we compare the state of philosophy as he found it, with the state in which he left it, we shall see how great was the advance, both positive and relative, which he effected. To borrow the language with which he closes his logical treatises*—we shall “gratefully acknowledge what he has achieved, and pardon what he has left for others to accomplish.”

* Λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη πάντων ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ἡκροαμένων ἔργον τοῖς μὲν παραλελειμένοις τῆς μεθύδου συγγνώμην τοῖς δ' εὐρημένοις πολλὴν ἔχειν χάριν.

ART. VI.—CHARITY, PAUPERISM, AND SELF-HELP.

1. *Fourth Report of the Commissioner appointed to Inquire into Friendly and Benefit Societies.* 1874.
2. *Report of the Council of the Charity Organization Society for 1873.*
3. *Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies.*

THE poor shall never cease out of the land," was said ages ago, when land was "free" and Malthus unknown. It was said of a "chosen people," watched over by a "special Providence," pasturing their flocks in fertile valleys, bright with the sunshine of a genial climate. Nature in those days needed no stimulus from "high farming," but flung her wealth with prodigal hand into the lap of a community whose primitive manners ignored fashion, and whose social life was unfevered by the lavish expenditure of a high civilization.

But the possession of every natural advantage was no preventive to want. "The poor" were there; and there and everywhere they will never cease to exist. Century after century may pass, and whatever else justifies the theory of evolution, the poor, still poor, continue to increase in their normal state, a trouble to philanthropy and an enigma to statesmen. They will "never cease out of the land," because human nature is weak, self-contradictory and therefore sinful; because it is self-sufficient and indolent, and therefore ignorant and miscalculating; because it is proud and ambitious, and therefore liable to fall. So far as poverty depends upon passion and error, the poor will increase *pari passu* with an artificial condition of society, for civilization intensifies the vices as well as the virtues of mankind. It brings together the "rabblé rout" of Comus, as well as the throng of the academici. "Circe and the syrens" are there, and "dark-veiled Cotytto," and the

"Grisly legions that troop
Under the sooty flag of Acheron"—

ministers and victims of the vice and immorality which tend to deepen and darken excusable poverty into confirmed and shameless pauperism.

Now, as of old time, the social problem of that pauperism presses for solution. ●Religionists, philanthropists, legislators, and last, not least in numerical array, ratepayers—all on varied grounds are interested in the question; and each,

according to habit or temperament, leans to one or the other of two modes of dealing with it;—the one loose, improvised, and impulsive, the other systematic, inexorable, and mechanical: Charity and Law.

To help the poor, to look after the poor, to relieve want and assuage distress, is the pleasant *theory* of easy-going philanthropy. Its practical application is indiscriminate almsgiving; and its results are improvidence, shiftiness, idleness, and consequent pauperism. The theory, again, breathes sympathy, brotherly love, and social consideration. The reality is too often made up of ostentation, vanity, and conceit; and the end, be the motive what it may, is mischief. This is the specific called "Charity!"

The other process is more simple and less ostensibly pleasant. It is one out of which faith, hope, and charity have been utterly crushed. It is nerveless and colourless: hard, dry, severe, and mechanical. It moves with the inexorable swish and thud of a huge steam-engine, which just as easily and quite as indifferently benefits or destroys. This is what is hated, dreaded, and derided under the name of "Poor Law!"

In neither of these methods, the sentimental nor the legal, can we trace the true spirit of St. Paul's exordium, and both defeat their own aim, if that aim be the elevation and improvement of the lowest stratum of society; while each in its own way commits the cardinal error of undermining self-respect. The partizans of both have apparently yet to learn that the first step towards improving the condition of the poor is to gain their confidence. Dilettante sentimentalism is as repellent as is the cynicism of official facts and figures. To gain this confidence and to inspire self-respect, the foundation of which is *independence*, and whose backbone is *self-help*, the cue must be *taken*, not *given*; and to exert permanent beneficial influence over the poor these golden rules must be observed:—1st. Individual—*To help them to help themselves*; and 2nd. Institutional—*To test all offered assistance by the sound commercial principle of a fair profit*. On these two maxims hang all the law and practice of sound Charity. Its vitality and its virtue depend upon them. Over and around them may spontaneously cluster and flourish the efflorescence of tender, affectionate sympathy and care, but they furnish the framework upon which all else must hang. No logic and no political economy can or ought to put "the good Samaritan" into the category of old world fallacies, but he who

"Hath a tear for pity, and a hand
Open as day to melting charity,"

will in his own sphere and in due time find call enough and scope enough for the play of kindly consideration, without making his acts an advertisement for the encouragement of improvidence. Only he must curb impulse within the ordering of judgment, and in a healthy sense let "I dare not, wait upon I would!"

We have already said, that those who desire beneficially to aid the poor, must take the cue from them as to how that assistance is to be given. Much of the mischief which arises from the well-meant feeling of the rich for the poor is owing to the sluggish realization of the truth that what is called poverty is essentially comparative. Confessedly, one man is poor with a thousand a year, and another man is rich with the income of fifty. If we seek a fixed standard in actual need, we are told that "the basest beggar is in the poorest thing superfluous." How little nature really requires, and how much civilization habitually demands, would be a hard equation to adjust; and if we concede in our estimate more than nature needs, we must also concede that every man in all that affects his own wants must be a law to himself. Anything therefore like a fixed standard, and one generally applicable, is out of the question. Hence, to obtrude the superfluity of the wealthy into juxtaposition with the poor man's measure of need, is simply to introduce a disturbing element into the healthy relation which should subsist between the two. And when from a vague notion of making the "Heavens more just," some of that "superflux" is carelessly bestowed in slovenly charity, it is a mischievous and often degrading interference with the poor family's domestic economy. It excites there a chronic expectation, undermines industry, and fosters a dependent and often servile spirit; and under its influence frugality ceases to be creditable, and contentment is no longer regarded as a virtue.

When the friendly relation which ought to exist between the two classes takes the loose form of indiscriminate almsgiving, it only tends to nourish into idleness the large shifty portion of the lowest poor, whose life is a chronic struggle for existence. In that life the quick transitions of hope and fear, of scarcity and surfeit, chase each other so rapidly and regularly that they blend like swift-gliding prismatic rays into a colourless homogeneity, and thus feeling hardens into the second nature of unbroken habit.

"One half the world does not know how the other half lives;" and how can it be otherwise, when that "other half" never calculates and never foresees how itself may exist? The shifty management and hunted sharpness of the very poor spring up and die away on the instant. Such qualities cannot be taught, nor are they consciously systematized, or ever providently

exercised. By their fortuitous use the poor "somehow" get fed, like the ravens are fed, "when they cry." But He who supplies all, yea, providently caters for the sparrow, is as little recognised in the process by the human outcasts as by bird and beast. All live on in instinctive trustfulness that to-morrow will be as yesterday; and because of the faith of unthought there is no rebellion against a partial providence. There is no *ir*-religion in the very poor, because there is no religion at all. Chance is their god, and chance provides for them, and because of the atheism of ignorance and their satyr nature, they drop contentedly into fatalism.

But not in all cases, nor for ever. Thought, like conscience, cannot always be stilled. The higher nature of humanity will some time or other assert itself. Intellectual movement must, at times, supervene upon instinctive craving. Thought will suggest comparison and prompt inquiry, and stir up a sense of inequality and injustice. Then the consciousness of destitution comes painfully home; acute suffering takes the place of the callousness of habit; and recklessness and despair follow close and grim. To talk of moral and social law at such a time of awakening—of faith in God, of human sympathy and universal brotherhood—is to bid the wild ocean wave be still, and the sun no longer rise. Law means only a one-sided application of might; God is partial, and human sympathy is typified by the scornful casting of indiscriminate alms to be rid of unpleasant importunity! And yet, disheartening and distressing as all this is, we do not hesitate to say that it is vastly preferable to the treacherous quietude of moral stagnation. The torpor which takes the form of outward degradation is only socially more unsightly, but not really worse, than the moral torpor existing under the seeming propriety which makes clean the outside of the platter, and whitens the sepulchre, and presumes to judge those who, being tempted, *sin*, but who, under temptation, often *resist*. The "douce folk,"

"Wha live by rule,
Grave, tideless blooded, calm, and cool,

know little, if anything, of what lies beneath the death-in-life calm of the very poor. They have neither experience nor imagination, and only what is seen has for them any reality. They cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." There is, as we have said, no actual ferment beneath the quiet surface, but all the elements of change are there. Perfectly still water, it is stated, does not freeze, nor until some agitation, however slight, sends the shiver of congelation over the surface. Once stirred, the whole conditions are altered. And so it is with humanity

in this abnormal and dangerous state, when Dives, jaunty, and full of good intentions, "rushes in" to set all right. His one specific is "to give," and he drops his indiscriminate alms into the waters of the poor man's life, and inanely wonders at the mischief which flows from his little act.

Fairly, then, to deal with the social plague of pauperism the means should be estimated from the poor man's own standpoint; and Dives cannot understand a budget of ways and means so shrivelled as his, and made up of items so infinitesimal. Judiciously to deal with circumstances so peculiar and isolated, a sympathetic acquaintance with the poor man's feelings, and wishes, and surrounding influences is an absolute necessity; and to Dives all this is a *terra incognita*. The one important step to take is to kindle into life the poor man's self-respect. Without this he done there is no foundation laid for improvement; and Dives tempts him into a permanent condition of eleemosynary dependence. Another essential step out of the slough of pauperism is to inspire hope; and Dives' one specific, indiscriminate charity, sweeps away independent endeavour by clearly showing that idleness, imposture, and whining importunity are qualities better worth cultivating than industry and frugality.

Charity, to "soothe, and please, and bless," must be such as St. Paul describes, and not such as Dives practises. Out of sympathy on the one hand and gratitude on the other a new bond of reciprocal good feeling might be formed or strengthened between rich and poor. But alms cast alike to the deserving and the worthless, excite only contempt in the recipient. When to the poor struggler, "breathless and faint" with life's conflict, "there comes a certain lord, neat, trim, and fresh as a bridegroom," and smiles and talks, and, "God save the mark," recommends "parmaceti" as "the sovereignest thing on earth for an inward bruise," what other response can be expected from the poor but Hotspur's?—derision and contempt.

To prove that we have not overrated the evil of indiscriminate charity, we have the fact before us of the existence of a Charity Organization Society. This Society has grown out of acknowledged abuses. It has been established from the well-meant desire to redress the evils arising from almsgiving by individuals without adequate previous inquiry, and to repress mendicity by furnishing information as well about the recipients as of previous donors. Ten persons may give to one beggar; and the Society proposes to stop, or moderate, or divert the charitable action of nine. Ten beggars may solicit alms; and the Society sets itself to arrest charitable action in the cases of nine of that number. Information may be obtained for medical institutions, or the

Society may act on its own account. In all this there is evidence that so far as this Society is concerned, system is getting the upper hand of impulse; and charity organization is the process by which it is intended to filter sympathy through system into prudential beneficence. But can it do so? Can charity be stripped of its grace and warmth and individuality, and still live on? No doubt everything that tends to reduce it to a measured dole, and to deal with humanity systematically and in the concrete, is effective and economical; and organization does this. But everything that interposes a barrier between heart and heart, and chills personal sympathy, and prevents the probing of individual cases under these kindly influences, takes the life out of spontaneous action; and to stop short of its legitimate conclusion—that of absolute law—is merely to dally with and complicate an admitted obligation. Through such an organization action lacks the true spirit of private benevolence, and fails to attain to the completeness and perfection of a national system. To the extent that it *limits charity* it does not *organize* it; and to the extent that it *organizes* private effort it only makes it a sort of rate in aid of the Poors' Rate. Any effort to curtail indiscriminate almsgiving must, we think, be regarded as a palliative, not as a remedy.

From the period of monastic doles to the loose charity of the "soft tommy"* of the present day, habitual almsgiving has proved a social curse. It is a strong incentive to idleness and vice; it saps self-reliance, stifles prudence, and relaxes every spring of self-denying effort; it fosters deception, and holds out a premium for lying; it lays the foundation for waste, and sends over the length and breadth of the land trained teachers to initiate hypocrisy and to spread the arts and wiles of professional mendicancy. The evil it does is immense and enduring; the good is to be measured by the chance alleviation of some real distress.

* There is a story extant of a clergyman who, when visiting a sick tramp in a common lodging-house, found a list of the neighbouring gentry hung up in the waiting-room, some of whom had a black, and some a red, cross appended to their names. Pointing to the black marks, he asked the keeper of the house what those meant. "Oh," she replied, "them's no givers." "And the red?" "Why, in course the reds is the 'soft tómmies.'" As his own name appeared in the latter category he altered the colour of the mark to black, and henceforward saved his pocket by the sacrifice of his local reputation for charity.

A somewhat similar case occurred to the writer. Succeeding a benevolent but weak old lady as tenant of —, he found the house daily beset by a stream of applicants for relief. Benefiting by the clergyman's experience, he one day selected an intelligent-looking tramp, and by virtue of a douceur of half-a-crown, put him on his honour to publish the fact that "a soft tommy" no longer resided at —. The tramp kept faith, and the result was satisfactory.

The ostentatious prevalence of indiscriminate almsgiving and of loose institutional relief, medical or otherwise, has become so clear and palpable, that the ordinary popular cry has been raised that "something must be done." The instinctive craving of a life of shiftiness, incensed and sharpened by want, has banded together professional mendicancy into a species of trades' unionism. On the other hand, the alarmed capitalists (the benevolent public), taking a leaf out of the book of the workers in this lowest grade of industry (as masters in some others) have met the strength of associated idleness by a counter association, which goes by the name of the "Charity Organization Society."

The *raison d'être* of this well-meant organization is, that mendicity, having been found to be profitable, is pushed into abuse; and that money doles being so handy to stop importunity the duty of inquiry is neglected, to the vast encouragement of improvidence with its consequences. To act as a buffer to both importunity and impulse is the aim of the Society. Its spirit is philanthropical, and its administration, we believe, effective; and if only the underlying principle had been sound, charity organization would have held out a fair promise of success as a solution of a pressing social problem.

But the underlying principle is to improve *sui generis* what is radically bad, and therefore to perpetuate what ought to be eradicated; and the perfection of its effect would bring about a deadlock through contradiction. If the Society cripples charity it does not organize, but diminishes it; and when it organizes private effort—that is, subjects it to law of some kind, it goes far to make it only, as we have said, a rate in aid of the Poors' Rate, and this under all the disadvantages arising from want of concert in aim and practice. Any mechanical means to manage and mete out sympathy, and to restrain the pulsations of "the mighty natural human heart," must end in making human nature automatic. "The Charity Organization Society" is performing before the world the grand drama of *Charity*. The actors are efficient and the machinery good; but it is only a play. Pushed *jusqu'au bout*, it would be a performance of marionettes!

The Society was "formed for the purpose of organizing charitable relief and repressing mendicity," and may be referred to under the short title of "The Charity Organization Society." This aim and end is set forth in the first rule. But the Society has "an ultimate end," so stated in their last Report, and that is, "the improvement of the condition of the London poor." Further, the Report states that "the Council have always organized inquiry into the *causes* of distress and poverty, as within the scope of the Society." "It was on this ground," so the Report proceeds, "that early in 1873 they appointed a large

special committee of Members of Parliament and others to consider what action could be recommended with a view to the effectual and general improvement of the dwellings of the metropolitan poor." A further step out of their normal course has been to recommend that "Free Dispensaries should be converted into Provident Dispensaries," and that such societies be "affiliated to hospitals;" and in this connexion we welcome the enunciation of the fact that "the principle which underlies the action of the Council with reference to Provident Dispensaries" was this, "that more extensive and more lasting good is done by enabling persons to help themselves than by giving them poor relief." The Council has also been busy in advocating a reform in the mode by which the recipients of aid from several charities, called the Voting Charities, are chosen; but it seems singular that in a report of proceedings for the year 1873, and presented to a meeting held in March, 1874, the *action* of the Council should be summed up in the statement that they have taken no collective action in regard to the question since the distribution of papers above referred to in May, 1872. But the exertions of the Council are not confined to subjects collateral to the purpose for which the Society was formed in this country. They have been extended to the collection of information with regard to the principal charitable agencies in the colonies and various foreign countries. The collection of this information, however, appears to have been made, not by the agents of the Society, but by the officials of the Colonial and Foreign Offices, and when obtained, it appears to have remained in the hands of the Council undigested and unused until they were solicited (as we infer) "to intrust the materials they had collected" to the competent hands of Mr. Andrew Doyle, the Poor Law Inspector; and to this the Council, it is stated, "gladly consented."

We allude to this exotic and very innocent activity as set forth in the last Report, to show how naturally the good sense and judgment of clever men break away from untenable principles and erroneous purposes; and, as it were, by a species of unconscious "natural selection," seek for exercise in the pursuit of more legitimate objects, in more congenial fields. To inquire into the causes of distress and poverty; to take into consideration so vast and important a subject as "the effectual and general improvement of the dwellings of the poor;" to act in regard to provident dispensaries on the principle that self-help "is better than free relief;" and to collect information in the colonies and various foreign countries; all this is instructive, interesting, and valuable: "*C'est magnifique—mais ce n'est pas la guerre*;" and it can hardly be called the organization of charitable relief in London.

But quitting this pleasant padding of a very able Report, we have to remark, in respect of the avowed purpose of this Society, that it aims to organize, and so make innocuous and tolerable the present intolerable nuisance and social evil of indiscriminate charity. It tolerates and tends to perpetuate that which in its nature is bad, and which ought to be smitten hip and thigh, and whose recipients ought to be handed over, some to the workhouse, and some to the magistracy to be summarily dealt with. The Society professes to take into its keeping the consciences of its subscribers. It takes the responsibility of the donors off their shoulders, and along with that responsibility it becomes chargeable with the mischief which may spring from action. It is quite possible that many of those who would in the face of the acknowledged evil of almsgiving entirely desist from giving, and who would have discouraged others by the force of example, will, protected by the ægis of the Society, subscribe considerable sums. Its efficiency therefore may actually increase the *general* mischief while preventing cases of flagrant abuse.

We have further to remark, that as the efficiency of the Society consists in a species of harrying and worrying, it may, like the Elberfeld system of close supervision, reckon up its results, not by the reform of individuals, but by its success in hunting out, and driving away, habitual recipients of charity from one well-organized district to a less organized, or, as vagrants would call it, one more charitable. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not object to any proper investigation entered into for the purpose of preventing imposition. If organized inquiry be made in a kindly spirit it is decidedly the lesser of two evils. But what we protest against is the logic, that because pauperism hides its head, and mendicancy seeks other and more congenial beats, both are diminished. Scattered they may be, but not necessarily lessened. The social sore when plastered neatly over and made pleasant to the sight, is not thereby cured. The principal result of Charity Organization in this respect, is to sweep the nuisance of mendicancy into corners and bye places; and what we contend for is this, that such must always be the result of dealing with consequences instead of striking at the root of an evil. Half measures in morals, like uncertain justice, are not only illusory but positively cruel. They promote the "try it on" system. They offer a premium to cunning; and by inducing a misty complication of hope and doubt, and a strange mixture of looseness and severity, they tempt the poor to risk a heavy loss *in time*, for a possible gain in money. Nothing is so really kind as an absolute certainty and quick decision; nothing so tends to foster a spirit of

calculation and forethought, as the exact results of known law; and it is not going too far to say, that if the world really believed that human solicitation could change the action of Divine Law, appointed and upheld by Divine wisdom, human self-help would hopelessly languish, and more pauperism would be the inevitable consequence of more (of this sort of) prayer.

Relief in sickness presents the case of what may be called charity once removed. Such relief in itself may be justifiable; but unfortunately the improvidence that neglects to lay up a provision for sickness may be thus strengthened into permanency. To relieve sickness, therefore, means really, in too many cases, to foster improvidence, just as to excuse crime because committed in a state of intoxication essentially justifies both. But Infirmaries, Hospitals, &c., are held to have a claim to be supported on their merits as schools for medicine and surgery. Moreover, institutional charity generally is supposed to hold out a certain protection against fraud and imposition to those who are too careless or busy to investigate for themselves. Further, there is unquestionably a certain temptation presented to a large and good-naturedly weak class, by the publicity given in the subscription list, for annual contributions and periodical donations. Lastly, there is no little satisfaction generated in the minds of well-meaning persons, the bias of whose tastes is not so characterized by learning or by folly as to prompt them to "endow a college or a cat;" but who secretly rejoice in the "sublime attractions" of posthumous fame, or who hope to cover a multitude of vanities, vices, and wasted energies by large institutional bequests.

The amount thus variously-contributed is perfectly astounding; and its loose and mischievous expenditure would justify the hardest terms we could use in condemnation of Charity taking the institutional form. The following facts and figures are taken from an article in this *Review* (January, 1874) entitled "Medical Charity; its Extent and Abuse,"* and in the cause of philanthropy and common sense they cannot be too often repeated, nor the warning they convey too often enforced. The income from voluntary contributions in the Metropolis in the year 1872, amounted to some 600,000*l.* The number of patients (not cases) "approximately ascertained" reached a total of 1,200,000. Without reckoning any interest on outlay for buildings; and taking the cost of all drugs and appliances at wholesale prices; and reckoning that the medical

* This article, together with one published subsequently in this *Review*, and entitled "Medical Charity: Methods of Administering It," has been recently republished as a small volume by Messrs. Trübner and Co.

officers find their remuneration, in part only, from money payment, the medical bills of nearly one million and a quarter of persons are annually discharged by voluntary contributions. In addition to this vast improvident and pauperizing influence, a sum equal to nearly 8*d.* per head of the whole population of 4,000,000 is expended annually in supporting idiots and imbeciles, and 1*s.* per head in supporting lunatics; and all this in addition to outlay for medical relief provided by the Poor Rate. With this expenditure, added to the 600,000*l.*, the total amount contributed by voluntary and compulsory agency for the gratuitous medical aid of all kinds in the metropolis in 1872, reaches very nearly one million pounds sterling (994,378*l.*). This, in brief, is the story of the lavish expenditure in medical charity in the metropolis, as given in the article we have referred to.

Not a few subscribers to Institutional Charity contribute with a light heart, in the belief that the duty of personal investigation is effectively carried out by the officers of such institutions. On the other hand, the duty of the medical officers of such institutions is to render the most efficient professional service they can; and they have a right to, and no doubt do, consider that a subscriber's *recommendation* of an applicant as a fit and proper recipient of medical assistance, furnishes an ample guarantee upon all extra-professional points. The *theory* is that recommendations shall be given by subscribers after proper investigation;—the rule of *practice* unfortunately is, that individuals will not, and that the executive cannot, make at best, more than the slenderest verbal inquiries, and *from the applicants themselves*. In this fashion the responsibility for a right dispensation of the vast resources we have enumerated drops into desuetude.

"At a conference on out-hospital relief, summoned by the Charity Organization Society" (we quote from the article already alluded to), "Dr. Meadows stated it to be unquestionably the fact that the poor are now being gradually ousted out of the consulting-room by well-to-do persons; and that he knew as a fact that persons in the possession of incomes of 1000*l.* per annum come as out-patients to secure advice, and that the wives and daughters of men almost as wealthy actually borrowed their servants' dresses in order to apply as out-door patients." Then follows a list, supplied by a correspondent of the *Medical Times and Gazette*, particularizing seven cases bearing out the above statement; and the Chairman of the Conference, Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., averred as the result of personal investigation that 20 per cent. of the out-patients of one large hospital "had given false addresses." Further evidence follows from provincial sources, making up a case, in regard to Medical charity, of

flagrant shameless imposition, and of scandalous perversion and abuse, as the result of the working of this exceptionally approved mode of dispensing so-called "charity!"

It is with some relief that we turn from the irregularities and abuses of private charity to the national organization for the relief of the poor. Here, at least, we may find order and regularity, in lieu of complication and "confusion worse confounded;" here, at least, we may note the recognition, if not the application, of intelligible principles, and trace something like consistency of action. Compulsion, no doubt, displaces impulsive and flickering kindness, and method dominates over uncertainty. Sympathy there is none; but there is less anxiety, and the edge is taken off disappointment. Gratitude in the recipients would be thrown away upon an organism; but at least the absence of any prevalent caprice stops many a curse. Relief is claimed as a right, and occasional shame and reluctance, at all events in the early stages of pauperism, show a better spirit than the fawning dissimulation of mendicancy.

* The Poor Law has the negative merit of being clearly understood, and thus false expectations are in the main prevented. It is, or it ought to be, inexorable in its operation, but that means impartiality. In dealing with the social disease of pauperism, the law shows the kindness of the physician who tells his patient what he may expect, and inflicts present pain to effect a cure. The misconception of its principles, the abuse of its provisions, the false representations of its action, and in times past, the flagrant prostitution of a public fund to private advantage, have to answer for much of the bad feeling engendered against the Poor Law. If all spurious philanthropy had been eliminated from the discussion and criticisms regarding this law, its beneficent action, within its intended scope, would long ago have been better appreciated, and all concurrent sentimental evils have been reduced to a minimum.

The principle embodied in the Poor Laws is this: Every ratepayer shall contribute to a general fund to provide against want; and every ratepayer, in consequence, shall have a legal right to a subsistence; the cost of which shall be defrayed out of the fund to which he has contributed. The principle, therefore, is that of a National Friendly or Assurance Society, differing only in this respect from private societies:—that citizenship confers membership, and that payment is contingent upon the power to pay. In other words, the aged and the imbecile, the cripple and the orphan, those who really cannot pay, are not on this account excluded from the benefit. The community as a whole pays, and the community virtually benefits. The non-paying class is, however, practically small; and although its

number may be kept up to a steady average, the *individuals* composing that number are constantly changing. In a greater or less degree, therefore, and at some time of their lives, it seem to us that all except those born, or who early in life become, impotent, pay towards the fund. The same class also pays no taxes except on articles of consumption (in the case of out-door relief), and yet, without opprobrium, its members participate unchallenged in all the social advantages of Local Government, police, defence, justice, &c. Why, then, should the Poor Law system be regarded with dislike? Why should the assistance it renders be considered a degradation, its recipients pauperized, and socially ostracized? "Once a pauper, always a pauper," and only on such terms it is that the law administers relief. But subject the whole system to the unprejudiced scrutiny and unbiassed judgment, say, of a foreigner; and what would be the verdict? Not surely that a well-organized system of national relief in cases of destitution is the hateful thing it appears to English minds, but rather, and so far as law can make it, a socially and economically wise, prudent, and right nationalization of the healthy spirit of self-help. We say so far as law can make it, because we shall have to show that the true province of "law" is outside the prudential spirit, and ought to deal only with the mode whereby that spirit is brought out and applied.

The chief causes of the prevalent feeling against the Poor Law have their root far back in history; but for our present purpose we need only advert to the following reasons:—1. Poor Law, or parish relief, is wrongly held to be public charity. The prepayment of rates by the bulk of those directly or indirectly, through their families receiving relief, is left out of sight, and the legal right founded upon such individual contribution ignored. 2. The givers for the time being, and those who have when relieved ceased to pay, are arrayed against each other. There is a chronic struggle between the indigent, made cunning by want, and officials hardened into indifferentism by habit. The victory in this conflict, curiously enough, is not to the strong. The persistent cunning of the confirmed pauper, stimulated by hunger, and supported by a sense of legal right, is not to be baffled by the uninterested opposition of lazy officialism. Official opposition, or defence, properly conducted, means inquiry, trouble, thought, and anxiety. Pauper attack means all we have said of personal stimulus, backed by hereditary training, and supported by legal right; and such constant training, or so to speak "form," gains the race in the end.

There has always been, however, a painful expedient ready to hand as a substitute for official activity. That which the "law

allows," and "the court awards," must be yielded when demanded, either as out-door relief, or in the workhouse. But cannot the claim be stifled before it develops into actual demand? Cannot it be made a tainted and accursed thing—this receipt of parish relief? Cannot the dread of social-damnation be held *in terrorem* over all who nourish a particle of susceptibility and of self-respect, and the crust, when yielded, be so embittered by contempt, and the recipient be so stung by cruel names as to stave off all demands less necessitous than those under which "man's life's as poor as beast's?" What can Boards of Guardians do, meeting only at intervals, and having no personal knowledge of the poor shreds of humanity that shuffle into their presence, and with "bated breath and whispering humbleness," plead a legal right to exist? What can well-meaning but necessarily ignorant judges do but yield ignominiously to applicants, "because of their importunity?" Or, on the other hand, when nettled into harshness by baffled scrutiny, what can they offer as an expedient for personal inquiry, except the easily applied, but rude test of "the house?" And what follows, except that oftentimes cringing humility suddenly becomes transformed into fierce outspoken contempt, and on both sides dislike arises, soon to deepen into mutual injustice?

Thus it is that the national provision against starvation, theoretically so just, socially so humane, and which is founded upon an economical principle so sound (as that of mutual assurance) has become practically so detested, and has been made a curse to both givers and receivers. And it is a question which must sooner or later be pushed by philanthropy into the vortex of politics:—How best to guarantee the poor against want, and yet preserve their self-respect?

3. Some of the prejudice attaching to the Poor Law system is founded upon its cost, and upon the supposed increase of that cost, and the consequent loss to society. Something like twice a year a bill is delivered to the ratepayers for a certain sum to be paid as Poor Rates. The common-sense meaning of this term, and the almost universal belief is, that such payment is made to defray the expences of the Poor Law system. This, however, is a popular delusion. For the year ending Lady Day, 1873, the amount collected under this designation was 12,190,600*l.*, amounting to 10*s.* 5½*d.* per head of the population, whereas the amount actually appropriated to the relief of the poor was only 7,692,169*l.*; or 6*s.* 7½*d.* per head of the population. The difference of 4,094,783*l.* or the "*expenditure unconnected with the relief to the poor,*" represents the measure of misconception in regard to the Poor Law burden, annually presented to the minds of the bulk of the ratepayers; and it excites something akin to

indignation when we find that Police rates, Highway rates (in part), School Board rates (in part) ; rates under the Registration Act, Vaccination fees, the expenses of parliamentary and municipal registration, and the cost of jury lists, are all collected under the short but fallacious term of Poor Rate. If the excuse be the simplification of accounts, such simplification would induce a merchant to dispense with his ledger, and so introduce chaos in place of order. If it means that unpopular expenditure is to be hidden under a name which the public mind has become familiar with, this may be politic, might be called statescraft, but it is in naked reality, *deception*.

Another cause of prejudice is the use of the general phrase "pauper" for all classes of poor relief recipients. Archbishop Trench, in his work on English synonyms, defines pauperism, in distinction from "poverty" and "indigence," as the "being maintained in *idleness* by public *charity*;" and he speaks of that charity as "forced." No doubt this reflects the generally realised conception of a pauper, varying to the mind's eye through every shade, from sturdy ruffianism to the feebleness of emaciation. But maintenance in idleness, the typical pauperism, in short, of public disgust, could hardly, we think, be traced in the following analysis of the pauperism reported for July 1st, 1873. Total number receiving relief, 822,000, composed as follows:—

Children under 16	...	...	...	275,838
Aged and infirm adults permanently incapacitated from working	...	...	...	384,468
Adult lunatics	...	...	...	50,284
Total unable to work	...	...	...	710,590

The balance is made up as follows:—

Women (most probably widows)	...	87,408
Adult males (most of them suffering from temporary sickness)	...	22,238

Total of those temporarily unable to gain a living	...	109,646
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The small remainder consists of vagrants, many of whom may be honestly seeking a better market for their labour, and require a little help by the way.

This is the true rendering of the terrible account of English pauperism. The money cost is great, but the class supplying the paupers itself contributes to their keep. The moral turpitude is small; for no direct responsibility can fairly be held to attach

to seven-eighths of the entire number, and something may be said to redeem the bulk of the residue.

If Archbishop Trench's definition of pauperism be correct, the term "pauper" is wrongly applied to the whole 822,000 persons receiving relief; for there is nothing on the face of the returns to show that to more than 1339—the number of adult males relieved "*on account of want of work*"—could the statement "maintained in idleness" be applied. Children under sixteen are not moral agents in the eye of the law: lunatics are clearly exempt: and as society is not yet prepared to proclaim that "age is unnecessary," or that infirmity is a crime, society ought to tolerate with a good grace what cannot be prevented. Limiting our judgment to the direct issue of want, while freely admitting that prevision ought to have been exercised, and that responsibility attaches to collateral relationship, we yet cannot condemn widows struggling to support a family when suddenly deprived of the support which naturally comes from the labour of the husband and father. Nor can we visit harshly the temporary helplessness of a workman when actually prostrate with sickness; or justify the passing by on the other side, when even a trades' unionist, or an advocate for shortening the hours of work, is struck down by calamity or makes a false calculation of means to an end.

This analysis of so-called pauperism appears to leave no opening for the operation of the Elberfeld system of minute persistent amateur supervision. Such a system might effect beneficial results in years to come, by assisting to create a better public opinion as regards the ties and responsibilities of collateral relationship, and the laying-up for a rainy day; but that any such action in this country could reduce the tables of Poor Law recipients we have presented, is not to be expected. The Elberfeld results require the Elberfeld conditions. There must be flagrant abuses which zeal can remove, and there must exist a lax, careless, dispensation of public charity, for a new and better system to reform. There must be such a state of things, for example, as existed when the New Poor Law was applied in 1834, and which when applied, produced such a marvellous result in diminishing the number of paupers. Local and temporary abuses are frequent and flagrant in the administration of the Poor Law, but they arise from the misinterpretation, or negligent application of the law, and not from anything vicious in the principle or imperfect in detail of the law itself. And the law itself contains a self-righting and adjusting power:—namely, the central authority. On the whole, therefore, we contend that the law is fairly administered, and so far as such a law, righteously interpreted to be a national assurance, can go,

it is based upon a just principle. The mischief it does must be ascribed to prejudice and misapprehension, but the recipients, as a whole, are not, and ought not opprobriously to be termed paupers, nor ought they fairly to be stigmatized as dependants upon charity.

Under the preceding heads we have sketched the chief causes of Poor Law unpopularity, and from a moral point of view its failure. Until the whole of this vital question is approached from the moral side, and in the interests of the lower class, instead of being looked at so exclusively as is done from the money side and as it influences the ratepayers, we can hardly expect any important beneficial change. It is not as we have already indicated, an alteration in the law, that is required, but a change, *toto cœlo*, in the spirit in which that law is regarded. The money part of the question is a narrow and comparatively unimportant one. If we grant that the aged, the impotent and the helpless must be fed, the simple question is by whom? and the equally simple deduction must be drawn that society, *except morally*, is not one whit affected by the answer. Under all cases the 8,000,000*l.* worth of necessities must be abstracted from the stores of society and to feed non-producers. Society is the poorer, therefore, as a whole, whether those necessities are supplied by the ratepayers or by the relatives of the consumers. But the importance of the moral difference as regards *the by whom*, cannot be over estimated. On the one hand we have the recognition of social duty, an appreciation of the ties of affinity, and the growth and development of the best feelings of human nature. On the other hand we may see cunning, class alienation, and social degradation. Brotherly love, neighbourly duty—the spirit of charity which is long-suffering and is kind, is flung to the winds, and the only merit the “system” possesses, in comparison with the natural mode, is that because it is inexorable, it is clearly understood!

By what means a change, healthy and permanent, in the public opinion of both payers and paupers is to be made is, we are well assured, one of the most important of social questions. What legislative lever, what moral dietary, what religious influence, what apt conjunction of effort and opportunity may be used to transmute the feeling warped and soured by ages of prejudice and wrong, is indeed a question for statesmanship to answer.

And “Where is wisdom to be found?” “Charity Organization” on the face of it saith, “It is not in me,” and the Poor Law system, worn smooth and made intelligible by use, saith, pointing to a history of failure, “It is not with me!” “Whence then (we ask) cometh wisdom?”

Those who know anything of the social condition of the working classes, know this much at least, that their habits and character are very much determined by local influences. Occupation moulds the man, and collaterally the public opinion wherein he lives, deepens and fixes the colouring of the predominant influence. The Lancashire "cotton hands" have peculiar manners and customs, as well as dialect. Miners and ironworkers are marked classes, and the nail-makers of Staffordshire have "ways of their own." Demos in a manufacturing town, or a mining district, is an entity quite different from "the poor" of an agricultural community. But clearly marked as may be the normal characteristics of all, all again are modified by the influences of their surroundings; and farmers and farm-labourers in manufacturing localities, differ materially in habits and feelings from the same class in purely agricultural districts.

Again, to attempt a classification of occupations by any county designation would be fallacious, and for statistical purposes, useless. Cheshire, for example, is as well known by its dairy produce as by its cotton yarns and printed calicos. Yorkshire again is clearly divided, the west from the north, by its woollen manufactures and the produce of the wolds; and along with Lancashire, this great county has mining proclivities second only to the dominant industries. In the midland counties which are essentially pastoral we find communities of lace-makers, hosiers, shoemakers, and straw-plait makers; and fringing mining counties like Durham and Cornwall, there are seafarers and fishermen, with marked peculiarities of thought and usages. Shipbuilding also varies the tone with coal winning and iron-making, and altogether give a composite character to their whole population. Mingling, interlacing, and jostling, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce are not coterminous with county boundaries, and to use county designations for comparisons of pauperism as influenced by occupation, would yield conclusions only partially correct.

Hence the Local Government Reports which furnish only county defined statistics, have no value, except as showing the variations of pauperism within purely arbitrary limits. Still, using the materials from this source, *quantum valeat*, we find a prevailing and marked effect produced by special predominant industries upon the numbers of the indigent poor. Thus in grouping together the counties wherein the percentage of pauperism is under 3 per cent. of the population (averaging in fact 2.55 only), we have indicated to us the peculiar home of the textile manufactures. Taking another group of counties, wherein the rate runs from 3 per cent. up to .5 per cent., we find this most intimately associated with mining and metal

working. And finally, grouping all those counties which show a range from 5 to 7 per cent. (Wilts the highest), and averaging 5·61, we find spread out before us the region inhabited by the long suffering population, stirred of late to articulate utterance of its wrongs under the tutelage of Mr. Joseph Arch.

Again, assuming these groups so determined as a basis for comparison, we find from the Report of the Charity Commissioners for 1842 (the latest *completed* Report, we believe), that the amount of endowed charity in each group bears a curiously exact ratio to the amount of coincident pauperism; and lastly, referring to returns relating to Friendly Societies, we may note from the number of members of those societies in each of these groups a remarkable inverse ratio, showing that a maximum of self-help means a minimum of pauperism. These generalized results are shown more particularly in the following table:—

	Pauperism. January 1, 1873. Per cent.	Endowed Charity. Report of 1842. Per head.	Friendly Societies. Estimated on the basis of imperfect returns. Per cent.
Group 1. 5 counties, the chief centres of textile manufactures... ..	2·55	6½ <i>d.</i>	28·4
Group 2. 10 counties, the chief centres of mining and metal working ...	3·79	... 11 <i>d.</i>	... 15·9
Group 3. 18 counties, chiefly agricultural ...	5·72	... 14½ <i>d.</i>	... 14·7
Group 4. Metropolitan dis- trict, exceptional*... ..	3·84	... 20¼ <i>d.</i>	... 9·7

The coincidence between the highest percentage of pauperism and the largest receipt per head of the population of the same district from endowed charity,† in the same districts; and again, the coincidence of both with the smallest proportion of self-help, as indicated by the number of Friendly Societies, is interesting, and we believe may be made profitable. The practical difficulty experienced in organizing and upholding Friendly Societies in thinly populated districts, no doubt in some measure

* We have inserted the Metropolitan district to make up the total, but the circumstances affecting its pauperism are so exceptional as to be useless for comparison. The amount of Endowed Charity and its apparent influence upon self-help are worth notice.

† Lord Palmerston mentioned in the House of Commons the case of the pauperization of a district containing 1000 persons, because, as he stated it, "some fool" had left an endowment of 30*l.* per annum for distribution among "the poor." According to his lordship, the result was not a coincidence, but a direct and lamentable consequence of such endowment.

accounts for the small percentage of members of such societies amongst an agricultural population. We wish we could ascribe all the difference which exists to this cause. We wish nothing could be urged on the ground of low wages, or of the fact that those wages in many counties are paid partly and irregularly in kind, with more or less of the old feudal relationship between employer and employed; and in the cider counties with a tendency to promote intemperance. We should also be glad if there were nothing to be said of the smaller development of intellectual vis, and the generally poorer condition of the dwellings of the manual labourers who till the soil, in comparison with the more active energies of mind, and acuter moral sensibility of the workers in the manufacturing districts.

The results of the table we have given indicate at least the direction in which it would be wise to look to minimize the evils of pauperism; namely, the development of the spirit of self-help, by the wise and simple rule we have already laid down, *of helping the poor to help themselves from their own standpoint*; and at the same time to stay the impulsive hand from scattering indiscriminate alms, both private and institutional. In other words, on the one hand the repression of a spurious charity, and on the other the promotion of the noble, and we rejoice to say prevailing, spirit of self-help.

It is therefore with additional satisfaction, and more feeling of relief, that we turn from the consideration of the enervating influence of almsgiving, and the hard mechanical operation of the Poor Law, to the healthy hopeful spirit shown in the establishment and maintenance of Friendly Societies among the working classes, as made manifest in the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into those societies. Interesting as is the account given of the state of this great spontaneous prudential effort, we confess that we view with apprehension the deductions made therefrom with a view, as directed by the terms of the Commission, "to suggest any improvements to be made in the law with respect to the matters aforesaid." We have no faith in abstract "legislation" to improve the working classes, unless, as we have before stated, the initiative to such legislation be taken by themselves. Some of the weariest and most distressing pages of England's industrial history treat of perverted legislative effort to guide, restrain, and "improve" the poor labourer; and of all as ill-devised, badly carried out, and abortive. Had this class been as intelligent as they were long-suffering, we should have had long ago asserted in Anglo-Saxon fashion, the famous "*laissez faire*" request of the Lyons silk manufacturers. In the case before us (of further contemplated legislative interference with private enterprise) we note the fact of acknowledged evils about to be

dealt with by a legislation warped clear out of its proper function. The Commissioners make forty-five "recommendations of improvement," and one, the 46th, that these recommendations be embodied in a new Friendly Societies Act. The opening of the historical sketch by the secretary to the Commission ought surely to have been a warning.

"The subject of friendly societies," it states, "is one which, for the last eighty years at least, has frequently occupied the attention of the Legislature. Since the first Act passed on the subject, in 1793, the 33 Geo. III. c. 54, long known under the name of 'Rose's Act,' no fewer than nineteen Acts have been passed specially relating to friendly societies, to say nothing of detached enactments. Of the above nineteen Acts, sixteen have been repealed, leaving three in force. . . . Besides these Acts, four Select Committees of the House of Commons, and one of the House of Lords, have reported on the subject, those of the former in 1825, 1827, 1849, and 1854, and of the latter in 1848."

And what is the result of all this passing of Acts and repealing them; this meddling and muddling? That, warned and guided by experience of the futility of such interference, a desire exists on the part of those in authority to "let alone," and allow the frugal provident poor to work out their own problem of self-help? No such thing! A Royal Commission is set on foot, which, nothing daunted by confessed failure from abortive legislation, sets to work, and ends, as we have said, in recommending forty-five new nostrums to be embodied in a fresh law!

The Report itself fairly indicates a suspicion that the subject it deals with is a difficult and delicate one, regarded from the point of view of State interference. The reasons are fairly stated, and the judgment a politic one—viz. "that there is much abstract truth in each of these lines of argument." But both in the statement and in the conclusions there is an absence of the recognition of first principles. The error in the case before us arises from an erroneous conception of the term "State." In the statement of the argument in favour of State interference, "it may be argued," it is said, "that it is the true policy of the State to encourage the formation of habits of providence among the people." After enumerating all possible evils—evils be it understood, all of which are within the view and subject to the control of those most nearly affected—it follows that "the State has the means, if not of absolutely preventing all those evils, at least of averting some of them," and the case for interference is summed up in these words—"that it is consequently the duty of the State to take such measures as may be reasonably adapted for attaining this important end."

On the other hand, "it may be said that it is in theory objectionable to assign to the State what are called paternal functions: that it is not the duty of the Government to look after the affairs of individuals; that by attempting to do so it discourages the exercise of individual prudence, and watchfulness; that after all it can only do the work imperfectly, &c." These arguments, just in principle and admirably stated, would if absolutely entertained by the members, have led simply to the logical conclusion of the resignation of their appointment; but without going to this length, and yet evidently feeling the cogency of the reasoning, they content themselves with the usual goodnatured, but useless dictum, that "there is much to be said on both sides," with the doubly vague application of a singularly vague and safe judgment, that all "must, we presume, depend upon the circumstances of the case."

It is tolerably evident here, that the Commissioners have formed, or at all events used, the term State, in a wrong connexion; or, as we should put it, taking we believe the word State in its true meaning, in a right connexion. The State is simply the people. For the State to will, or do this or that, is only another mode of saying that the *people* think or act in a particular way. *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, may be said of a delegated power, as delegated the power of the people must be, for *collective action*; but *sic volo, sic fio*, is the natural silent sequence of individual action and volition; and a majority of individuals make up "the State." "The Government," which in the *résumé* we have quoted, is used as synonymous with "State," is simply for deliberative purposes a committee of the State, and for executive purposes the servant of the State. But Parliament and the ministry must be in complete accordance with the people in abstract opinion, or in actual wish, in order to reflect the national will. Much has been said of late, ignorantly and foolishly, about constraining the unlettered majority, as if human nature and not learning was not the true basis of law.

If anything will discredit parliamentary government it will be the effete legislation which occupies the time, and taxes the energies of the House of Commons. More than two-thirds of the bills passed during the last three sessions may be fairly characterized as tinkering. The legislative process as a rule is this:—bad laws; laws outside the legitimate function of legislation are hastily passed, full of blunders and omissions, and to effect impossible ends. When passed and they have to be enforced, practical people cannot understand them, experts are mystified, and justice is at fault. The scornful commentaries of the bench are made in vain. Bustling legislators, not at all to the manner born, pachydermatous and reckless, feeling

only a collective responsibility, rush unheeding on their course, and the result is shown, as we have said, in their having to undo each session two-thirds of their former work by "amendments," again to be amended.

The mischief, however, is not to be ascribed solely to bad workmanship. It springs in a great measure from an evident misconception of the proper aim and function of law. Mill's noble work "On Liberty" is evidently unknown, or misunderstood, or disregarded by the mass of our legislators, and not only by them but by their teachers, the press also. If in the dusty struggle of life something goes wrong; if as the consequence of human weakness errors are committed; and when as the natural result of undisciplined passion and unawakened conscience vice and crime irritate and injure society, the loudest, if not the only cry, is to "pass a law" of repression, of punishment, of protection, or of restraint. But although the law of the land is potent and swift to strike, and stretches far, there is a law over that law; and human necessity and even aptitude asserts its supremacy beyond political shortsightedness and popular ignorance. In one word no Act of Parliament will work satisfactorily unless it be conceived in accordance with a sound public opinion. Such a law drops into desuetude. Juries decline to convict; magistrates administer the letter of the law, but rob the sentence of its deterrent influence by condemning the spirit and crude form; and the police are not slow to take their cue from the bench.

It is this sort of tacit antagonism which, sooner or later, nullifies the mischievous attempts to fetter private enterprise, and turns aside the endeavour to mould personal morality, and (to use a stereotyped phrase) tries to make people virtuous and wise and good by Act of Parliament. It is this negative, inarticulate but effective opposition which robs the multitudinous legislative cosmetics for constitutional disorders of their danger. And it is this sturdy practical Anglo-Saxon *vis inertiae* which built up municipal government, and keeps alive the spirit of individual enterprise in this country, in such marked contrast to the system of centralization which caused so disastrous a collapse in France during the war of 1870.

All such attempts made, undoubtedly in the best possible spirit, to control or remove a variety of evils affecting the working classes, can have, we believe, but one effect, and that a disastrous one. Undermine the self-reliant spirit shown in their past history, and teach them by officious zeal and by false lessons of political economy that legislative enactments are a panacea for all social ailments, and we have the old fable of praying to Jupiter to get the cart out of the mud, instead of

the healthy process of self-help. Factory acts, workshop regulation bills, mines regulation legislation, &c., become ridiculous when we consider that they apply to a class which worked out for itself, when prepared for, and desiring it, the famous nine hours limitation in most, if not in all, branches of skilled labour. Lord Shaftesbury's efforts (when Lord Ashley) to restrict the hours of labour in mills have been considered as the model of legislation for such a purpose. But we take high ground in this question, and have no hesitation in saying that on such legislation quick results have been estimated at a higher value than full and permanent benefits. If the evils thus partially remedied by the heroic treatment of law had been allowed to work out their own cure in their own time, we should have had a beneficial educational process of self-help always in action, instead of an enervating system of substituted responsibility, resting on inspection. No supervision can compare in such matters with that of the workmen themselves, *when alive to the advantages springing therefrom*. They best know their own wants, and they have their remedy at instant command. Inspection, conviction, and perpetually amended acts for regulation of labour, stimulate an exacting spirit on the part of the workman, and produce irresponsibility and indifference on the part of the master. And the inevitable result has been a severance of interests, and a disturbance of the kindly feeling and sympathy which form the healthiest and most lasting bond which can exist between employer and employed.

If we look back for the last half century, we may note that the most prominent of all the social movements replete with life, and instinct with progress, and promising permanence, *have originated with the working class*. Friendly Societies grew under their touch in spite of legislative interference. Trades Unionism, which for good or evil will leave its mark upon this century, has been opposed and restrained, and only finally left fairly free by the law, when it had attained to gigantic dimensions and would no longer submit to be treated as a child. Co-operation again, has been altogether a working-class movement, and again, in opposition to unfriendly legislation. These have all been the produce of working-class mother wit, and their success has been the result of working-class energy. The cause of that success is not far to seek, nor is it deeply hidden; and equally intelligible is the cause of failure in legislation. It is the influence of *inspiration*, as compared with that of *constraint*. What self-instruction, self-inspired, is to compulsory rule and cane discipline in the development of a boy's mind, so union forwarded upon an innate appreciation of a class-want is to the constraint of law, in all matters of working-class

interest. And the history of this century bears us out in the statement that while middle-class efforts have been busy in reforming existing abuses, working-class statemanship—for so it is—has conceived and built up the only new principles evolved during that period, and worthy of the name of national institutions.

Self-appreciation of class necessity, and self-reliance in applying adequate means to the required end, no doubt form the true foundation of healthy progress. But self-help, so admirable in the individual, so healthy in the class, may also extend to the whole people and become really State action. There are cases when its action passes beyond the self regarding virtues. To delegate the individual duty to a specially appointed officialism, may be justified in cases where the exigences of society or civilization prevent personal investigation, and special and individual selection and bargaining, which lead to the sound working of the social machine are impossible. There are cases where no individual can of himself institute an examination requiring special knowledge, and peculiar facilities for its exercise, as in the case of the seaworthiness of ships, or the safety of a new railway; and the hurried, or the unprofessional seafarer, and the bustling passenger by express train, finds a certain amount of safety and comfort from a delegated inspection. But in these and analogous cases we hold unreservedly to the principle that individual action is right; and that State action must be exceptional in character, and so strictly circumscribed in extent, as only to be resorted to as the acknowledged lesser of two evils. Most of all it must be made perfectly clear that what is attempted must be fully performed, and that responsibility is coincident with action.

State interference with Friendly Societies might appear to fall within the latter category. It seems a cruel risk for a poor man to run, that after subscribing providentially for a long life as a guarantee against sickness and old age, he finds at last in time of need that his Society is bankrupt. Here, if ever, at first sight, it seems as if State interference could realize all that we have quoted of the advantages to be derived from it, and set forth in the supposititious argument of the Friendly Societies Commissioners' Fourth Report. But we think it may be made clear that, painful as the circumstances may sometimes be, they do not warrant interference; and more practically we think it evident that such interference cannot accomplish its aim; and further, we think it may be proved that the working class, if thrown fairly upon their own resources, are quite able to look after their own best interests. In saying thus much we are not speculating upon possible consequences, but appealing to facts.

Sixteen out of nineteen legislative endeavours to regulate Friendly Societies have proved abortive; and the ascertained result of this sustained interference, is the painful fact that the major part of the 32,000 Societies has been pronounced to be insolvent. Its general effect has been to lull, or destroy, individual responsibility, by creating a false feeling of security from registration and other delusive legislative provisions. Let it be borne in mind that the general effect of the grandmotherly fussiness of legislation has been so far to throw impediments in the way of the full and free development of "system," and that the proposed legislation of the last session was virtually to amend out of existence the remaining three Acts now in force, by the embodiment of most of the forty-five recommendations made in the Report in a new law. Let it further be borne in mind, that these Societies are *voluntary private associations* for the attainment of one of the most legitimate objects possible—namely, insurance against the effects of sickness, &c.; that they are, in fact, strictly within the province of private enterprise, and the absolute folly of shutting out the lessons of experience in regard to strained legislation ought to be fully apparent; but the strongest pinion in wisdom's wing is to be plucked or clipped; for "the memory of past folly" seems to be obliterated; and next Session we are threatened with another Government attempt to control these Societies!

What are the acknowledged importance and value of the interests proposed to be dealt with may be learned from the Report. At page 16, it is thus stated:—

1. "There is strong presumptive evidence, that in England and Wales alone there are over *four millions* of Her Majesty's subjects, members of such Societies, and there is good reason to suppose that there are at least as many more (making in all eight millions)* interested (as wives, children, &c.), in the promised benefits of such Societies.

2. "There is every reason to believe—indeed for the most part there is direct evidence—that in England and Wales alone there are 32,000 of such Societies, registered and unregistered.

3. "Taking facts proved before us, and extending to a large class of these Societies, we are enabled to estimate that the

* We think this estimate understates the dimensions of this noble and spontaneous effort of self-help. Of the 4,000,000 members approximately ascertained we believe fully *one-half* to be heads of families, who would fairly represent some 10,000,000 souls, or in all 12,000,000 interested in the well-being of the movement. If it be otherwise, we might find consolation in the fact that some 3,000,000 of the members must be young persons growing up under the beneficial influence of self-imposed provident habits, and offering splendid social promise for the future.

32,000 Societies have funds in hand amounting to over 11,000,000*l.*

4. "It is estimated that not less than 2,000,000*l.* is annually saved to the ratepayers by the existence of the Friendly Societies."

Truly the promoters of such a system, so widely spread and so vast, may look upon the proffer of Government aid, if help be intended, as Dr. Johnson did when on the completion of his great work the "English Dictionary" Lord Chesterfield sent to offer him assistance, which the great Lexicographer characterized as sending out a little cock-boat to promote the voyage of a three-decker on her return from circumnavigating the world!

If therefore, as we have attempted to show, indiscriminate charity is most mischievous, and Charity Organization an anomaly, and the Poor Law system prejudiced beyond redemption, and finally, that the Friendly Society movement is constrained, by State interference, into virtual insolvency, what is to be done?

Our answer is ready. Each of these modes of dealing with the poor who "shall never cease out of the land," is fatally defective; but all have in them elements of good. The spirit of one is admirable, the principle of another is practical and just, and the Anglo-Saxon independence and individuality of the system of Self-help is admirable. Indiscriminate charity justifies herself, because the Poor Law is discredited and hated. The Poor Law system works harshly and with vacillation, because it cannot ignore the possibilities of a supplementary and indeterminate charity. Self-help is stricken into comparative paralysis because the Poor Law claims its rate from all alike, and indiscriminate charity makes idleness often more profitable than independence. What is wanted is the means to harmonize and utilize the advantages of all. Why not, therefore, gather up the good into one vigorous and comprehensive measure of statesmanship? Why not recognise, in order to enhance the virtues of each system, and at the same time lop off all that is useless or bad, by an act so bold, so just and so enlightened, that it shall discredit by its breadth and its thoroughly practical character all other systems legal or private; enlist all shows of feeling and sentiment; dispel prejudice by its characteristics of simplicity and wisdom; and by working strictly within the true functions of law, uphold the self-respect of the poor, and command the confidence of the rich?

From the Poor Law, as a centre, we feel convinced that some such plan as we will venture to sketch might be built up with ease and certainly. Hidden and perverted as it may be, the true principle of the English Poor Law is that of mutual

assurance. What we venture to advocate is, that this shall be recognised, intensified, and so to speak, legalized. The virtue is taken out of it by compulsion—let it, therefore, be made voluntary. The benefits are warped and soured by hereditary prejudice; let them, therefore, flow in other channels, and be wedded to better associations. In its herding of orphan children in workhouses it is engaged in the “cultivation of pauperism;”—let them be separated from all pauper influences in State boarding-schools, and if vicious, in reformatories.

A plan aiming at all this might, we are disposed to think, be made to grow out of the Poor Law system, and yet carry with it no taint of its origin. It might be *of* it, and yet be always in contrast with it; supported by it, and yet only as a stepping-stone to brighter things. Our suggestion is—

1. The formation of a National Friendly Society, with local management by a board composed in part of members ex-officio, and partly by members elected by subscribers, and under the control of the Local Government Board.

2. That the subscription be determined by reference to the best tables of mortality, and from the latest experience of the working of the best existing Societies.

3. That, although this Society should be based upon the principles of self-support, the Poors' Rate should be liable for any local deficiency.

4. That the machinery of the existing Poor Law be used as far as practicable for the working of such Society; that the collection be made quarterly; and that, if paid in advance, a small deduction be made proportionate to the period anticipated.

5. *That every ratepayer be annually offered the option of continuing to pay the Poors' Rate as at present, or to become a member of the National Friendly Society so instituted, and that to all members of such Society the Poors' Rate be remitted.*

6. That the benefits to ensue from membership should be (1) Relief when sick; (2) help when out of work; (3) the means to migrate to obtain work when sanctioned by the Board; (4) superannuation allowance; (5) payment of a sum for burial.

7. That returns of wages and work shall be periodically made to the Local Government Board from each district; and that a summary of such reports be returned, when completed, to all such districts.

8. That membership shall be transferable from one district to any other to which a member may remove; and in case of a member leaving the country, and unable longer to continue his or her subscription, some sum proportionate to the length of membership be returned.

A National Friendly Society instituted upon some such basis

as the foregoing would present, when compared with all other societies, the following advantages :—

1. Absolute security under a State guarantee.
2. A maximum of economy in administration.
3. A minimum subscription.
4. Intelligibility from uniformity of management.
5. Confidence, from the certainty and safety of results.

By thus drawing away the best class of the working community from all connexion with the Poor Law system, who and what would be left ?

1. Mendicants and vagrants ; those who hold pauperism merely in reserve, and who are thieves when opportunity offers.

2. (1) Able-bodied but unsteady workmen, well intentioned but weak, preferring present gratification to future advantage, and who gradually sink through occasional lapses into chronic pauperism ; (2) labourers engaged in irregular employment, or whose work varies with the weather, or the seasons, and who lack the will or power to lay by when in full work ; (3) tradesmen and clerks of small means, reduced by want of success, who expend what might be made, with strict frugality and proper care, into a surplus, in “keeping up appearances ;” and who, when their business or situations have been reduced or lowered, put unwilling hands to work because they think themselves too good for their position ; or, as is too often the case, those who have a dressy mismanaging wife, and children badly brought up, and who sink despondingly into helplessness and drink, ending in suicide or an appeal to the parish. To the widows of some, the death of the husband is a release ; but to the most, the alternative is work to which they are unused, and for which they are unfitted : the alternative being starvation or the workhouse.

The mendicant and vagrant portion of the residuum we would place entirely under the superintendence of the police. Its hand in a covert way is against every one, and every one's hand in fear and hate is against it. Mendicants and vagrants are the pests of society. They impose upon the credulous, deceive the benevolent, bully the weak, and rob the careless. From their reckless devil-me-care ranks the criminality of the country is fed ; and the police, comparatively ubiquitous and well informed, is the only force capable of dealing with this nomad outcast fringe of society. As quasi-criminals, under cover of pauperism, therefore, we would consign their treatment to the police, with Magisterial supervision, with the inexorable dictum of relief if required, but confinement until its value be worked out.

The second portion of the residuum belongs to the Poor Law system absolutely, and should, in our opinion, be dealt with by the strict application of the main principle of the Poor Law,

viz., indoor relief only. Those who refuse the option of providing for themselves when the opportunity is offered to them, must be taken as preferring to choose the alternative of a strictly-applied Poor Law. In dispensing a National provision against starvation, the greatest kindness in the end will be to make the workhouse the inexorable test of want; and if need be, the punishment also for voluntary improvidence.

These three sections of actual or possible pauperism may be supposed to be amenable to prudential considerations, and susceptible of improvement by judicious treatment. There remains, however, one other important section, which deserves and demands altogether special treatment. It forms a class not yet alive to, or else past the influence of the higher motives of prudence and self-respect, or the lower ones of shame and hard fare. We mean orphan children and the aged and impotent.

This is a large class, and one upon which no direct deterrent influences can be brought to bear, and which ought not to suffer degradation, and be merged in the mass of confirmed pauperism. It must live, and society in the concrete must provide the means whereby it lives. And the question arises, Will society make a virtue of necessity; make the best of a bad bargain; or with short-sighted negligence, or hard heartedness, or culpable indifference, allow the present elements of social loss to become the seed for future greater loss and more entire degradation and mischief? The number of children now under parish treatment is a distressing feature, and yet it might be made one of the most promising of the Poor Law system. What could philanthropy wish for more than to have 50,000 of the children of the lowest stratum of society taken from the midst of the evil influences of their surroundings, to be impressed by the fairest influences of moral and intellectual education? And what does philanthropy really accomplish with this promising material thus ready to be moulded by Christian hands into the best forms of an average human nature? Why this:—it simply acknowledges its obligation to keep them alive! As a matter of economy it prescribes certain sanitary arrangements, and as a matter of policy, or for very shame, it has them taught the rudiments of learning. But while by the force of circumstances these orphans are emancipated from the evil atmosphere of home, philanthropy subjects them to the evil atmosphere of the workhouse. They are saved from being brought up as thieves and beggars, only to be "cultivated into pauperism!"

The first step towards improvement is the awakening of a feeling of responsibility. The evil is flagrant and alarming.

The responsibility for dealing with it is dormant. The indifference, the negligence, the inability to comprehend the scope and meaning of Christian neighbourship, we take to be the natural result of State interference with individual enterprise and moral action. Our duty to our neighbour is by law contracted for in a cheap and easy way.

Society is willing to give and content to pay rates, but it must not be troubled. At times no doubt conscience is pricked, and a feeling is aroused that "something must be done," and in the present case, that "something" has taken the shape of a modified system of Baby Farming, under the flimsy veil of "Boarding-out." It is not long since that the public feeling was outraged by the disgusting revelations of an iniquitous system popularly known as "Baby Farming." The name is associated with the flagrant abuse of an arrangement which, however, is simply "boarding-out," the difference being that the last term has not as yet been besmirched and discredited. The horror created in the public mind has latterly died out; probably because in answer to the ordinary cry for "something" to be done, a law was passed insuring certain conditions in carrying out the discredited system. Its proposed extension as regards the children reared in workhouses, is evidence of three things: first, the awakening of responsibility towards the workhouse children, which is good; second, the fact that a great number of well-meaning persons are too good to understand how prone human nature is to iniquity, and in their ignorance "rush in" to work intolerable mischief, which is decidedly bad; and lastly, how little accustomed philanthropy is to look to the principle involved in its acts; how pleased it is with novelty, and how easily misled it is by mere names; all of which is very much to be regretted. We may add to this the unfortunate readiness to be tickled with a sing-song euphony of statement, and to be inspired by a jaunty speculative perfection of results, of those people whose Christianity develops itself in an abnormal and spasmodic way. Such worn diction is the stock-in-trade of institutional benevolence, to get up subscriptions or promote new schemes, just as the eloquence of the men in rusty black is turned to good account when, in similar worn phraseology, they state the case of unmerited misfortune, sketch their better days, and picture the wife and children at home without covering and without bread. So "boarding-out," in happy oblivion that "baby-farming" has proved to be an abomination, and that the same conditions rule in both,—poverty and pay on the one hand, and on the other, absence of trouble, and a shifted or bartered responsibility—is the result of a craving for a change; good if possible, but under all circumstances a change. The proposed

inspection by a Committee of Ladies of the poor children for whom homes are to be found amongst those so poor as to be induced to make a profit by taking in boarders sounds well; and for a time would no doubt work well; but we cannot forget the parable of the seed sown by the wayside, and how easily difficulties "offend" some, and how the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches make the efforts of others "unfruitful." Surely there is nothing to prevent the Committee of Ladies from exercising their benevolent supervision over the children *now* requiring care and attention in the workhouse. The greater need under the more unfavourable system, presents a wider, as certainly it presents a more accessible, field for benevolent effort. But is it too near? does contiguity rob it of the enchantment which distance lends to the euphemistic description of model cottages, and happy homes, and the ties of a (pecuniary?) relationship? with perfect ventilation, efficient drainage, wholesome food, and the rule of cleanliness so characteristic of the families of (particularly) the agricultural labouring class? We shall rejoice to see philanthropy stretch a hand to "Borriaboolagah," when there are no evils in parish workhouses capable of mitigation.

That there are evils, we accept the evidence of the Boarding-out movement to prove. They may be minimized, but they are inseparable from a system which rich and poor alike detest. Passing over the Boarding-out proposal as being a remedy worse than the disease, we may point to the common-sense one. The principal evil, and one which is inherent, is the association of a rising generation with the degradation and prejudices attached to the workhouse. The cure is simply to *sever the connexion*. Remove all orphan children to a separate establishment. Board them out—not amongst those who have an interest in starving them, but in "District Boarding Schools," and give the poor pariahs at least the chance of deriving some benefit from their orphanage, in the way of education and discipline without the penalty of disgrace.

To the superannuated and incurable, the same immunity from disgrace ought to be extended. To treat them harshly and with a niggard hand might shorten their miserable lives, but it could not by any moral influence diminish their numbers. If society recognises the claims of this class to care and attention at all, it ought to recognise them in full, and the more so because the working of a National Friendly Society will induce many of the class to make due provision for age and impotence. The possession and exercise of the prudential virtues will also extend its influence laterally, or at all events the duties of relationship then can be enforced if necessary by the guardians of the poor. Hence,

the fear of attracting applicants to Refuges for old age, and for cripples and those incapable of work, may be answered by pointing to the counter-attraction of a safe and economical Friendly Society.

The following synopsis will show at a glance the chief features of the scheme we have ventured to propound. That such a scheme is practical we have every reason to believe. That it will obviate many of the evils connected with Poor Law administration we can feel no doubt. That it will help to foster the noble development of the spirit of self-help, made by the working classes of this country, we feel well assured; and if any one doubts the growing appreciation which these classes will feel towards a State endeavour to assist them, *to help themselves in their own way*, let him try to realize the blank despair of the poor crushed spirit which has toiled through a long life in pursuit of an object, the value of which increases as each year passes, when it wakes to the fact that the cherished aim is a delusion.

Such a scheme if carried out will emancipate the working of the Poor Law proper from all sentimental feeling. That law is in principle inexorable, and its working ought to be purely mechanical. The difficulty is practically insurmountable when those who are unfortunate and those who are vicious have to be dealt with under the same provisions, and by the same rule. And more difficult still when robust idleness and enfeebled age are to be dealt with alike.

We entertain strong hopes that the further emancipation of what we may call the irresponsible class (children and the impotent) from immediate Poor Law association, would draw to them the attention and kindness of the benevolent and actively philanthropical. And last, not least, we have a strong conviction that such separation and such popularizing of what we may call the State dependents, might furnish a more legitimate outlet for the charity which loses itself in almsgiving, and for some of the bequests which do much mischief in pauperizing those capable of work. To soothe the last days of the worn out poor who have spent life in a struggle for existence; and to watch over, and to brighten the dismal prospect of the neglected young, would not be unworthy work for the followers of Him who took the poor, the helpless and the young, under His especial care.

Lastly, we believe that in nothing we have advocated in regard to a National Friendly Society have we exceeded the legitimate function of State action. No one questions the advantage of such action in respect of the Post Office; and it was without an adverse criticism on this point that the Government undertook

Synopsis of a proposed National Friendly Society, to supersede in part the existing Poor Law System.

OBJECTS.	PRIMARY.	SECONDARY.	COLLATERAL.	
	To diminish <i>Pauperism</i> , by instituting a counterpoise in <i>Self-help</i> .	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. To raise the working man's <i>self-respect</i>.2. To render the efforts of the poor to become <i>independent</i> more sustained and efficient.3. To remove the public distaste to a system of relief identified with <i>Poor Laws</i> and <i>Poor-houses</i>.4. To promote sympathy and moral support for a <i>national provision for sickness and unavoidable want</i>.	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. To provide a legitimate object for future Charitable Endowments, and Individual Almsgiving.2. To secure increased comfort and social consideration for <i>natural infirmity</i> and <i>helplessness</i>.	
<i>To form a National Friendly Society, with Guaranteed Funds.</i>				
PLAN.	CLASS.	MEMBERS.	RELIEF.	RELIEF TO BE GRANTED.
	Persons desirous to be provident and independent.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* Voluntary Subscribers to the "National Friendly Society."1. Artizans.2. Clerks.3. Labourers.4. Small Tradesmen.5. Widows of the above.	Friendly Society Allowance for— <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Sickness.2. Non-employment, temporary.3. Mourning expenses.4. Superannuation.5. Burial.	By a Friendly Society Board, consisting of Guardians ex officio, and Members elected by Subscribers.
				Periodical Payments at Members' houses or at the Society's Office.

To divide Recipients of Poor Law Relief into Three distinct Classes, as specified below.

CLASSES.	RECIPIENTS.	SOURCE OF RELIEF.	RELIEF TO BE ORDERED.	CONDITION AND MODE OF RELIEF.
A. Persons verging towards Criminality.	1. † Mendicants, able-bodied. 2. Vagrants, able-bodied.	A <i>Subsistence Rate</i> , now levied as a <i>Poor Rate</i> .	By Police Magistrates, and administered under Police supervision.	A <i>bare subsistence</i> in return for a certain amount of labour under Police or Prison arrangements.
B. Persons verging towards Pauperism.	1. † Able-bodied, but unsteady workmen, clerks, &c. 2. Labourers not in regular employment. 3. Reduced tradesmen and clerks. 4. All persons unwilling or unable to join the "National Friendly Society." 5. Widows of the above.	A <i>Subsistence Rate</i> , now levied as a <i>Poor Rate</i> .	By Boards of Guardians as now formed.	<i>Indoor Relief only</i> , in return for labour.†
C. Persons unable to work.	1. Aged and Infirmed. 2. Cripples. 3. Incurables. 4. Lunatics and Idiots. 5. Orphans.	A <i>Subsistence Rate</i> as now levied, in aid of Charitable Endowments and Private Subscriptions.‡	By a Board of Guardians and Members appointed by Subscribers to special relief fund.	Admission to— 1. Refugees. 2. Asylums. 3. School Establishments. 4. Reformatories.

To be formed from existing Workhouses.

* Every ratepayer to have the option annually of merging his Poor Rate into a Voluntary Subscription to the "National Friendly Society." A scale of Subscriptions to be fixed for Sickness, for Non-Employment, &c. &c. The expenses to be paid out of the general rate. Subscriptions to be collected quarterly, and to be compulsory from year to year. Inability to pay, if still in work, drop the subscriber into Class B. Information to be collected and registered as to local demand for labour, and migration expenses to be paid.

† Mendicants and Vagrants to be taken into custody when publicly begging, as quasi-criminals, and dealt with under modified provisions of "Habitual Criminal Act."

‡ The Labour Test to be rigidly enforced. An exception only to be made in the case of Widows with Families partially self-supporting.

§ Ultimately all Endowed Charity, not for educational purposes, may be made to merge into this fund. A heavy tax on all Charitable Endowments not administered by the National Board here specified, may ultimately turn future bequests into the National Fund. Almshouses will thus have the opportunity to judge their benevolence without mischief. All increase in the scale of minimum allowance from Subsistence Rate, to be by annual apportionment. Visitors to be encouraged to inspect these establishments, as their sympathy may be more valuable than money aid.

DETAILS.

the management of the telegraph system. The anomaly of a connexion of public Savings Banks with an organization for the purpose of receiving and distributing letters, may be practically justified by the end, as it is justified in principle on the broad ground of equal benefit to all. Then why not, in the case of a Friendly Society, extend the same principle of general help for the good of all; guided by the wise axiom of helping the helpful and assuring the fair fruit of the harvest to him who sows and tends the growth? To take the whole system of self-help into State keeping is vastly different from so much interference by registration and other delusive legislation with private enterprise, unsettling what it dare not affirm, and deluding by half promises it is unwilling to perform. There is no mistake about the one; there is no intelligible principle acted upon, and no profitable results have as yet ensued from the other. In private enterprise, "it is chiefly the individual that is interested;"* and here law should stop. In that which "chiefly interests society," law is simply the deed of co-partnership to regulate the social undertaking. M. About says in effect, that liberty consists in freedom of individual action, provided the circle of that action does not intersect the circle of any one else. If, therefore, every individual circle falls within or beyond every one else's circle, the State definition of the boundary which circumscribes them all is the true function of the State. Hence for the State to define a line which protects all included lines of self-help is to protect individual interests and to preserve abstract liberty of action. In practice as regards various departments, and in abstract principle, therefore, we hold that a National Friendly Society, built upon a strict Poor Law system, but emancipated from all obnoxious and deteriorating influences, is a just, true, and wise adhesion to the principles of social liberty.

Finally, we maintain that the Poor Law, amended on the basis we have described, in a form more simple, and with aim more direct; administered in a spirit of strict justice and by fixed rules, but offering a fair scope for the exercise of private benevolence, will check pauperism, uphold the self-respect of the poor, and cease to be what it has been—the evidence and perhaps the source of danger and disgrace to the entire social life of England.

* Mill "On Liberty."

ART. VII.—THE FIRST METALLURGISTS.

Times' and Academy Reports of the meetings of the British Association and of the Congress of Orientalists, 1874.

ONE of the most attractive sciences of the present day is that of Anthropology, which was defined by Sir W. R. Wilde, in his opening address in the Biological Section of the British Association at Belfast, to mean —

“The science of man, his origin, age, and distribution on our globe, his physical conformation and his susceptibility of cultivation, his various forms of speech, his laws, habits, manners, customs, weapons, and tools; his archaic markings, as also his pictorial remains; his tombs, his ideographic and phonetic or alphabetic writing, down to his present culture in different countries; and his manufactures, arts, and degrees of intelligence in his different phases of life throughout the world.”*

This indeed opens up a wide field for that research which has received such great impetus from the deliberations of the various congresses of the past year, and which must, in some of its various forms, attract the interest and secure the attention of a large proportion of mankind, whether scientific or unscientific.

The matter-of-fact man of business will enter warmly into the latter branch of the subject, and endeavour to make himself acquainted with the present condition of mankind, with a view to the increase of commerce. The archæologist, the astronomer, the geologist, and the philologist, will, on the contrary, find a greater interest in the former part of the inquiry, and laboriously working out therefrom the history of man in the past, will add link unto link to that golden chain of sequences, which shall eventually draw forth the world from the dim chaos of primeval darkness, into the clear light of historic truth. Earnestly at the present time, as of old in the Indian fable, the Soors and the Assoors are engaged in churning the troubled ocean to bring forth the amreeta—the water of life. Now, as then, the churning staff—the mighty mountain of inquiry—is whirled to and fro on the back of the Eastern tortoise; now, as then, the thong which whirls the mountain is the serpent; and now, as then, two classes of men, Soors and Assoors, set the wondrous machinery in motion, and even, as then, things wholly irrelevant to the

* *Times*, August 24th, 1874.

churning were produced by it, as "the moon with pleasing countenance, the goddesses of fortune and of wine, the seven-headed horse, the jewel of Narayen, the tree of plenty, the cow and the elephant,"* the whole ending in a mighty conflagration; so now, in the process of scientific inquiry, strange and unexpected results are obtained, affecting all the sciences, whilst seeking only to elucidate one, and these results in like manner cannot fail to occasion a conflagration, seeing that they militate against opinions long held sacred, and overthrow prejudices which have become rooted by the undisturbed growth of centuries; but even as then the water of life did at length appear, and showers from Indrar quenched the devouring flame, so let us trust that from this modern churning, Truth, the pure and indestructible, shall shine forth at length resplendent and triumphant, and cause her opponents to shrink back quelled and amazed, to lift their heads no more.

One of the products of this famous Oriental churning was molten metal, which from the heat of the conflagration ran down into the ocean, and certainly not the least important of anthropological inquiries is that which relates to the discovery of metals and their early use by man, for this was a mighty stride from that primitive barbarism in which the only weapons and tools employed were of stone and bone. It must be remembered that these two materials, stone and bone, would appear to have been in universal use in the very earliest ages of man's history, underlying alike the ancient civilization of Egypt and the more modern civilization of Europe. Beneath the hoary pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, and beneath the far more hoary stalagmite and breccia of Kent's cavern, are found the very same type of weapon used by the lowest savages at the present day—arrowheads, celts and hammers of flint, harpoons and needles of bone, such as form the curiosities of our Ethnological collections, are still used in their ancient form by many outlying tribes, who have never yet seen implements of iron; the boomerang so skilfully thrown by the Australian savage, and long considered peculiar to Australasia, appears on the monuments of Egypt; and a most interesting chart in Colonel Lane Fox's valuable collection at the Bethnal Green Museum, traces it in all its various stages up to the modern spear. If then we see savages in the present day continuing to use the same archaic type of weapon found to have been in use many thousands of years ago in our own land, and in that land where of all others we find the very earliest known traces of civilization, are we to suppose the arts of civilization to have been indigenous in different

racés, the spontaneous outburst in many lands of a genius which remains to the present day in embryo among savages? or were they developed in one spot only and thence spread like the undulations of a wave of light in gradually widening circles which have not yet reached their bourne, but which shall at length include the whole human race within the range of their enlightening influence?

Many of the ablest ethnologists of our age maintain that man, being everywhere similarly constituted, will always under similar circumstances do precisely the same things—that being a progressive animal, he will always develop such a degree of civilization as accords with his outward circumstances: hence they deny or ignore a very patent fact, that wherever we find traces of any great advance in civilization in pre-historic times, there we also find traces of an admixture of race—of two or more distinct types becoming perhaps gradually amalgamated.*

The recent explorations in various caverns all give the same history; they show us primeval man dwelling with extinct mammalia, hunting them and killing them for food with weapons formed of clipped unpolished flint, and this as yet is all we know of paleolithic man; if any other remains of this ancient dweller in caves, this hunter of beasts long vanished from the earth, this fisher in seas and lakes which have long since become dry land, exist, they are too doubtful to be any authentic ethnological guide. Whether he even possessed the art of producing fire is not ascertained, but certain it is that when we come to neolithic times, we find not only a great advance in civilization, in the use of polished flint implements, abundant traces of fire, of the commencement of agriculture, pottery, and weaving, and of art-culture—in engravings on mammoth ivory, of the mammoth himself, not yet extinct; of bone flutes, and ornaments of shells, amber, and jet; rude pottery, spindle whorls, &c.; but we also find traces of two distinct races, the remains of which are known to antiquaries as the dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic. It is generally supposed that the dolichocephalic or long-headed race was the oldest. Were they then the aboriginal makers of paleolithic implements, drawn out of their caverns and taught some of the arts of civilization by a brachycephalic race coming from a distant land?

* Darwin says: "There are no just grounds for the belief that the high culture of the native Peruvians and Mexicans was derived from any foreign source." ("Descent of Man," cap. v. p. 183.) And he speaks in the same place of the boomerang as a good instance of independent discovery among the Australians, whereas its use in Ancient Egypt, and retention by the aborigines of South Africa, would seem to show that it was formerly used by many African peoples, surviving only among isolated and uncivilized tribes.

There seems every reason to suppose so ; moreover, there seems ground for believing that the same race—the brachycephalic—introduced somewhat later the use of metals—that is, of gold and copper, for the former has undoubtedly been found in very ancient barrows, and the latter was quarried with stone implements, not only here but in remote Peru, at what date who can tell with certainty? That there was a time before the introduction of bronze in which copper was used for tools, &c., is not only a reasonable supposition, but is proved by the discovery of many copper implements in various places, and it seems certain that many of the “celts,” &c., which are classified as bronze, are in reality of copper. Wilson* gives the results of an analysis made of some of those found in Scotland, a considerable number of which prove to have been of pure copper; and at the recent meeting of the Archæological Congress at Stockholm, an analysis of four implements found in Cyprus proves three of them to be of copper. Copper implements have likewise been found in India, and in the peat bogs of Denmark. There is a peculiarity in the ancient neolithic people which is important in endeavouring to trace their origin: they everywhere buried their dead under huge mounds of earth, and generally in a crouching position in megalithic chambers. When we come to the bronze period, we find cremation practised; but this does not necessarily mean the advent of a new race, for the earth-mound was still retained and the burnt bones, enclosed in an urn or cist, were buried under a disproportionately large tumulus. It is probable that the discovery of the power of fire in smelting metals may have suggested the new method of disposing of the dead, which perhaps may have caused as great an outcry when first adopted in those days as it seems likely to do upon its revival in our own. It does not appear that the type of skull of these bronze-users differed very materially from that of the neolithic age, so as to indicate a new race; but the practice of cremation would render that point difficult to decide; because few skulls treated would remain perfect, but, perhaps, the thickness as well as the form of the skull will eventually help to guide craniologists in their researches, for Herodotus remarks upon the difference between the skulls of the Persians and Egyptians in this respect. Three remarkable skulls are placed side by side in the Corineum museum at Cirencester; the first is of the extreme dolichocephalic type—very low retreating forehead, very heavy prognathous jaws, the bone peculiarly white and perhaps very thick; the second is of a medium type, long and with a retreating forehead, but considerably modified; the third shows

* See Wilson's “Pre-historic Man,” p. 282.

a remarkably high and broad forehead almost perpendicular—a head which might have belonged to a Greek or Roman philosopher. All three skulls are referred to the Roman period, and the first is regarded as the head of a negro, which of course is possible, as the Romans had many black slaves; the second is probably British, and the third Roman. But at a glance every one would be convinced that they were types of three several races, and it would seem that there is scarcely a country in the world where traces may not in the same manner be found of the existence of two or more races. Even in Australia* the difference between the tribes is immense, the Tasmanians strongly resembling the Negro, whilst others are as evidently related to the Malay. Nor is this difference confined to physical peculiarities—they also differ so much in speech as to be unable to understand each other, and their manners and customs vary in a corresponding degree. Amongst these may be found the very lowest type of mankind. And here a curious problem presents itself. It would seem impossible that tribes so low in civilization could ever have crossed the ocean to have occupied their present home. On the north-west coast, at the time of their discovery, no canoe was to be seen, but only rude rafts. How then did they reach that remote land? It is evident that at some time in the world's history Australia must have been connected with one of the other continents, and Mr. Wallace, in his "Malay Archipelago,"—points out the singular resemblance between the fauna and flora of the eastern part of the Oriental Archipelago and Australia and New Guinea, whilst the products of the western islands resemble those of the Asiatic continent, arguing therefrom that the western islands were separated from Asia within the lifetime of existing species, whilst probably the eastern portion of the Archipelago was once connected with Australia; and he points out that the inhabitants may also be classed into two corresponding divisions—the Malays and Papuans—the Malays being unquestionably of Asiatic origin, like the mammals with which they are associated. Sir John Lubbock,† commenting on these views, remarks:—

"It is my belief that as the Malays came from Asia, so the Papuans are connected, though somewhat more remotely, with Africa, while the Australians have probably occupied their present area much longer than either of the two other races. The Malayan race is gradually encroaching on the Papuan, as the Papuan perhaps did long ago on the still lower Australians."

* See "Discoveries in Australia," by Captain Stokes, H.M.S. *Beagle*, 1841.

† "The Malay Archipelago," *Macmillan's Magazine*, April, 1869.

Now it is almost universally acknowledged by geologists that Australia is the oldest land existing on the face of the globe, its peculiar fauna and flora connecting it with a geologic age long since superseded in other parts of the world by more modern forms. If, then, we find there, co-existent with this flora and fauna, the lowest type of mankind, resembling that which researches among our caves reveal as having existed here, together with extinct animals, are we to conclude that in these savages we behold primeval man? and, if so, did they *originate* in this ancient land, and thence gradually extend themselves over the world by means of the communication at that time existing with Africa? or, assuming Asia to have been man's birthplace, as is commonly supposed, are we to conclude that he spread thence through Africa to Australia, and then, in consequence of a separation from Africa, remained stationary, until, by a mighty terrestrial oscillation, the southern continent became so nearly connected with Asia as to be approachable by rude canoes, receiving in that manner a new race, modified by time, aided by food, climate, and soil, in the common cradle of humanity, into a type resembling the Malay? One thing seems evident—that since the connexion with the Asiatic continent has ceased the Australians have remained stationary. In many thousands of years, notwithstanding what Professor Max Müller says—that, “given the human mind and human language, and the world by which we are surrounded, the different systems of philosophy of Thales and Hegel, of Vyāsu and Kapila are inevitable solutions”—they appear never to have produced a philosopher, or an architect, or even a tiller of the soil; and in a land teeming with gold, they do not appear ever to have used it even for ornament. Neither does there appear among them any traces of degradation—no forsaken cities or works of art, as in America, to attest a long-forgotten greatness: they seem simply to have stood still because cut off by physical changes from communication with more civilized races. It is a singular fact that almost all the lowest tribes of men are to be found in the southern hemisphere, chiefly below 30° S. lat., as the Tasmanians, the Terra del Fuegians, the Bushmen of South Africa, reappearing, however, in the outlying Andaman Islands, and perhaps in some of the far distant tribes in the interior of Asia, Africa, and America, remote from the influence of civilization. Can we believe that from

* Professor Owen says: “Zoological and geological evidences concur to point to a pre-historic race of mankind, existing generation after generation on a continent which, in course of gradual, not cataclysmal geologic change, has been broken up into insular patches of land.”—Professor Owen's Address at the Congress of Orientalists, *Academy*, Sept. 26th, 1874.

such as these our philosophers, our poets, our artists have descended? Yet they can be shown to possess some points in common with more civilized races. In Australia and at the Cape caves are found filled with rude paintings, and Captain Stokes, of *H.M.S. Beagle*, mentions carvings on rocks in Depuch Islands, done by removing the hard red outer coating, and exposing the greenstone beneath. These rude cave and rock paintings and carvings, which are found also on Easter Island and in Central America, taken in connexion with other customs connecting them with Africa and Asia, may perhaps throw some light on the origin of the more highly finished specimens of the same kind in Egypt, Etruria, and India. If we believe, according to Scripture and almost universal tradition, that all mankind originated in one pair—a belief which is rather strengthened by Mr. Darwin's theory, so highly improbable does it seem that human beings so similar in form and habits of thought should have been evolved by the process of natural selection from some lower form more than once in the world's history—then, either the first man was formed a model of all the sciences, and some of his posterity have greatly descended in the scale; or he was made little better than the brutes, and has gradually developed into the highly civilized being we see him in some places, remaining almost in his primitive state of barbarism in others. Some of the great advances made in particular regions must doubtless be ascribed to climate, soil, and superior food, as Mr. Buckle suggests; but some also to accidental discoveries, the first of which was indubitably that of fire, which a Chinese legend ascribes to a bird striking his bill against the dry branch of a tree. The art of agriculture was another great discovery, so important in its results as to be almost universally ascribed to the teaching of the gods; but that which even more than either of the above-mentioned discoveries tended to the rise of civilization, was the art of working metals, and whatever race can claim the honour of that discovery may also be looked upon as the pioneers of civilization. Is there anything to guide us in the search for these early metallurgists? It appears to us that there are many indicators, all pointing in one direction, and leading us direct to the cradle of science. Let us follow three of these true kings of the east, laden with riches, and see whereto their footsteps tend.

I. Archaic remains; II. Language; III. Myths and legends.

I. Starting from our own land we find archaic remains of a peculiar type, the origin of which is lost in the long night of the past, consisting of great earthen tumuli heaped up over graves either formed of great blocks of stone, enclosing the corpse in a crouching or full-length position, or else containing an earthen

urn or vase full of burnt bones. Sometimes these tumuli contain two or more interments of different periods, but even in the oldest of them have been found buried with the skeleton, beads of amber and jet, and ornaments of gold. Then there are the great stone circles of Avebury, Stanton, Dréw, Stonehenge, &c., cromlechs formed of immense stones of various forms and sizes, —some of which may have been originally covered with earth,—and some very curious holed stones, either forming part of a cromlech, or standing in lines with no apparent object. To these may be added in Scotland, at least one very singular mound, in the form of a serpent, recently discovered by Mr. Phené; and in Ireland some peculiar round towers. Now almost all these things may be traced through Northern Europe and Asia to Northern India and China; and thence crossing the ocean, some of them, particularly the mounds, reappear in Central America. Again, returning from India, westward, we find the earthen mounds modified into pyramids of stone and brick in Chaldaea, Egypt, Abyssinia; and again the same modification appears in Mexico; and, as recently discovered in the Ladrone Islands, where, on the little islands of Rota and Tinian, have been found “two series of eight stone pyramids, standing in two rows at intervals of twelve feet, the base being twelve feet square, the height thirty-six feet. The summit is crowned by a kind of large cup, equal in diameter to the diagonal of the base.”* Closely connected with pyramids, we find great rock-hewn temples and tombs in Egypt, Etruria, and India, all remarkable for their ornamentation by sculpture and painting. Another noteworthy characteristic of the countries containing these rock-hewn tombs and pyramids is the wonderful causeways and immense system of water-works they contain. All constructions in these countries appear to have been on a gigantic scale, and doubtless gave rise to the many legends of giants preserved in the folk-lore of so many countries. All these things testify to identity of race, and to the high state of civilization attained by that race in long past ages; they prove also the antiquity of the art of metallurgy, for without it pyramids and rock-tombs would have been impossible. The archaic remains in Britain, and other lands of a more northerly latitude than India and Egypt, although ruder in form, have points of family resemblance which cannot fail to be observed. The first is the Cyclopean character of the stones employed, then the care with which the entrance to pyramid, tumulus, or great circle, is placed towards the north or north-east, showing some superstitious reverence for that quarter of the heavens, and some amount of astronomical and mathematical

* *Academy*, Sept. 12th, 1874.

knowledge ; an exception to this rule is, however, to be found in the Norhaghi and Sepulture dei Giganti, in Sardinia, which invariably face north-west and south-east.* There is a peculiarity in almost all the great circles, and especially those of the greatest antiquity, of which we have never met with any explanation : it is that the inner circles are very seldom placed in the centre of the larger one ; this, however, does not occur at Stonehenge, which is very evidently a later construction than Avebury and others, in which the centre is left open. It is at least curious to find the same avoidance of the centre in many of the pyramids, and notably in the oldest, both in Egypt and Chaldæa. Believing as we do that the ancients attached great importance to form, assigning certain figures invariably to certain divinities, as the circle to the sun, the oval typical of the great mundane egg to the earth, the square to the infernal deities, we do not think sufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the peculiar points of difference in these constructions, by students of their origin. Wherever there is a square within a great circle, there we should expect to find an interment, the very form of the pyramid suggests the same idea, and in Etruria many of the subterranean tombs are square, changing to a round tower when emerging from the earth to face the sun.† There is another class of megalithic monuments which at first sight would appear to be peculiar to Egypt, that is the obelisks : but these also have their prototypes of ruder form almost all over the world, as seen in the conical stones of Babylon, the chaits of India, the perdas fittas of Sardinia, and monolithic pillars in many countries, even in the Polynesian islands, and everywhere these pillars seem to have been connected with solar worship. If we seek for the nineteenth-century representatives of the great circles of Britain, and the obelisks and conical stones of Egypt and Babylon, we must go to China and see them in the great Temple of Heaven, as figured in the *Illustrated London News*, and in the Che-pi, which are great stones erected in honour of emperors and mandarins, and of great events. These monoliths seem all to be modifications of the conical stones, the earliest form of idolatry, set up universally among Turanian peoples as symbols of the generative power of the sun, and often accompanied by oval stones, representative of the earth or earth goddess, symbolized by the mundane egg, to both of which a phallic origin has been assigned, and perhaps justly. The curious holed stones, found in many countries in connexion with great circles, or forming the door of cromlechs, &c., have perhaps a certain affinity with other consecrated stones, but they appear

* See Tyndall's "Sardinia."

† See Dennis's "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria."

to me to have some mystical meaning, referable perhaps to the very ancient doctrine of metempsychosis, and to that belief in a new birth still prevalent in India,* and surviving in some parts of our own land, where children are passed through split sticks or stones for the cure of diseases. In the cromlechs these holes may have been made for the passage of the spirit in the form of a serpent, which, among all Turanian races, is the most universally believed-in representative of a deceased ancestor.

II. Language.—It may be safely asserted, we believe, that wherever these monuments exist there will also be found a Turanian element in the language either actually spoken at present in those countries, or existing in inscriptions of a race who formerly occupied them, and have since been superseded. Max Müller divides the Turanian family of languages into northern and southern. The northern, sometimes called the Altaic, or Ugro-Tartaric, is divided into five sections—the Tungusic, Mongolic, Turkic, Finnic, and Samoyidic. The southern, which occupies the south of Asia, is divided into four sections—the Tamulic, or languages of the Deccan; the Bhotiga, or dialects of Bhotan; the Taic, or dialects of Siam; and the Malaic, or Malay and Polynesian dialects. We need not point out how nearly these divisions represent the lines of archaic remains described by archæologists, but in pre-historic times the northern division must certainly have included Great Britain, Gaul, and Central America, and the southern must have taken in Babylon, Egypt, and probably Greece, Malta, Sardinia, Etruria, and also Mexico and Peru, the northern division being marked by tumuli or earth-mounds, cromlechs, and dolmen; the southern by pyramids of stone or brick, pillars, and obelisks, rock-hewn caves and extensive causeways and waterworks, a general Cyclopean character pervading both divisions of monuments. In all these countries, traces, although in many cases very slight ones, may, it is believed, be found of a Turanian element underlying the languages at present spoken. The belief is thought to be strengthened by the conclusions of the recent Congress of Orientalists, at which philologists seem, with one consent, to have assigned a Turanian basis to almost all the newly discovered inscriptions. The Accadian, or Sumirian, the Median, the second language of the Persian inscriptions, and lastly, the Etrurian, may all be classed under this head. Judging from the pre-historic remains of the Etruscans, there seems to be no room to doubt their Turanian origin; and although Dr. Corssen seems to prove the Etruscan to have been an Aryan language, yet we cannot help thinking that Mr. Taylor's much disputed theory

* See Moor's "*Hindu Pantheon*," and Maurice's "*Hindustan*."

will eventually be acknowledged to be substantially correct. The truth, perhaps, is, that they were a mixed race, and their language would naturally be mixed also, retaining, however, a larger proportion of words appertaining to the aborigines than of those introduced by the conquerors: for it is well known that it is much easier to conquer a nation than to change its language. Nevertheless, the language of the inscriptions would be that of the priestly class—*i.e.*, the conquerors. The *Academy* of Oct. 3rd, 1874, gives us the opinion of Count Conestabile, that the existence side by side of the practice of inhumation and cremation in Etruscan tombs indicates the presence of a conquering race—the Tuscii—in the midst of a native population; and he believes that the natives practised cremation, and the conquerors buried their dead. This, if proved, would go far to show that in Etruria, as in many other countries, an aristocracy, generally of foreign origin, had found means to subdue, not by the sword, but by superior civilization, a native population, and to keep themselves a class apart, generally as the priests and lawgivers of the people. The Persian Magi, the British Druids, the Peruvian Incas, seem to be instances of this domination by a small but highly organized body keeping in subjection, chiefly by superstitious terrors, a large native population; and it will be remarked that in all these instances the language of the priesthood differed very materially from that of the common people, proving them to have been of different race, as, indeed, universal tradition makes them. Mr. Darwin argues from the small success attending missionary enterprise at the present day, that it would have been impossible for a few wanderers from Asia to have civilized the natives of Peru and Mexico; but it will occur to most of us that Paul and Barnabas might have allowed themselves to be worshipped as gods by a far more civilized people than we imagine the Mexicans and Peruvians to have been, and that the conquests of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru were greatly facilitated by the belief of the natives in the divine mission of their conquerors. The non-success of modern missionaries seems to arise from the importance they attach to dogma. If they were content to teach the people agriculture and the use of firearms, and to work upon their superstitious fears, their success would doubtless be as great as we believe that of the first civilizers of Mexico and Peru, of Etruria and many other countries to have been. But the missionaries and traders of the present day *have* succeeded in introducing a sort

* A case in point is the word Udio—God, introduced among the Kaffirs by Bishop Coleuso, to supply a word wanting in the Kaffir language, and now universally accepted by them. See Letter signed R. A. S. in *Cape Argus*, Nov. 24th, 1874

of spurious language among their converts,* and in process of time some of these spurious English words will become, as it were, amalgamated with the native language, so as in a measure to alter the idiom; and this was no doubt the manner in which languages were modified in ancient times, so that generally, in a language apparently purely Aryan, will be found a Turanian stratum, varying according to the length of occupation of the one or the other of the races; and it is this which renders language alone a fallacious guide in tracing the descent of a people. Dr. Birch, in his opening address to the Congress of Orientalists, says:—

“In the consideration of the diversities of race ethnography also renders invaluable aid to the philological considerations which guide us in the determination of the relative periods of the oldest civilizations of the East. For *language alone is not a sufficient criterion for deciding* a point so remote from observation and so delicate, change of language not always implying diversity of race. It is to ethnology, as well as to archaeology and philology, that we must look for the solution of the problems, whence came the first inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, the alluvial plains of Mesopotamia, the valleys of the Himalayas and the banks of the Yangtze-kiang, the isles of Japan, the shores of Indo-China, with all their internal varieties, the Amos, the Miantsze, the natives of the Andaman Islands—in short, the general state of the question of the early immigrations which were made before history was written or tradition definitely handed down.”*

That, therefore, which, combined with existing monuments and language, we would adduce as a strong link, binding together all those nations of antiquity which appear to have had, if not a common origin, at least some connexion with each other in prehistoric times, is the identity of their

III. Myths and Legends.—We think it may be asserted broadly, that, classing the human race into the three well-known divisions, Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan, we shall find the chief deities of the Turanians to have been the sun and the earth. Of the sun, the bull, the ram, and the phoenix were the chosen emblems; whilst the earth was represented by the serpent and the goose. The Semites worshipped chiefly the moon, the emblems of which were the cow, the dove, and the fish; whilst the divinities of the Aryans were the elements, and their emblems the lion, the eagle, and the horse. It is natural to suppose that with migrations and conquests, these religions would become mixed so as to cause great confusion, yet we believe it will be found that according to the predominance of one or the other of the great races, so the religion and the emblems of that race as above indicated will be in the

* *Academy*, Sept. 19th, 1874.

ascendant. We can hardly suppose that these emblems were adopted simultaneously, so that some tribes may be found with only one of these symbols, and this, of course, would tend to prove that their separation from the parent stock was the earliest in point of time, before the others had become adopted. Of the religions of the Semites and Aryans we do not purpose to say much, but that of the Turanians bears strongly upon the theory we would advocate. Undoubtedly the earliest development of external religion was sun worship, but there was a something which may be called religion earlier still—it was that which characterizes all Turanian nations, even to the present day, the worship of deceased ancestors. No sooner does man begin to feel his superiority to the beasts of the field, than he becomes haunted with the dread of the invisible, the dead come before him in dreams, and he believes them yet alive in another state. A chieftain in his life had perhaps chosen some special animal as his emblem, and after his death this animal appears to several of his tribe under circumstances which their superstition looks upon as singular; surely it must be the great chieftain himself in that guise! and here we get the germ of the doctrine of metempsychosis, so firmly believed in by all the ancients, as also of that reverence for the dead which prompted them to rear such stupendous monuments in honour of deceased chiefs; and of that singular notion, which seems to be purely Turanian, that every man has two, three, or even four souls. Now, undoubtedly, the earliest and most universal of the Turanian symbols is the serpent; it appears wherever any Turanian element can be traced, although perhaps even to this rule there may be an exception in the Mincopies, who if they can be classed as Turanians, must have been an earlier offshoot even than the Australians, among whom the superstitious reverence for this reptile exists, according to Captain Stokes, who says:—“They believe in the existence of an evil spirit haunting dark caverns, wells, and places of gloom (evidently therefore having no connexion with the sun), called *Jingà*. *Miago*, a native, described this being as a huge many-folded serpent, and they kindle fires and chant incantations to avert his influence.” Probably a remnant of solar worship also may be discovered in the “corrobory” described by the same author:—

“At Port Stephen I witnessed a corrobory presenting a peculiar feature. As soon as it was dark, a number of heaps of fuel scattered here and there were lighted, and the men, painted with spots and lines of white, commenced the dance, which consisted in running sideways, or in file, stamping with great violence, and emitting an inharmonious grunt, gesticulating, and brandishing and striking together their weapons. The peculiar feature in this corrobory was the throwing of

the kiley, or boomerang, lighted at one end. The remarkable flight and extraordinary convolutions of this weapon, marked by a bright line of fire, had a singular and startling effect."*

These aboriginal circular dances with the fiery accompaniment reminds one strongly of the Beltane fires of Ireland and Scotland, with the May-day dances, which undoubtedly were survivals of sun worship. The sun and serpent worship existing in this rude form in the ancient land of Australia, and again in Fiji, Tonga, and others islands, becomes developed with the advance of civilization into something more definite in Asia, Africa, and America, where from some unexplained cause the serpent loses the malignant character which would seem most natural to it, and becomes the Agathadæmon, the Creator, the giver of good gifts, the source of wealth and power. Whether it is possible to account for this change, we know not. There seems a glimmering of this transition in Fiji and Tonga, where the serpent is looked upon as the Creator, but is yet a dull, inanimate being, half stone. Journeying through Africa, we find the serpent at the present day an object of adoration among many negro tribes, always as an embodiment of the deceased ancestor; but it was in the most civilized nation of Africa and of the ancient world, that this strange superstition attained its full development. Egypt, the nursing-mother of all art and of all science, took the lead in this mysterious worship, and we find all the gods and all the kings adorned with one or more serpents as symbols of authority. On the monuments they are seen crowned with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, as representatives of the kings of both divisions of the country, but the serpent was the peculiar symbol of Kneph, the most ancient of the gods, whose name Kirscher derives from Cnoub, that is gold, who is identified with Amun the ram-headed, and who is called by Eusebius the Creator; whilst Porphyry says that from his mouth was produced an egg, out of which came the god whom the Greeks call Hephæstus, and the Egyptians Ptha.† In Phœnicia it was the Agathadæmon, in Persia it was the symbol of both Ormuzd and Ahriman; in ancient Babylon it represented the god Hea or Hoa; in India it was one of the avatars of Vishnu, but was more particularly an object of worship among the aborigines than of the Hindoos. In Cambodia magnificent temples were raised to its honour; in China and Japan it is still venerated as the dragon, the symbol of dominion. Crossing the Pacific, we find it as the symbol of the good deity Quetzalcoatl in Mexico, and worshipped in Peru before the time

* "Discoveries in Australia," p. 250.

† Kearnick's "Ancient Egypt," p. 374.

of the Incas, as also by the Red Indians. It is a prominent object in the great mounds of Ohio and the buried cities of Yucatan. It was the midgard worm in Scandinavia, the object of adoration of the Druids of Britain and Gaul. In Germany also it had its worshippers, it was depicted in Etrurian sepulchres, and held an honourable place in the mythologies of Greece and Rome. It is found represented as parts of gods in the tumuli of Tartary, and whole tribes were named after it in the Troad, in India, and in America. But this brings us back to the early totemic origin of the superstition. Among all these various nations, where are we to look for the germs of a worship so widespread and so unaccountable? because in all these instances, except in Scandinavia, it was a *good* deity. As an object of terror, a being to be propitiated, we could understand the reverence paid to it, but it was by no means in this light that it was regarded by the nations above named, but as the *creator, the giver of wealth and of good gifts to man*. That it was of Turanian origin we think all antiquaries are agreed. Mr. Fergusson says :—

“In so far as such glimmerings as we possess enable us to guess the locality of its origin, I should feel inclined to say that it came from the mud of the Lower Euphrates, among a people of Turanian origin, and spread from thence as from a centre to every country or land of the Old World in which a Turanian people settled. Apparently no Semitic or no people of Aryan race ever adopted it as a form of faith. It is true we find it in Judæa; but almost certainly it was there an outcrop from the older underlying strata of the population. We find it also in Greece and in Scandinavia, among people whom we know principally as Aryan; but there, too, it is like the tares of a previous crop springing up among the stems of a badly cultivated field of wheat.”*

The keynote to the change discernible in the worship of the serpent in Australia, Fiji, and among other stone-using peoples, and that which in highly civilized Egypt, philosophic Greece, and other nations of antiquity, makes him an Agathadæmon, seems to us to be struck in that Egyptian legend which makes Kneph, the great serpent, *the father of Hephestos*, for everywhere, scattered broadcast over the world, we find similar legends, wherein the early civilizers of the human race are spoken of mythically as serpents, whilst the serpent bears everywhere the character of the guardian of treasures, the giver of wealth, the instructor in knowledge, and is always in some way connected with the *working of metals*, even as the nations wherein these legends are found have all had some know-

* Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," p. 3.

ledge of metallurgy when the light of history has dawned upon them. That myths, so similar in detail, should have originated spontaneously in so many widely separated countries seems to us incredible, and we think we hardly yet fully realize the extent of the migrations which must have taken place in far remote ages, both by land and sea, as proved by the discoveries which are constantly being made in the west, of productions, particularly marine shells (which seem to have been greatly valued as ornaments, even in the most remote ages) peculiar to the Indian ocean. He who would write a history of canoes and other vessels of water transport, their peculiarities of construction and points of difference and of resemblance, throughout the world, would do much towards clearing up the mystery which hangs about these pre-historic migrations. That the art of navigation is extremely ancient cannot be doubted, and that these primitive mariners, either by accident or design, carried the seeds of an early civilization to far distant lands is also a matter which we believe only needs investigation to be readily accepted by antiquaries; for the facts that the products of America have frequently been deposited by ocean currents on the shores of Europe, and that Malay seamen are sometimes blown upon the coast of Australia, prove that these things may have happened in pre-historic times also.* We remember hearing some years ago of a very curious find in the north of Ireland, of a canoe of very primitive form, buried twenty or thirty feet below the surface, in the midst of a hill, apparently natural, with no appearance of an interment; and probably many such things may yet be found, adding greatly to our archæological knowledge, for if we are not mistaken the tradition of vessels buried on or in hills in various parts of England, are common. Scientific inquiry in the present day seems to lead to the belief in an almost universal Turanian element in the civilization of the ancient world, rising to the highest stage in Egypt, but developed in a less degree over Asia and Europe and extending to America, at least in Mexico, Peru, Yucatan, and Nicaragua; and this civilization is distinguished more especially by a knowledge of primitive metallurgy—that is, of the three precious metals, gold, silver and copper, used at first in an unsmelted form. Gold was undoubtedly the first metal used; its frequent recurrence in the most ancient mounds associated with flint implements, proves that it was known and used in neolithic times. Silver is very rarely found even in those countries in which we should have

* Dr. Pickering unhesitatingly pronounces the aboriginal Americans to be of the Mongolian race, and therefore of Asiatic origin, and speaks of the skin canoes as a means of transit between the continents.—Wilson's "Pre-historic Man," p. 174.

expected it to be abundant, but copper seems to have been discovered and worked in very early ages. Wilson describes the stone mauls and hammers, and oak cradles, with immense masses of copper on them, found in workings twenty-five or thirty feet deep by the agent of the Minnesota Mining Company, the trenches having been gradually refilled with the soil and decaying vegetation gathered in them through the long centuries since their desertion, whilst two or three generations of gigantic trees have grown above, arrived at maturity, and fallen down from age; he remarks also that the copper tools found were hardened by some unknown process, without the use of alloy or of fire. One implement, upon examination, appeared to have been beaten out of separate or overlapped metal, so that air-cavities existed between the laminæ, and he says: "I was struck, when examining the rude mauls of the ancient miners of Ontonagon, by the close resemblance traceable between them and some which I have seen obtained from ancient copper workings discovered in North Wales."* The topes of India show us metal-workers using these same stone hammers bound with withes to the handle. Wilson gives us many examples of pure copper tools found in England, and one copper axe found in Batho Bog, under nine feet of moss and seven of sand, and four feet in the hard black till clay beneath, is described in Vol. vi. of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*; and implements of pure copper have also been found in the Danish peat moss. Nevertheless the age of copper is considered by antiquaries to have been a short one in Europe, and although Homer speaks of a time when copper was in universal use, it has been proved that most of those implements discovered by Schliemann in the supposed ruins of Troy, and called by him copper, are more or less mixed with tin, whilst some of those in our museums classed as bronze, have proved on analysis to be pure copper. Whether the art of smelting and fusing metals to form bronze was also a Turanian invention is hard to determine, but since it was known in Egypt before the building of the pyramids, we may reasonably conclude that it was so. At the late Archæological Congress at Stockholm, a weapon was exhibited, found in the Great Pyramid, the composition of which was copper and iron,† therefore probably even iron implements were employed by the pyramid builders, and we know that iron was used even in Britain before the time of Cæsar, who speaks of the iron chariots and iron ring-money of the Britons. Rings of copper appear to have been used by the mound builders of America for weights, and Wilson points out

* Wilson's "Pre-historic Man," p. 245.

† *Academy*, Oct. 3rd and 10th.

that these rings agreed exactly in size and weight with those used by the Peruvians for the same purpose ;* he also mentions a terracotta mask found in the old copper workings like those of Mexico and Phœnicia, a similar mask having recently been discovered at Carthage ; and Dr. Schlottman, at the German Philological Congress, in describing a large statue recently found in the United States and supposed to be Phœnician, argued from that and various inscriptions which have been discovered from time to time, that Phœnician colonies reached America. But as no implements of iron have as yet been found in the New World, we may conclude that communication between the two hemispheres had ceased before the discovery of that metal.

The early Turanians were dwellers in caves, which they probably sometimes excavated ; what more natural than that they should thus have become the first discoverers of metal ? They were skilful tunnel makers, why then should they not also have been skilful miners ? The Aryans upon their first appearance do not seem to have been nearly so highly civilized as the people they displaced. In the discoveries of Schliemann at Hissarlik, the highest civilization appears to have been the most ancient ; nor is this a solitary instance, the earliest civilization of Egypt was also the most perfect, judging by the monuments—the Etruscans far excelled the early Romans who succeeded them, and traces of the same deterioration may be found in the ancient Indian cities of Delhi and Benares. It is a somewhat significant fact, that on the topes of India, so splendidly illustrated by Mr. Fergusson in his “*Tree and Serpent Worship*,” the aborigines, who are universally acknowledged to be Turanians, are constantly accompanied and guarded by serpents springing from their shoulders and forming a canopy over their heads, and thus adorned they are depicted in the act of smelting and working metals, using at the same time hammers which from their form are evidently of stone, and this stone hammer forms the sceptre or symbol of power of many aboriginal gods, and especially of those connected with metallurgy, as Indra, in India, famed as the giver of wealth, whose throne is the golden mountain Meru ; Hephæstus, and Vulcan, the metallurgic gods of Greece and Rome, and Thor of Scandinavia, who was certainly a very ancient god, his mother being the earth, and his father Odin having had the power of changing himself into a serpent ; and although the Odin of history came from the east in the first century, he is supposed to have been only the last of a long line of Odins, and the serpentine legend evidently belongs to an earlier god of the name ; but in Scandinavia the early legends are so changed by

* Wilson's “*Pre-historic Man*.”

Aryan influence, as to render it difficult to trace them to their source. The discovery of the stone hammers thus assigned to the early metallurgic gods in very ancient copper mines in Anglesea and Peru is a significant fact, and the legends connecting serpents or serpent-gods with metallurgic arts are sufficiently numerous and widespread to be very remarkable. Indra has already been mentioned, and the Nagas or snakes of India, who were looked upon as semi-divine, were famed according to all tradition for their skill in working metals, particularly gold. Then we get Kneph the great serpent in Egypt, who was the father of Hephæstos, the god of metals, and Hea or Hoa the serpent-god of Chaldæa, the teacher of wisdom, who was also the layer-up of treasures.

Cadmus, the serpent deity of Greece, was regarded as the first miner, and is said by Pliny to have been the first worker in gold. Eretheus, the aboriginal serpent-god of Athens, to whom was dedicated the famous temple on the Acropolis, and who introduced the worship of Athena to the city, was esteemed the son of Hephæstos. The mystic Cabiri, who were the reputed instructors of mankind in the working of metals, were also called children of Hephæstos, and are represented wielding the hammer, and with serpents coiled round them, and they are often identified with the Idæa Dactyli, to whom the discovery of iron and the art of working it by fire was ascribed. The names of the three original Dactyls, afterwards increased to five, ten, and a hundred, are very significant, being Celmis (the smelter), Damnameneus (the hammer), and Acmon (the anvil). The realms of Pluto, who was the subterranean god of wealth, as also of the dead, were guarded by Cerberus, who was originally a serpent. Dauk, the serpent-god of Dahomé, was the giver of wealth; Quetzalcoatl, the beneficent serpentine deity of Mexico, was a stranger, who had taught the natives the art of manufacturing metals, of which he wore a shining helmet on his head; and Manco Capac, in Peru, carried with him a wedge of gold, by the magical disappearance of which he knew where to build his city. The enormous quantities of gold and silver used to enrich and embellish the temples of these deities would seem to denote that they were deemed specially sacred to them; and this dedication of gold to the serpentine divinity is observable in the mysteries of the Druids, who always set their serpent's egg in gold, and used that metal in their solemn rites. The innumerable legends of later times, which all make the serpent or dragon the guardian of hidden treasures, cannot here be recapitulated; but they are important as showing a real connexion between the two in those far-off pre-historic ages of which the myths handed down to us are but the echoes.

That these legendary tales all point to the fact that in some remote pre-historic age a Turanian chieftain using the serpent as his totem was the first discoverer of the use of metals, the knowledge of which, with the traditions attached to it, became gradually spread by his tribe over the greater part of the ancient civilized world, is, we think, not an unreasonable hypothesis, and that from this arose the reverence for the serpent as a *good* and beneficent god and teacher of useful knowledge, common to all tribes possessing a knowledge of metallurgy,* and still traceable in popular folk-lore, although, with a change of race and religion, the serpent may have become a malignant dragon, to be trampled under foot by the saints of the new creed. And another fact which marks the Turanian origin of the legends is, that almost all these serpent-gods are also credited with having introduced agriculture as well as metallurgy into the several countries over which they presided—an art cultivated more assiduously and revered more by the typical Turanians of Ancient Egypt and of modern China than anywhere else in the world, excepting Peru, where the resemblances to Chinese civilization are so numerous. Everywhere, in all traditions and in all histories, these serpent-gods are esteemed the most ancient of all, and in many countries legends are found relating to the conquest of serpent tribes, looked upon as aborigines, by other tribes, designated, according to their totems, as stags, horses, eagles, &c. Herodotus tells us that—

“When Cyrus was marching against Croesus, all the suburbs of Sardis were found to swarm with snakes, on the appearance of which the horses left feeding on the pasture grounds, and flocked to the suburbs to eat them. So Croesus sent to the soothsayers of Telmessus to learn the meaning of the prodigy, who informed him that he must look for an army of foreign invaders, who would subdue the native inhabitants, since the snake, said they, is a *child of the earth*, and the horse a warrior and a *foreigner*.”†

Fergusson tells us of Zohak, a Persian serpent-king, represented, like the Indian Nagas, with snakes springing from his shoulders, who reigned at Babel for 1000 years, but was overcome by Feridim, with the assistance of Gavah, the *blacksmith*.

In Indian and Chinese legends, the stag is sometimes the eater of serpents, but in India and Egypt the great enemy of the serpent is the eagle; and Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, who is represented as semi-human, is called Nagantika, the destroyer of serpents. Now we look upon the horse and the

* It is a curiously suggestive fact, that in all the old books of astrology and alchemy a serpent is the common sign for a metal.

† Rawlinson's "Herodotus."

eagle as peculiarly Aryan symbols, and believe that wherever these legends of the destruction of serpents by them are found they mean simply the conquest of an aboriginal Turanian people by Aryan invaders, and that there philological and antiquarian research will reveal a Turanian element underlying and intermingled with a more modern Aryan civilization. It is noteworthy that the legend appears in Mexico, of which the modern national arms are an eagle holding a snake in its mouth; and there, certainly, the ancient monuments are Turanian, although the sculptures reveal the presence of two or more distinct races. Seeing, then, the persistency with which, in all traditions, the serpent is made to signify the aborigines of a country, and things pertaining to the *earth*, the thought has occurred to us, that perhaps in the sculptures of Egypt, India, Japan, Phœnicia, Mexico, and Central America, and in the Druidical legends, where it is represented as encircling and protecting the mundane egg—evidently the origin of the Scandinavian midgard worm—it may represent, not the sun, as is supposed, but the earth goddess, who equally with the sun was the object of very early adoration. In the Egyptian sculptures two serpents are represented, distinguished by different emblems as male and female, and the same duality occurs almost everywhere—on the rod of Mercury, on Scandinavian and Scottish monuments, in Mexican and Peruvian legends. In Egypt they are emblematical not only of gods, but of kings and queens; and it is remarkable that the identical asp-encircled crown peculiar to Egyptian kings adorns the brows of Mexican statues. We would suggest that the male serpent is used everywhere to typify the sun, and the female the earth or earth goddess; and perhaps, where, as in Egypt, it is found encircling, not the mundane egg, but the circular orb of the sun, it may signify the circular motion of the earth round the sun, which was probably known to the ancients, the motion being typified by the wings usually attached. We are daily learning many things which astonish us with regard to the civilization of the ancient world, but that which has hitherto escaped all our researches is the *origin* of those civilizations. China appears to have remained almost stationary for who can say how many thousands of years. Egypt, Chaldæa, Phœnicia, India, and Greece arose, attained to a culture which in many things we have hardly yet surpassed, and then decayed, but the *rise* of that culture we cannot trace. Professor Owen believes it to have been indigenous in Egypt, but was it also indigenous in all cases, or did the other nations receive it from Egypt? In all these countries there are, indeed, traces of an earlier state of barbarism in the unpolished and polished implements of stone and of bone: there are traces also

of that earliest form of religion, totemism, leading to the worship of ancestors, and a belief in metempsychosis, and followed by the worship of the sun and moon, and perhaps the elements, mixed up and associated with the former; but in art they seem with one sudden bound to have reached at once the summit, for the earliest monuments, the earliest sculptures, seem also to have been the most perfect.

It is certain that this perfection, is intimately associated with the discovery of metals, and it seems now to be generally acknowledged that all these civilizations were of Turanian origin; the strong resemblance between the monuments, customs, and religion, the under current of language, and the myths and traditions common to all, are coincidences too great to allow of a separate spontaneous origin in each country. Lord Macaulay's New Zealander, a thousand years hence, standing to contemplate the ruins of London, would conclude, and justly, from traces of a similarity between the past civilization he beheld, and that existing in his own land, that they must have had in part a common origin, and that there must have been some communication between the two distant lands in former times. By the same process of reasoning, Humboldt traced the origin of the ancient civilizations of America to Asia, and his conclusions have been accepted as sound by many able scholars.

With our present knowledge of the gradual progress of civilization in Europe, mainly through the influence of Rome, who was indebted for much of her advancement in the arts to her foreign conquests, we do not see why we should deny the possibility and probability of a similar gradual march of progress, spreading from Asia as a centre in pre-historic times. The race who could construct the pyramids, tombs, and temples of Egypt, Chaldæa, and India; excavate the Bahr Yusef Canal, and plan Lake Maris, could certainly find their way across the seas to shores as distant as Mexico, and leave there traces of their presence as we find them. Had it not been for the invention of writing, it would be easy for the advocates of indigenous civilization to insist that the Romans never set foot on these islands, and that the traces everywhere met with of their short occupation were the independent inventions of the Britons themselves; this, however, we know was not the case, but that Roman pavements, Roman villas, and Roman roads were introduced by the Romans; therefore when we find traces fewer in number yet equally distinctive, of an intercourse formerly subsisting between Egypt and China, or that unknown predecessor of China, from which her civilization is derived, and other far distant lands, we may reasonably conclude that at some time there was a more or less intimate connexion between them.

Wilkinson tells us of curious Chinese porcelain bottles, found in Egyptian tombs of not much later than the eighteenth dynasty, with Chinese legend translated by Davis to mean, "the flower opens and lo another year!"* and perhaps the singular custom of shaving the head followed by the ancient Egyptians, modern Chinese, and American-Indians, may have had a common origin. In Tyndall's "Sardinia," we read of some curious seals found in the bogs of Ireland, "with letters cut in them, which were at first pronounced to be Phœnician." They were, however, laid before the accomplished Oriental scholar, Sir George Staunton, who considered many of them to be *Chinese seal characters*, which are quite different from the ordinary Chinese letters. On a comparison of them with the Phœnician alphabet, a resemblance could in some instances be traced, as also to some of the letters, in Cagliari inscriptions, though not sufficient to warrant the identity of the characters.

In the Sarde and Irish relics the similarity is only a coincidence, for the seals from their general resemblance to those actually in use in China, have been with great reason supposed to have been brought from that country, though how they found their way to the Irish bogs is an unsolved enigma.† A similar find, consisting of concentric brass rings with an inscription resembling Chinese, is recorded in Ashe's "Travels in America, in 1806," accompanying a remarkable burial of a warrior, resting upon a wooden tessellated pavement whereon the serpent was depicted, and by his side, in addition to the rings, a large vitreified vase of earthenware, a great conch shell, flint arrow-heads, a stone hatchet, and fragments of feathered cloth. The recent discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, reveal a somewhat similar Chinese character on the terra-cotta discs, with holes in the centre, which may well have been money. It would appear evident that in ancient times intercommunication between nations was as necessary as it now is for the enlargement of ideas. The human mind is like a galvanic battery, remaining inert unless the different metals which compose it are brought into contact with each other by some conductor, but then emitting sparks of light and producing effects not easily to be calculated. Thus it is probable that the Turanian discoverers of metal spread their knowledge first among their own immediate neighbours; nevertheless, the first ever-widening metallic wave bringing with it only gold and copper, certainly reached our shores, and crossed the ocean to America, although the people did not at once leave off using their stone axes and hammers, but employed them in

* "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iii. p. 108.

† Tyndall's "Sardinia," vol. iii. p. 218, note.

searching for and in beating into form the new-found unbreakable stones, for metal must have remained for a long time scarce and difficult to procure. Whether in the search for gold and copper, tin became known to these early miners first in Britain, and was thence conveyed by them back to Asia, and there smelted and fused with copper to form bronze, we know not ;* but certain it is that bronze soon became the universal metal, and found its way into almost all the lands which had already been instructed in the manufacture of ornaments and implements of gold and copper, but with one noteworthy exception. It did not reach to America, either because some long-known and frequently used channel of communication became broken about that time, or because the men of metal, in sowing like Cadmus the dragon's teeth, found themselves to their cost surrounded by armed warriors of their own making, ready to oppose all future progress, and obliging them instead to look to their own defences, and shut themselves up securely within their own territories.

Bronze seems to have had a long reign. It was brought to Britain, Mr. Fergusson thinks, by the Celts, whom he believes to have been "either the last wave of the Turanians or the first wave of the Aryans, who, migrating westward from their parent seat in Asia, displaced the original and more purely Turanian tribes who occupied Europe before the dawn of history." To the Aryans the same author attributes the introduction of iron, which enabled them to overcome and supplant the earlier races ; and in order to give some approximate date to this discovery and its consequences, he says : "The Aryans crossed the Indus about 3100 B.C." Theoretically, we ought to assume that the Aryans who wandered westward, from their less complex language and less pure faith, were an earlier offshoot."† But Max Müller says : "Though the use of iron was known before the composition of the Homeric poems, it certainly was not known previous to the breaking up of the Aryan family ;" basing this opinion upon the fact that the name for iron is different in every one of the Aryan languages ; whilst Sanskrit, Greek, Teutonic, and Slavonic agree in their name for gold ; Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin in their name for silver ; Sanskrit, Latin, and German in their name for the third metal—*i.e.* copper.‡ It seems apparent that except in the use of iron, the Aryans, upon

* At the recent Archæological Congress at Stockholm Worsaae gave it as his opinion that "the bronze age had arisen in Asia Minor, spread itself over Greece to Italy, Gaul, and the British Isles. That Scandinavia produced earlier forms than certain other countries was clearly because the bronze culture had come to it through Hungary and North Germany."—*Academy*, August 29th, 1874.

† "History of Architecture," vol. i.

‡ "Science of Language."

their first appearance* in history, were less civilized than the people they subdued. Traces of this may be seen in the debasement of art in Egypt on the advent of a new dynasty, probably Aryan. In India, also in the newly-discovered ruins at Hissarlik, in Sardinia, in Etruria, and many other places, the same deterioration may be observed as following the advent of the new race. But they had the wit to ally themselves with the civilized races they subdued; hence, as Mr. Fergusson adds, "they first appear prominently in Greece, where, by a fortunate union with the Pelasgi—a people apparently of Turanian race—they produced a civilization more brilliant while it lasted than anything the world had seen before. They next sprang forth in Rome, mixed with the Turanian Etruscan, and the powerful Celtic tribes of Italy."* The result of that union we all know; but when they came in contact with uncivilized races they remained uncivilized, even in the state in which the Britons were found by Cæsar, who, although they had even then become possessed of iron weapons, and had enjoyed the use of bronze, according to Mr. Evans for at least 500 or 600 years, were yet little, if at all, superior to the New Zealanders of the present day.

We all know that inventions and discoveries are for the most part accidental. A man of inventive genius is attracted by a phenomenon which has occurred perhaps thousands of times before without leading to any practical result. But this man seizes upon the fact, sees how it may be turned to account, and becomes a public benefactor. In early times he would have been made a god, and his chosen symbol would have been revered as in some sort a portion of the man himself, and afterwards would have been adored as the receptacle of the soul of the deceased. Now, we only write about him and extol him, and perhaps erect statues in his honour adorned with the family arms—the modern substitute for the totem of antiquity—and we call his followers by his name. But the invention, crude at first, is gradually perfected; it crosses the ocean to America, and there in fresh hands becomes something quite different to the original invention; and so it was doubtless in ancient times. We may imagine a warrior chieftain, armed with spear and arrows of flint and a great stone hammer, attracted by a glittering yellow lump lying in some hollow of a cave into which perhaps he has pursued some deadly serpent. He picks it up, and the fancy seizes him to break it. The hammer descends, but lo! a marvel, the stone is not broken but flattened. Again and again the hammer falls, and flatter and flatter becomes the yellow stone. This is a thing he cannot understand; he must

* "History of Architecture," vol. i.

take it home to please his little ones ; and as he walks with this heavy flattened stone in his hand he thinks "Surely this stone, so curiously malleable, may be made useful? It is too soft for weapons, but it may at least be made into ornaments." He wonders whether there are other stones of this kind. He searches and searches, and at last he finds some copper ; this is harder than the gold, and may be made useful. He makes of it a celt or an arrowhead, and finds it more easily wrought than stone, but more pliable. He discourses of his discovery to his tribe ; they wonder, and try for themselves the new implement ; and one, having perhaps only small pieces of metal, tries to join them together to make them large enough : he makes several small plates and wraps them up in a larger one, and finds, to his astonishment, that the weapon thus made is almost as hard as stone and less liable to splinter ; and thus the invention grows ; and that which first led to the discovery—the serpent—is looked upon as a beneficent guide, and adopted by the users of the new weapons as a symbol ; and, having probably before this been a tribal totem, it now becomes an Agathadæmon, and is introduced in this character into all the countries into which the new invention is carried, until veneration degenerates into worship. From having been the totem of the great ancestor, it is looked upon as the ancestor himself, and is credited with all sorts of attributes until a stranger race, in subduing its worshippers, reduces it to the malignant beast once more. But still the old traditions are cherished by the conquered race ; and in time become adopted with modifications by the conquerors, lingering on through ages in the folk-lore of the people. Those who have written upon serpent-worship seem to have overlooked this strange and unexplained connexion between serpent-worship and metallurgy, which yet seems so patent when we look at the universal coupling of the serpent with wealth and hidden treasures of which he is always the guardian ; and the universal traditions, which make all serpent-gods instructors of mankind in metallurgy and agriculture, and the corresponding fact that wherever the worship of the serpent as a good and beneficent god can be traced, there also it will be found that the natives, though in other respects little removed from barbarism, have yet a knowledge and sometimes, as in Ashantee, a very perfect knowledge of metallurgy. Of course that which is here suggested as a probable origin of this connexion might have occurred in any country in which metal is found in a pure state and in many places at different times, but that it was in reality the discovery of one tribe only, and spread by that tribe over all those lands in which it was known in pre-historic times, is, we think, proved by the similarity of the monuments and traditions which

always accompany it, as well as by the present ignorance of the use of metals in many lands where they are very abundant. Many of the accompaniments of this wide-spread serpent-worship can barely be touched upon in this paper. Cyclopean structures, agriculture, primitive astronomy, and navigation, as well as metallurgy, seem ever to have followed in its wake; but there is a darker side to the picture, for there are undoubted traces of the immolation of human victims by its votaries, and of that strange and mysterious phallic worship which led to so much that was reprehensible in the religious mysteries of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and which has still its votaries in India. Mr. Fergusson adds tree-worship to the category, but of this in very early times we think the traces are very slight; and even in some of the illustrations from the topes given in "Tree and Serpent Worship," as instances of this veneration, it appears to us that the object to which the adoration of the worshippers is given, is not the tree, but the two stones, one round or rather oval, and the other conical, placed beneath it, which have been the universal objects of worship, and which are still thus placed under a tree and worshipped in Madagascar. Mr. Phencé thinks that *mountains* were looked upon as gods among the serpent-races, and feels so sure of his theory that on seeing mountains answering to his ideas, he asks the nearest way to the Druidical remains, feeling sure that they exist, although he has never heard of them, and his faith in his theory is not disappointed; he thinks, therefore, that the pyramids were erected to supply the place of the mountains which were wanting in Egypt. There is probably some truth in this theory, but we must not forget that many Druidical remains exist where there are no mountains and *vice versâ*, and therefore the mountain was not a *necessary* adjunct to the great circle, cromlech, or similar constructions. It does not appear to us that the mountain *as a mountain* was an object of adoration, but only from its resemblance to the cone, the form chosen to represent the sun or fire; perhaps also because it contained within it caverns fit for the habitation of the serpentine divinity and veins of the precious metals with which he was always associated, and this idea is strengthened by the fact that the same name, *nag* or *naga*, given to a snake, signifies also mountain. What seems quite certain is, that the Turanian serpent-tribes of metal-workers were addicted to ancestral worship, hence the pains they took to rear such gigantic structures in honour of departed chieftains, and the forms these structures assumed were in accordance with a well-known symbolism, the pyramidal form being sacred to the sun, the ovoid to the earth—both deities equally venerated. In the splendid temple of Nakon Wat, Cambodia,

dedicated to serpent-worship, as figured by Mr. Fergusson in his "History of Architecture," and on which bas-reliefs almost identical with those of Egypt occur, the sacred pyramidal form is carried out everywhere, and its mystical *five* pyramidal towers (a number so often repeated in the structures of the same race), bristle with teeth which form the principal ornament, and which there and elsewhere doubtless symbolize the fiery rays of the sun. Mr. Hyde Clarke traces a remarkable resemblance between the monuments of Cambodia and Pegu and those of Mexico and South America, as well as strong affinities of language* which, coupled with the serpent-worship, and the beliefs and customs too numerous to mention, common to both, as well as the practice of metallurgic arts, go far to prove if not a common origin, at least a long and intimate connexion at one time between the old world and the new. That metallurgy was first discovered and practised by a serpentine race of Turanian origin can hardly be doubted when we follow the indications we have endeavoured to point out of their presence in many lands. That it was the main cause of the extraordinary reverence shown to the serpent as a good deity, and of the singular and unexampled development of civilization in remote ages, is also, we believe, demonstrable, as also that its progress from copper to bronze, and from bronze to iron may be attributed to that intercourse between remote nations in very early times, and the consequent interchange of ideas and inventions which we are slow to acknowledge as possible, but which is yet proved by innumerable facts. Without this the serpent would have remained the dull, semi-conscious deity of Australia and Fiji, instead of as now marking his track across the world by a golden band, embracing within it metallurgy, agriculture, architecture, astronomy, navigation, sculpture, and that without which the civilization of the nineteenth century would have been impossible—the art of writing. We need not again refer to the fact that almost all the earliest inscriptions of Asia have been proved to be of Turanian origin. Mr. Hyde Clarke traces a correspondence between the earliest of these in Mesopotamia and the ancient characters of Peru, whilst M. Lenormant announces as the most important and unexpected result of his researches, the discovery of an advanced Turanian civilization in Central Asia as the source from which the civilization of the neighbouring Aryan and Semitic nations was mainly derived, and has proved that the metallurgic skill for which the Etruscans were so conspicuous, originated at some period of immense antiquity among a Turanian people who inhabited the region between the Ural and the Altai, and to

* See Letter in *Times*, March 25th, 1874.

the same Turanian race, M. Lenormant attributes the invention of the art of writing, and its introduction among the less advanced Aryan and Semitic races, who occupied the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The vast antiquity of the use of metals who shall estimate? Long before the pyramids were built or Menes had laid the foundation of that great nation which is still the wonder of the world, the arts of metallurgy must have been known and practised not only in the old world but in the new. A recent number of the *Athenæum** tells us of the discovery of metal work of vast antiquity in a lake drained near Bogota, proving that these unknown metallurgists were adepts in their art, and understood the use of alloys; and many discoveries of a similar nature may confidently be anticipated. How and whence these nations of Central and Southern America received their knowledge is as yet an unsolved problem; it may well have been at a time when the configuration of the surface of the earth differed materially from that at present existing. Many things tend to show that the civilization of Mexico was received through Europe. An article in the *Ethnological Journal* for 1865, entitled "Mythic Aspects of Ancient Chronology," points out that the Mexican "ages" must have belonged to a temperate latitude, and that the evidence points distinctly to North-Western Europe, to Celtic Europe in fact, as the seat of that remote civilization. There are still believers in the island of Atlantis as a probable means of communication between the hemispheres, and geological researches may yet prove it to have been no myth. But the civilization of Peru and other Southern American nations was as evidently derived from Eastern Asia across the mighty waters of the Pacific. Whether in that region also a chain of islands existed to facilitate communication, deep-sea soundings may reveal; but it is certain that ocean currents setting precisely in that direction would have greatly increased the possibility of communication by sea. That great changes in the conformation of the surface of the earth have taken place even since the birth of traditional geography is certain. In Dr. Smith's "Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography"† several of the maps make Africa bend round towards India, which may be a traditional rendering of a geological fact; it does not do to set down these old maps as purely mythical; there were some curious Portuguese maps published a few years since in *Good Words*, wherein the source of the Nile was accurately traced to the two great lakes since explored by Livingstone, but whether these were drawn from

* October 17th, 1874.† See *Academy*, October 3rd.

absolute knowledge or from tradition only, we know not ; at all events they were correct. Captain Stokes believes the central part of Australia to be, geologically speaking, a land newly risen from the ocean, probably in consequence of that depression which caused the separation of the coast from the nearest continent, and it would appear that the present state of the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific represents pretty faithfully the condition of the inhabitants of that continent from which they became gradually separated by the widening of channels at one time passable. But who shall estimate the vast time requisite for these great changes, which would all seem to have occurred before any knowledge of metallurgy had been obtained ? and then, since it is impossible that metals could have come into full use at once, we must calculate how many ages were required from the time when the first great ancestral serpent struck with his stone hammer the first wrought lump of gold to that time when the art by slow development had become sufficiently perfected to allow of the hewing of the vast stones required for the building of the pyramids—thus only can we arrive at any approximate notion of the antiquity of this art.

Thus all anthropological research seems to show more and more plainly the immense antiquity and the unity of the human race ; the rise and development of a peculiar type of civilization characterized by megalithic structures, the use of metals and reverence for the serpent, among a Turanian people of Central Asia, and thence radiating by degrees over a vast well-defined belt extending round the world, and the decline and fall of that civilization in consequence of the inroads of barbarous Aryan hordes, who, however, gradually adopted the manners and customs of the races they displaced, and in time developed a far superior civilization.

A few more turns of the mighty churn, and all these things will be plainly revealed. Already the clouds and thick darkness which have hitherto obscured and hidden the landscape begin to roll away. Presently they shall vanish entirely before the bright light of the rising sun, and Soors and Assoors shall rejoice together over the result of their labours.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of the *Westminster Review* is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]

ART. VIII.—HOME LIFE: ENGLISH DWELLINGS.

"SWEET home" is the burden of the sweetest song: and our chief fear in the publication of this essay is lest we may seem to derogate from its sweetness.

Not the home in which we may happen to find ourselves, but the real home, the home of our childhood, is so indissolubly associated with hallowed memories and half-forgotten glimpses of the spring of life, that we should deem it the grossest sacrilege to dispute for a moment its claim to the veneration and love of all who have tasted its joys. The freedom and unrestraint involved in the sense of property, even though unconscious, is healthful beyond praise. Where but at home would the romp and racket have been tolerated? Where but at home could peach-trees and strawberry-beds, and flower-gardens have been plundered with impunity? Where else those friendships contracted and strengthened between ourselves and the ponies, lambs, dogs and birds? Could we have rollicked about with hotel-waiters and porters as we did with our coachmen and gardeners? In a word, would that sense of universal brotherhood anywhere have been generated, but at home—sweet home? Perhaps the reader knows what it is to take the last look round before leaving home for ever. If so, we would ask whether, if the grief is not altogether so insupportable as at the loss of a friend, the mitigating cause may not be found in the fact that whereas the one still continues to exist, the other is gone even beyond the region of hope.

Attachment to the locality associated with past pleasures is strongly manifested, not only among human beings, but also to a marvellous extent among some of the lower animals; and we

doubt not the sentiment will operate as a powerful prejudice against the doctrines enunciated in these pages ; though we warn objectors beforehand that all such prejudices will be due to a confusion of ideas ; for throughout, by the term *home* we intend to denote simply a house complete in itself, held and occupied for at least a term of years by the head of a family, to the exclusive use of that family and its dependents.

We are now in a position, having prospectively parried any charges of inappreciation of home-blessings, to define the aim of this essay.

Firstly, we shall endeavour to discover amid the signs of the times any tendencies to a disturbance of the existing institution of home.

Secondly, we shall follow up the tendencies discoverable to their probable development ; and with this light sketch as clearly as we can the home of the future.

In the olden times, when to the majority of even wealthy county families London was but a name, and the dialect of the district was the household tongue, men grew much like turnips, in the place wherein they chanced to have been sown, and the homestead was the natural and fit outcome of such a state of things. This was before railways, when our grandfathers, who still speak with a provincial brogue, coached up from Aberdeen to London, putting up at wayside inns, and finally quitting the coach at the Elephant and Castle. There were no such things as hotels then, in the modern sense of the word ; and travelling was with the leisured classes an event of so rare an occurrence, that special modifications of the household arrangements on a permanent footing were not required.

Not so now. Travelling is to-day as much a source as a test of education : every family of even moderate means make at least one annual visit of a few weeks to the seaside, or to some fashionable or secluded English or continental watering-place : while most of our wealthy countrymen absent themselves from their country houses more than half the year round, spending the time in town, on the moors, and in travel.

As the day for the family pilgrimage approaches, like a spectre before the eyes of the housewife arises the prospect of preparation, of the stowing away of plate and valuables in some iron bound wardrobe, or at the bankers, of turning the house upside down for the cleaning, of organizing the servants into a species of self-governing co-operative-society, of inquiring and engaging of suitable lodgings, of packing, of ———, but the reader, if the mistress of a house will cry "Hold ! enough, recall no more." Besides time and trouble, all this is accompanied by so great care, anxiety and risk, as to act in many cases as a serious de-

terrent ; and the indisputable advantages of travel and change of scene are not unfrequently sacrificed to dread of the awful spectre "preparation."

But we need not further dilate on this aspect of the troubles of house-keeping : all is summed up in a recognition of the discrepancy between wandering families and fixed abodes.

And yet, though not apparently so, this is only a particular manifestation of a general evil ; the evil, namely, of setting apart immense masses of material for very occasional and slight use, compared with their full power of affording pleasure. Private houses contain always hall, morning-room, dining-room, and drawing-room, usually library, frequently billiard-room, and occasionally ball-room, banquet-hall, chapel or picture-gallery ; most of which are entered at considerable intervals only, and none with the exception of morning-, dining- and drawing-rooms even in daily use.

When we consider the total number of such rooms in this country, the area covered by them in the streets of London and other large towns ; the cost of building them and keeping them in repair, the expense of furnishing them ; the staffs of servants required to keep them in order ; and compare all this with the pleasure (?) derived from their possession ; the disproportion appears something stupendous. The present market value of these commodities is incalculable : a reliable estimate would be an interesting contribution to the science of domestic economy ; meantime we are safe in setting it down roughly in hundreds of millions sterling.

We may now pass on to the consideration of the servants employed in attending to these enormous accumulations. An ordinary staff of indoor servants consists of butler, cook, house-maid and kitchen-maid ; in addition to these, of which there are frequently duplicates, there are the outdoor servants, coachman, groom, and gardener : again if there be children, we have nurses, and when these can be dispensed with, the ladies' maid takes their place. We have purposely left out of sight the valets, the footmen, the undergardeners and nondescripts that frequently swarm like the pet dogs and birds about a large country mansion ; because, after all, they are probably the exception rather than the rule. But with all omissions and limitations that can be fairly made, consider this array of from two to sixteen, and often very many more, human beings spending their time in ministering to the immediate wants and caprices of a considerably smaller number ; and we are again struck with the disproportion between the labour expended and the pleasure derived.

Further note, that in the great majority of cases, several of these already complex and highly indefinite functions, are per-

formed by a single person, and a moment's reflection on the principle of the division of labour will make it clear what an incredible amount of energy is thus frittered away. Doubtless the waste would be greater if each householder kept in his exclusive employ, a hatter, a tailor, and a butcher; yet not nearly so much so as might at first sight be supposed. For we have never had a fair opportunity of comparing the present products of domestic labour with the products of an equal amount of similar labour properly organized, as we see it in the trades: except, indeed, to a certain extent in hotels, where the ratio of the proportion of production to cost as compared with that in private houses is greatly underestimated at as ten to one. And yet even hotels are by no means a fair criterion. The consequences of this are not far to seek. The mistress is continually complaining of the high rate of wages, the inefficiency of the work; of hurry and scamping at certain hours of the day, and of idleness at others. She is ever vainly striving to dovetail the duties of her servants one into another, and thereby trespassing on all.

Nor does the old saying "one man's loss is another's gain" apply here. The servants too are always complaining. They have not enough liberty; they may not go out when their work is over; they are expected to attend church on Sundays; even their dress is interfered with; nor are "followers" allowed. How often again do we hear the formula "it is not my place to——"? It is not the butler's place to carry up the coals. It is not the groom's place to run errands for the cook. Who is to clean the knives, the boots, the windows? It is apparently nobody's place to perform these requirements. We are indebted to good-nature or "greenness" for these services, unless we keep a lad for the purpose.

The butler gives notice: his dignity is wounded, because he is not entrusted with the keys of the wine-cellar, the colour of his nose being regarded as inappropriate to the office of house steward.

Now all this indefiniteness of function is nothing else than the characteristic of serfdom. In feudal times services were indefinite because the servant had no choice or say in the matter; he must do what he was ordered to do, and therein lay the limits to his duty. His position very much resembled that of the imported coolies in the West Indies. They were not slaves, but to all practical intents and purposes they might just as well have been. It was so in all occupations. Artisans long ago shook off the yoke, and now freely sell their labour. Agricultural labourers are now for the first time blindly endeavouring to do the same thing: but with domestic servants a radical change in the institution of homes will be necessary before they will be

enabled to effect their emancipation. And here we must be on our guard against a very prevalent mistake. It is commonly assumed, even by modern thinkers and writers on social subjects, that the tendency of the age is towards freedom of contract ; and that the establishment on a firm footing of voluntary contract in all departments of exchange will leave nothing to be desired.

This is only a half-truth, and the least important half. The tendency is not only towards voluntary but towards voluntary *definite* contracts. A man may easily contract to sell himself as a slave to another. The contract is free enough, but the services to be rendered are by no means definite. The London "general" engages in consideration of some ten pounds a-year, with board and lodging to do anything that is required of her, reserving to herself the definite right of quitting on a month's notice ; and this is nothing less than temporary serfdom terminable at will. Here again the contract is voluntary but extremely indefinite. But when a man undertakes to clean all the boots in an hotel not exceeding 300 pairs, and to keep so many bathrooms in order, beyond which he is free to do and go as he pleases, this is not only a voluntary but a definite contract. From an exalted point of view this tendency towards definiteness of contract explains the recent dispute between the farmers and labourers of the Eastern counties. No doubt, as has been triumphantly alleged by the farmer, even the rise of wage demanded would not compensate the labourers for the loss of perquisites and gratuities they are willing to forego : but this does not alter the fact that what is really wanted is definiteness of pay and greater freedom of movement.

And, to return to domestic servants, few will deny that with what kindness soever they may be treated, they cannot but yearn, consciously or unconsciously, for a clearer conception of duty. True, they may not, and probably do not, see their many grievances in this light ; but that they must be subject to the laws of society, like other sections of the community, is manifest ; and yet their present state is in direct violation of the law that the amelioration of labour is invariably accompanied by the development of free and definite contracts.

Thus, disregard of the principle of the division of labour has rendered definite contracts impossible ; and, as in everything else, the violation of one law increases the difficulty of complying with another.

In the above enumeration of persons occupied in providing for one household we purposely made two obvious omissions—the master and mistress. With or without a housekeeper, the latter has work to do, which would be deemed little short of slavery were

it exacted on behalf of a stranger. Consider the housekeeping books, the hunting for servants, their superintendence, and the adjudications upon their ever-recurring quarrels; the ordering of dinners, and general arrangement of meals; the settling of Christmas bills; the worry and toil incident to giving the inevitable parties; the making and receiving of state and formal calls; all these, and a thousand other plagues, are incessant, daily, hourly. And even this formidable category supposes the master to attend to the coals, the wine-cellar, the gas, the water, the rates and taxes, the stables and outdoor servants, the rent, the insurance, the drains, and what not. Then over and above the daily routine come the cataclysms: the pipes burst in frosty weather; the spring runs dry in the summer; the drains get out of order, and stinks and rats infest the house; the new butler runs off with all the plate; the house is struck by lightning, and a chimney falls through the best bedroom into the drawing-room; one of the carriage-horses falls lame just at the commencement of the season; an east wind blows all the smoke out of the fire-place, and ruins in an hour the wall-paper and satin furniture; and, finally, as the family are about to leave London for Venice, having successfully let the house for the summer and autumn, the children all break out in the measles. But why enumerate items in a catalogue which is endless?

Let us now proceed to regard the whole subject from an entirely new standpoint—the æsthetic. Who that has travelled direct from Paris to London has not been struck with the heavy, squat appearance of the houses in our streets? Let alone the fact that, owing to the costliness of the interior, the exterior is usually left to take care of itself, or to veil itself beneath a coating of grimy plaster, the additional remark occurs to us, that, in the majority of cases, the proportion between the price of the land and the effectual demand for certain household requirements, is just that which results in the most ungainly and misshapen buildings conceivable. Too high for their breadth, taken singly, and too low taking the whole row into view; too like the adjoining houses for a sharp and happy contrast, and too unlike for uniformity; the residence-streets have long ago been eclipsed as objects of beauty by the warehouse-streets of the East-end. To talk of erecting a series of detached houses in the neighbourhood of St. James's would, of course, be taken as a capital joke, and to build a row in really good proportion, street included, would be the act of a man anxious to waste half a million. In Paris, no doubt, the system of flats, whether as cause or effect, has been accompanied by an immense and (to the artist) desirable rise in the height of the houses; and something of the sort has been the case in Belgravia; but as a rule the English upper classes set their faces

against the system; and, since the prejudices of the rich are invariably handed down with interest to the poor, the same separation gives rise to the hideous and squalid brick-rows, which to the tasteful are the ugliest blot on the face of this fair country. On the Leeds entrance to Harrogate a plain row of such cottages is to be seen, originally built on the grass, each two-eyed habitation staring at its own privy, about six paces to the front. Will any one deny that the money expended in the erection of this loathsome row of outhouses would have sufficed to build and furnish a commodious and picturesque lavatory, common to all, and *clean*? Without going further, it is plain that good architecture is in most places incompatible with separate family domiciles, except in the comparatively rare cases in which men of combined wealth and taste amuse themselves by erecting fine residences for themselves and their posterity, commonly in some extensive park in the country. And this results in another evil, upon which we have not yet touched.

The discontent with their lot increasingly manifested by the lower orders, cannot fail to be aggravated by the spectacle of enormous private parks, and the waste of land and labour thereby entailed. Such, indeed, is the pressure of public feeling on this point, that few royal or noblemen's mansions are without their show-days, when, to the great annoyance of their owners, the public are permitted to pour in and invade the principal rooms and grounds. Those who will not submit to this nuisance soon find their names coupled with such appellations as mean, proud, and stingy.

Agitations are even got up, based on this obnoxious fact, and enthusiastic cheers greet every allusion to vast moors, parks, and forests which have been wrested by a rapacious aristocracy from a yielding and down-trodden people! All this is rare capital in the hands of the Odgers and Arches; and even Mr. Bradlaugh condescends to make more use of it than is warranted, backed up as he is by the doctrinaires of the "unearned increment," although, doubtless, fully aware that the doctrine has nothing to do with the question at issue. The unearned increment is, of course, a fact, but not *the* fact which warrants us in tampering with the rights of property in land or anything else. Nor can we, in listening to Bradlaugh's orations, refuse to accord our sympathy with his wrath at the sight of so many broad acres shut out from the field of public utility for the exclusive pleasure of a very small number of individuals. And yet, in exchange for an increase of population (which would be the effect of utilizing these lands), we ourselves would not consent to forego the æsthetic advantages conferred upon society by the existence of glorious landscapes, ancient woodland, and historical

castles and halls. The sequel will show whether it is possible to eliminate the evil and retain the good.

There is yet another point of view from which we must scrutinize our houses. It is said that home is the cradle of the nobler virtues ; of gentleness, self-sacrifice, obedience, truth, affection, patience. And yet, at nine or ten boys are sent to school, never to return as permanent settlers round the family hearth. At about eighteen they go up to college, and thence pass away into the legal, military, or clerical professions, or into trades, marry, and make new homes elsewhere. With girls, the most part of whom stay at home, the case is different, and what do we find ? We are not acquainted with a single family in which the young ladies do not, without hesitation, confess that the neighbourhood in which they reside is the dullest, without exception, in the country. There is never "any thing going on" there. Whilst everywhere else people seem to be enjoying life, with them all is petrification and monotony. They are sick of the same old walks and rides ; their studies, commonly under compulsion, are a bore to them ; they are not even a source of entertainment to one another. What of news have three or four sisters to communicate each to each ? But perhaps a quotation from a well-written article in the *Queen* for August 15th (written, we suppose, by the hand of a lady), is more to the point than anything we could originate :—

"The poetry of belief makes the English home the very ideal of sweetness, peace, love, security. Sisters are angelic friends each to each, and parents and children are enclosed in a golden web of affection, which keeps in all the good spirits, and shuts out all the bad. Husbands and wives live in a daily atmosphere of contented affection, which is superior to the tumultuous fever of the love-making time, in so far as it is surer and more serene ; and if the world does not penetrate within these four walls, life is assumed to be all the better for the absence of disturbing elements—by no means the poorer for the want of additional interest, or the less carefully conducted for the want of critical eyes to overlook.

"This is the ideal of an English home ; but good as it is to keep a high ideal, it is also necessary to accept things as they are, and to make no illusions on matters of fact. The matter of fact connected with the family is too often the reverse of the ideal ; and, instead of love, and confidence, and security, and all the rest of it, we have ill-temper and selfishness, backbitings and quarrelling, and any one abroad preferred to every one at home. It is true enough that sisters ought to be friends, but are they ? Are they not as often rivals, and even enemies, as true and loving comrades, each desiring the other's good, and each as willing as the other to give the best and take the worst for friendship's sake ? We know some homes, but we are bound to say they are few, wherein the governing law is the law of true friendship and faithful love. For the most part there is far more

of tyranny, jealousy, and rebellion, than of those sweeter sentiments generally assumed."

We are quite prepared to endorse this last statement, and we believe few will dispute its accuracy. But to blame the girls we are little disposed. Nothing so readily and unfailingly conduces to irritability of temper as continued cravings ungratified. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." With instincts and education combining to create thirst for society, its displays, its adventures, and all its intoxicating ambitions, our girls find themselves shut up for more than nineteen-twentieths of their time in an insipid colourless routine, with hardly any of their very natural appetites, conscious or unconscious, satisfied.

As a set-off against all this we have the lamentable spectacle of a whole nation of mothers and daughters co-operating to institute the heaviest system of gaiety conceivable. Since other people must somehow or other be got at, we have calls, balls, dinners, evenings, musical matinées, at homes, and all the dreary machinery of so-called fashionable life. There is the drag through the London season, the month at the usual fashionable watering-place, and then—then, the lapse into autumnal despair. By calls alone home is deprived of its very essence, which, we take it, consists in absolute, potential privacy. Not to mention the permanent waste of coal necessitated, no lady can dress at her ease or neglect her toilette for a single afternoon in safety; nor can she settle down, secure from invasion to any employment which her needs or her taste dictate. Surely this encroachment on the province of leisure is most disastrous in its effects.

So far we have strictly confined ourselves to the discussion of the evils resulting from the present institution of homes, without noticing in passing the symptoms of disturbance. Yet the tendency of the age to rebel against this sort of tyranny, though not at first sight apparently very marked, is on an extended survey found to be very deep-rooted. The continual worries have provoked recourse to expedients, various and worthy of consideration, which Necessity the mother of Invention has prescribed as antidotes. For example:—Do your horses fall lame or come down? Here is a man who will keep to your exclusive use a pair of handsome bays and a brand new landau; find food, stabling, grooms and coachman, and in fine take all risk and relieve you of all responsibility for the sum of 200*l.* a year. Do your gardener's wages represent no work in winter? Here is a man who engages to keep your garden to your own satisfaction, choosing his own time, for so much per annum. Are you in fear of your house being burnt down, or damaged by fire? Here is an insurance company, who for a most trifling annual payment will undertake to rebuild it, or to indemnify you for the loss at your own valua-

tion. Is your silver a nightmare to you? Here is one who for so much per head will furnish your table on required occasions with massive plate, gorgeous china and glass, and everything which can render a sumptuous banquet splendid. And if you do not require a clever French cook for your everyday meals, your grand dinners down to the wine, fruit and flowers, all of the very best, are to be obtained of another on similar estimates. Is your house too small to admit of your relegating one room to the dominion of books? You may convert your library into a morning-room and for a couple of guineas a year obtain from Mudie's the most recent publications in quantities enough to satiate the most rapacious student. But further, in New York, whole families are to be found permanently residing in giant hotels; the Parisians are following suite, and the custom is invading even homely Britain. And yet still more ominous signs lie deeper beneath the surface. The wealth formerly lavished on homes finds new channels now. Home treasures are less sought after. M. Chevalier has pointed out that the demand for gold and silver plate, for gilt and all articles composed of the precious metals (money excluded) does not nearly keep pace with the increase of population in Western Europe.

One with whom we are well acquainted may here be fitly called in as a type, on an extreme scale, of many modern men of the world. Priding himself on the possession of nothing in the form of unproductive property, beyond two changes of clothes, a pipe, an umbrella and a small portmanteau, he devotes the whole of his income to travelling, electioneering expenses, hotel-bills, and subscriptions to clubs, libraries, and scientific and other societies: relegating to a younger brother the office of quaking, with an insurance-policy in one hand and a bunch of patent keys in the other, over the ancestral hall, its portraits, its treasures and its heirlooms like the miser clutching his gold even in his troubled sleep.

Clubs too are growing in number and (to judge from the anathemas lavished on them by wives) in importance. A Club is a house where, for some six or eight guineas a-year, gentlemen may enjoy the privilege of meeting their friends, venting their scorn or approbation of Government measures, eating dinners and other meals, either alone or with companions, playing billiards and whist without fear of being swindled, reading the papers, writing letters, and generally of lounging and pottering whenever there is nothing better to do. This is doubtless very convenient, and to bachelors invaluable: but to family men, though of course letters from pre-matrimonial correspondents may be left there till called for, and it is a convenient address for duns, the advantages are to a considerable extent counter-balanced by evils which it is unnecessary here to specify.

Boarding-houses are another symptom of rebellion against the monotony and dullness of home ; but as they almost entirely resemble hotels, as at present developed, we may dismiss them with bare mention.

We fear we have far from exhausted the enumeration of the signs of the times pointing to a serious disturbance in the present system of home as it has been handed down to us from our ancestors : but we trust that those already enumerated will suffice to enable us to trace the probable direction of the tendencies with a tolerable approximation.

Before doing so, however, by summarizing the results of the foregoing pages, we shall be the better able to keep in view the several conditions all of which must be more or less fulfilled by the new home.

1st. It must allow of greater mobility of individuals in these days.

2nd. It must economize the material consumed in ministering to the social side of home life.

3rd. It must economize the labour spent on domestic requirements.

4th. It must admit of the regulation of that labour by voluntary and definite contracts.

5th. It must afford that leisure to the leisured-classes which their class-name connotes, but which is at present seldom realized.

6th. It must spread risk, loss and trouble over the largest surface, and thereby diminish indefinitely the pain of their incidence.

7th. It must bring homes more under the influence of architectural taste.

8th. It must lessen the wasteful disproportion now subsisting between parks, &c., and the number of persons permitted to enjoy them, without curtailing their æsthetic benefits.

9th. It must mitigate the proverbial dullness of provincial homes, by casting the lot of individuals more unintermittently in society, and so dispense with modern spasmodic effort.

10th. It must intensify the real, essential pleasure and advantage of home, by rendering its privacy absolute and unbroken.

Of these ten requirements it is difficult to say which is the greatest desideratum of the age.

We shall not find it necessary to dwell long on the few and imperfect attempts that have been made to attain to some of these blessings, as they have all been accompanied by an increase in most of the remaining evils.

First we have Hotel life, admitting of great mobility, but made miserable by endless jostlings with complete strangers of every

rank and in every stage of hurry and bustle ; by the impertinence and unconcern of the servants, due to their entire independence of you ; by the lack of some really private and homely apartment, your own absolutely, and containing your own furniture and fittings ; by the absence, in fine, of congenial society on the one hand, and of home privacy on the other.

Next come the Flats, which have the merit in common with hotels of rendering architecture of a noble kind possible ; also of enabling one staff of servants to attend to several families (though this is not the invariable rule) and so, to a certain limited extent, to co-ordinate their functions : but there is no guarantee of the existence of equal status among the inhabitants of the several flats ; and as a rule these appear to shrink past one another with a cold shudder, when they accidentally meet on the dreary staircases.

Club chambers for bachelors contrive to exist ; but the absence of all guaranty of the status of members ; the fact that they are formed for profit like other lodging-houses ; that therefore the inmates never become welded into a fraternity, and that in consequence the public rooms and passages present a desolate uncared-for aspect—all this renders it matter for wonder how they have ever succeeded at all.

Boarding-houses again are merely a species of hotel, differing from the ordinary type, mainly in containing a larger number of permanent residents in proportion to casual visitors.

Lodging-houses, formed for profit and combining nearly all the evils with none of the blessings of home, can hardly be regarded as an attempt at anything higher than a temporary travelling accommodation ; though strange to say, their one redeeming feature, freedom from fixedness, attracts some persons with a force counterbalancing all the remaining miseries.

This meagre list, meagre alike in quantity and quality, contains all the substitutes for home with which we are acquainted, except some few establishments with special objects, such as Colleges, Schools, Hydropathic homes, Workhouses, &c. &c. Nor do any of them more than the others appear to us to constitute even the germ of the home of the future. Not one of them supplies one half of the requirements above enumerated.

Let us see if we can construct an ideal establishment which shall supply all. But in order to save the reader the trouble of building up as we have done from the data, we prefer to present the establishment ready made, and to perform with their supervision, the much easier task of criticizing it.

For this purpose let us peruse together the letter of a gentleman on a visit to a country-house arranged on the new plan, dated June, 1900, who proceeds to scrutinize and explore it with care and minuteness.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—Having promised to send you a full and particular description of the new home (or integrated home, as the philosophers call it), I will endeavour to do so by beginning at the railway station, and detailing the impressions left by it, in the order in which they were presented to my own experience.

"Having been met at the station by my kind hostess in an elegant landau and pair, which rather astonished me, knowing as I do that my friend Markham is no better off than myself, and did not add to his income by marriage, we trotted off, at a swinging pace over the three intervening miles of stony highway. Nor did she appear at all uneasy when one of the horses stumbling, had a narrow escape of breaking his knees; a fact which led to a conversation, and that to a discovery; namely, that less than one-thirtieth of the loss would have fallen on her shoulders—truly a most comfortable reflection. We now enter the park. The house is not yet visible; but the giant oaks and groups of towering beeches, dight in every shade of green and yellow, shed their cooling influence in all directions as we plunge forward, leaving the rattling sounds of the road a mile behind. Nothing but short soft turf, grand old timber, trooping deer and shaggy oxen meet our eyes; and our ears are refreshed by the song of the thrush and the blackbird, and the far-off scream of the peacock. Now we catch a glimpse of a high grey tower frowning over the broad black cedars; and in another minute, leaving smooth lake on one hand and the blazing tapestry garden on the other, we find ourselves beneath the porch of a magnificent perpendicular gothic palace; no other name is appropriate. We alight, and are ushered into the spacious hall and picture-gallery by clean, respectful, and quiet footmen. No officious fussiness obtrudes itself evidently with an eye to tips. Leaving our baggage, umbrellas, and encumbrances in their charge, we mount the broad oak staircase, from which, as we ascend, we obtain a better bird's-eye view of the hall below, with its marbles, bronzes, and paintings, its tessellated pavements, its fresh exotic shrubs, and its light-subduing stained-glass windows. On reaching the balcony and passing under a massive pointed arch, we presently come to a stand before a heavy oak door, bestudded with iron bolt-nuts. My hostess rings, and the door is opened by a porter in livery, who evidently has emerged from a comfortable little room near the door. Here, I afterwards learn, he sits all day, the only private servant in Markham's suite, except his wife's maid. His province is to answer the door, which is the only entrance to the suite, when the bell rings; to take down the names of all who enter, whether visitors or the general servants, and the time both of entrance and of exit; to report all scamping of work or unpunctuality to the manager; to inquire at what meals his master and mistress will be present in the public rooms, and to write the same in the manager's book; and finally to see to the boudoir and study fires, and to do any other trifling matters that will not admit of being done in the regular routine of the other servants. Within this heavy door, be it clearly understood, the privacy is absolute, and, I may add, after this first inspection and chat with Markham in his study, I never again passed its threshold.

The rooms comprised in the suite are the porter's little office, one bedroom, one properly furnished bath-room, one boudoir, and one study — these five, and that is all. Other private suites exist in the establishment containing considerably more, but they are the exception; and as a rule the elder sons and daughters prefer their own private suites, and it is considered better they should have them. There are about thirty suites in all, and including young children, about sixty-seven persons in the house, without counting servants. The latter do not sleep in the house, but at their own cottages beyond the park (porters excepted), coming early in the morning and returning at night, some earlier and some later, according to their several occupations. But I am getting dry and had better return to my narrative:—It is now about half-past four, and we dine at six, in order not to cut these delightful summer evenings in the country too short; so after the usual cross-examinations of friends who have not met for some time, after looking through the family album, and after admiring the small objects of taste and curiosity that adorn the boudoir, I am introduced to my own suite of apartments, which contain one room less than Markham's; though married life is so much cheaper here than in separate homes, that were I a permanent denizen the reduced number of rooms would not long suffice me. Here I have my own study, though on a visit, as private and secluded as at home; a porter who acts as valet when required, and from whom I have learnt much of the working of the house; and a bath-room without the customary sneaking along corridors at dusk in a dressing-gown. After a good 'tub' and a change for my dusty travelling-costume, I saunter forth into the garden to admire the brilliance of the tastefully grouped flowers, the gold fish in the pond, and the gaudy birds in the aviary. Passing on into the park, I join the archery party, where at once, rather to my surprise, I am welcomed and addressed by name, introductions in the case of members' friends and visitors being very sensibly dispensed with; for after all, a formal introduction is but a guarantee of worth, and an invitation to stay with any one seems a better guarantee than any formal speech. So I soon found myself quite at home among both the young people and the few old fogies who plied the twanging bow.

"A distant shout interprets the direction in which lies the cricket-ground, where the boys play, not only in the holidays, but for the most part all the summer through; for strange to say, the number of boys sent to public schools from this integrated home decreases yearly, all the benefits and none of the evils being obtained at home. And at an early age they quit the paternal apartments, and have suites of their own. So far is this partial slackening of the family bond from acting injuriously, that the custom is on the increase, and family-affection continues all the warmer, because unruffled by the friction of uncongenial natures.

"The dinner-gong sounds; targets and stumps are deserted, and we all flock into a splendid dining-room. I note that some of the party are in evening-dress, while others are more suitably clad for the evening outdoor pastimes. The dinner is excellent, and both sexes

retire together. True, some, in fact many, of the gentlemen, adjourn to the smoking and billiard-rooms, where the port and claret still continue to flow ; but others accompany the old ladies to the drawing-room, play whist and the piano, and enjoy the tea and gossip. The younger people stroll forth again into the grounds, paddle races on the lake, knock the croquet-balls about, or water the geraniums and calceolarias ; while again others, in twos, are observed to penetrate further into the umbrageous wilderness than would seem necessary to a matter-of-fact old lady.

"As footmen, with trays of tea and coffee, seem nearly ubiquitous, there is no necessity for again calling over the muster-roll after dinner : and we all find our way to our private rooms, at the instance rather of Oneiros than of the inevitable spirits and hot water.

"Next morning, not having signified through my porter my intention of joining the wakefuller party at the nine o'clock *déjeuner*, I breakfast in my study alone, in order to accomplish a little reading while yet in *deshabille* ; after which, what with the rides in the park and on the racecourse, the lunch on the lawn, the polo match in the afternoon, and the theatricals in the pretty little theatre in the evening, the day was as bright as its predecessor, and, I may add, as its successors.

"Of course communism of this kind is by no means compulsory here. Some of the young men, for example, prefer to keep their own cues under lock and key, and some keep horses for their own exclusive use ; but the most part are content to ride the horses common to all. Nor do those pay who do not ride, or those who ride little pay as much as those who ride much : but just as though the stables were a public mews, farmed for private profit, does the manager keep the accounts of all who ride, and quarterly all pay in proportion to the use they have made of it, towards the cost of the stables. The same principle and method apply to the meals, and, in fact, everything else.

"And now observe with what infinite ease one leaves home. Mr. and Mrs. X. are on Saturday invited to join a party starting for Italy on the following Monday. They inform the manager. Mr. X., who is a barrister, has valuable papers in his study, and Mrs. X. prizes her carved furniture and Italian statuettes ; so, foregoing the small rent the let of their suite would bring in, they place the key in the hands of the manager ; the dust-sheets are laid about, the great door is locked, and the porter is removed to another post. The week before their return the fact is announced to the manager ; the servants are put in, the cleaning is gone through, and all is in readiness as though they had never been away. In cases where the proprietors have no objection to letting their rooms, they are thrown into the list of suites available for the reception of visitors like myself.

"I have now been here a fortnight, and have made a great many friends ; so many, that if Markham puts me up for election (by ballot), although a total of two-thirds of the votes is required, and three black balls exclude, I have no doubt I shall stand a good chance, and so perpetuate my sojourn at a place where I have spent the freest and

happiest days of my life. And then I hope you will come and test for yourself the accuracy of the very inadequate descriptive sketch I send you.

“ With best love, your affectionate brother, &c. &c.”

With the light of this letter we are in a position to inquire to what extent this scheme fulfils the ten conditions required of the future home ; and whether, if so, any concomitant evils are brought about which counterbalance the good.

To commence with, there can be no doubt from the immediately foregoing remarks, that the cares of travelling, so far as household arrangements are concerned, are reduced to a minimum with regard not only to trouble, but also to risk, delay and expense. This disposes of the first condition. Nor can there be much difficulty in demonstrating that the second is fulfilled with equal thoroughness. Instead of thirty drawing-rooms, thirty dining-rooms, thirty halls, thirty libraries, and thirty sets of books, pictures, ornaments and articles for furnishing all these rooms, thirty fireplaces at least of coal to fill in cold weather, and thirty of &c. &c., we have one dining-room, two drawing-rooms, one hall, one library, and a few additional rooms, sources of additional gratification, such as one billiard-room, one theatre or lecture-room, one smoking-room, one reading-room, one writing-room, and one piece or set of every article necessary to the furnishing of the same. Nor would the cost of the one large room be more than four or five times that of the average corresponding room of the thirty, thereby reducing the total outlay in this so-called social department of homes to less than one-fifth of the present amount. And yet with this much lower outlay, by reason of the concentration, both art and comfort would gain.

Persons not caring for music and chat could retire to the silent, well-stocked library, or to the lively billiard-room, where a game with a gentleman “ for love ” would not be a sheer unattainability. Again, the *table d’hôte* would admit of culinary variety and perfection not easily obtainable at home, and nevertheless be compatible with plain food if desired. The prices of hotel dinners are no measure of their cost.

The third condition is no less fully complied with. The combination of some thirty incomplete staffs of servants into one co-ordinated whole ; the consequent reduction in the required number, by more than one-half or two-thirds, and the minute subdivision of their duties, are economical results which need no amplification.

Not only would half the number of servants be enabled, by the system of integration to accomplish the whole of their former work, but also, bearing in mind the observations of the preceding paragraph, the work itself would be immensely reduced in

amount, thus rendering a still further reduction in their number possible ; while an increase in the number of distinct offices would cause the work to be done not only as well, but much better. The plain cook who spoilt all the vegetables and half the meat will be either dismissed or converted into a kitchen-maid to await promotion by merit ; one groom will attend exclusively to the stables, another to the carriages ; the gardeners will form a veritable hierarchy in order of skill and science ; there will be a boots, a hall porter, a postman, and several other functionaries impossible in small establishments.

And this differentiation is accompanied by a more rapid approximation towards complete definiteness of function (the fourth condition) which is shown by experience to be absolutely essential to the attainment of genuine liberty, and consequent elevation of status. So far as domestic servants are concerned, this is by far the most important consideration of all.

Of course the organization of so many labourers requires the superintendence of an able and experienced and trustworthy manager ; and the relegation of these duties to him releases masters and mistresses from their daily and monotonous drudgery, and realizes for the upper classes that leisure which is essential to proper cultivation of the higher faculties, and to the progress of literature, science and art. And herein is the fifth condition fully satisfied. The sixth is no less so, as is shown by observing that nearly all risks and losses fall upon about thirty times the number of individuals, that is, are spread over about thirty times as much surface as formerly.

No less striking is the immense impetus such a system would give to architecture, as well as to the arts of painting, sculpture, the decorative art, landscape-gardening, and the fictile branches. Nor would music suffer. Shame would cut away much of the ordinary pianoforte execution, the washy nature of which would be more continually brought into contrast with better, and the time and talent wasted on that study by the incapable would be bestowed on others more remunerative because congenial to the taste of the student. At the same time architecture would derive the largest share of immediate advantage ; and in time the plastered rows, now so patiently endured, would be a thing of the past that even the most fanatical antiquarian would not wish to see resuscitated.

By the fulfilment of the eighth requirement a political as well as a moral gain would be obtained ; no one but downright unreasoning communists would regard with envy the devotion of a few hundred acres of land to the genuine and permanent pleasure and benefit of some eighty or a hundred of the upper and wealthy classes ; especially when even those of the lower and

middle classes in narrow circumstances would be similarly enabled to enjoy picturesque dwellings in the suburbs of towns, with comparatively extensive gardens and shrubberies; and the very poorest of labourers could inhabit smiling village homes infinitely pleasanter than most of those now tenanted by their superiors. Moreover, potential utility would be at once conferred on existing park mansions, which at present appear to have no further use than to act as sinecures to superannuated butlers, gardeners, and housekeepers, who for three parts of the year convert them into something like tea-gardens and show rooms.

After all, perhaps, the ninth condition—viz., the mitigation of the proverbial home dulness is the greatest of all. That this is done effectually is clear. The compulsory association of persons of great disparity in age, whatever real affection may subsist between them, is injurious to both, but especially to the younger. The boy who remains longer than usual with his parents never entirely loses the stigma which at schools attaches to the Mammy's darling; and so far is he from becoming more manly owing to his daily intercourse with his father, as he certainly might by making companions of boys a year or two his seniors, that he fails to acquire a proper self-reliance or confidence, and is lucky if he is not always led by the nose for the remainder of his life. Boys with boys, girls with girls, young people with young people, and old with old: this is the rule, and the exceptions are beneficial enough so far, and so far only as they are really exceptions. Further, since the world we live in is or should be the true sphere of our actions and sympathies, habitual life in an extended circle, and under the influence of wider social relations than are to be found at home, is actually requisite to a thorough manly education. The collateral advantage of dispensing with the spasmodic, heavy, creaking machinery of so-called fashionable life is too manifest to need elucidation.

To some it will seem as though the tenth desideratum has not been attained under this system. Is it possible to intensify, or indeed to avoid diminishing, the privacy of home by the method herein indicated?

To us it is matter of confession that unless this last condition is fairly fulfilled, our whole edifice falls to the ground. Time and opportunity for solitary study and meditation safe from molestation, are so essential to moral and intellectual health, that we would not forego them for all the above enumerated nine benefits combined.

Who can read a work requiring strained attention; or write, say a poem, demanding a long continued maintenance of a peculiar and delicately-balanced emotion; or decide on a course of action requiring the marshalling of evidence, and the due

suspension of judgment, with impartial care, if at any moment a ring at the bell may announce callers brimming over with the latest tittle-tattle and malice of the neighbourhood, and bent on raising him as it were from the zero of abstract thought to the boiling-point of partizanship?

The English lady's usual afternoon, of which the less said the better, is the result, mainly, of a sustained state of waiting, for excitement or boredom according to the taste of the patient. And the attitude of most modern women towards both belligerents in the great war raging now in their midst, between the old and the new doctrines, is an instance of the lamentable *insouciance* and want of reflection nowadays manifested in all departments of deeper thought by women; and it is, we believe due almost entirely to the unrest imposed on them by the existing arrangement of their duties.

The absence of nearly all need for making or receiving formal calls, coupled with the plain rule that even such as were necessary should be made invariably in the large drawing-room and not in the private suites, would leave the afternoon (and indeed all hours of the day) completely at the disposal of its virtual owner. And in addition, the freedom of action and encouragement given to individuality by the disintegration of that cumbersome patriarchal aggregate, the family, would take the place of the unfortunate system of resultants (to use a technical metaphor) in which the aims and strivings of all the members result in a consummation agreeable to none.

We have now shown, with what clearness we leave to the reader's judgment to pronounce, that the ten conditions demanded of the home of the future are completely fulfilled by the scheme described.

Nor is the scheme a quack specific to cure the evils of modern fashionable life; or a fabrication of our own, the invention of a diseased fancy; but a future reality, needing no advocacy or aid to its realization any more than a predicted eclipse of the sun. Like that, it is a deduction from the facts presented to experience, and the laws based upon them. And the accuracy of our description depends entirely, not on our constructive skill, but on our care and ability to follow up and forecast the outcome of the tendencies everywhere at work around us.

Whether the ten heads under which we have chosen to classify these tendencies, are the best that might have been decided upon, is not for us to say. It is invariably a delicate task to state and classify the laws underlying complex relations, because it is optional how deep we carry our analysis. Just as we may describe granite as made up of quartz, felspar and mica; or analysing further, may enumerate the elements of its constituents—oxygen,

silicon, aluminium, calcium, iron, &c. ; so here we may deduce our prognostications from the single law of evolution, which is quite sufficient ; or with an eye to the wants of the ordinary reader, may pause at earlier stages of the analysis, before we are launched on to the ocean of pure technical terms, fairly out of sight of the terra firma, or rather terra cognita of everyday expressions. Hence we have chosen to stay our dissecting knife where we have done. In rather more general terms ; civilization is accompanied by the disintegration of the family and the reintegration of individuals in larger and more complex groups, just as nations appear to be working out a similar destiny, in spite of the determined resistance of those pledged to maintain the balance of power. Secondly, it is accompanied by the integration and differentiation of labour of every kind. Thirdly, by the growth of corporate property as opposed to public on the one hand and private on the other. Fourthly, by freer and more definite contracts.

These four embrace the ten laws above enumerated, and a great deal more ; and yet even these may be all included under the two heads economy and individualism. With this we conclude our remarks, in the certain knowledge that there will be plenty of resistance to the laws cited, due to conformity with other laws still in operation, but that like all other laws, they will in time bear down all opposition and triumph.



CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

IT was remarked some time ago by an eminent prelate that if any one wished to make an attack upon orthodox beliefs, he might achieve considerable success by masking his attack under the form of a weak defence of them. If the name of the writer had been absent from the title-page of the book before us,¹ we should have been inclined to think that the Archbishop's suggestion had been seriously acted upon. Under the title of "An Essay in *Confutation* of the Scepticism of the Present Day," Mr. Jackson has produced the most painstaking *vindication* of it which has appeared for some years. He starts by proposing two questions. 1. "What reason have we to look for a future life after that hour of dissolution which inevitably awaits us all?" 2. "Is there sufficient ground for believing in the existence of a Supreme Moral Being to whose righteous care and kindness we can calmly commit ourselves when we come to die?" And after 397 pages, garnished with quotations from celebrities of various degree, he arrives at the singularly impotent conclusion:—"If several explanations appear equal to the deliberative eye, then we must choose the noblest *per se*: and, as men, we ought to prefer that which is most elevating and most germane to humanity" (page 398). It by no means follows that there is any "must" or "ought" in the matter: if there be, perhaps the sceptic against whom Mr. Jackson has constructed so many elaborate sentences might reply that where probabilities are nearly balanced, we "must" and "ought" to suspend our judgment until further evidence is produced: and further, that if it comes to a question of "the noblest *per se*" there might still be room for several other theories of the Universe besides that highly orthodox form of Christianity which Mr. Jackson speaks of as "the upland territory, the border country where man may view as he walks heavenwards the lineaments of his Father's Divine love." (page xviii.) Some part of the book appears to have gained a prize which was offered by an anonymous donor for competition among Oxford Masters of Arts. Which part gained the prize and which has been thrown in extra is not very easy to determine. At any rate, it is published in a somewhat different form, Mr. Jackson having been told "by competent advisers," that the essay in the smaller shape was liable to "a possible charge of novel thought bordering on paradox" (p. xii.). He has been eminently successful in removing the grounds of this criticism. Indeed, in his anxiety "to divest discussion as much as possible of a dry, logical stiffness" (p. 14), he has not unfrequently caused the logic to vanish as well as the stiffness, so that a charge of paradox could

¹ "The Philosophy of Natural Theology; an Essay in Confutation of the Scepticism of the Present Day, which obtained a prize at Oxford, Nov. 26th, 1872." London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

hardly be maintained against him. That we are not speaking too hardly of the Essay will be apparent enough to any one who cares to be at the trouble to analyse any one of the chapters. We open at the fourth: Three previous chapters have merely expanded the well-known fallacy in which a controversialist says to his opponent, "There are some things which you cannot explain yourself: therefore, you are bound to accept my explanation." Mr. Jackson now goes on "to establish a tenable theory respecting those human beliefs in which is included our primary belief in Theism" (p. 253). In order to do so, it was essential to him to prove (1) that primary beliefs exist, (2) that the belief in Theism is one of them, (3) that the objects of such beliefs are realities outside us. In regard to the first he investigates the Inductive Principle or Law of Uniformity, but instead of proving it to be a primary *belief* his arguments go to prove it to be a *tendency* to believe, and then assume the two as identical. On this *ignoratio elenchi* he proceeds to construct the *argumentum ad hominem* which represents all that he has to say on the second point. He asserts the existence of a belief in the supernatural, and then proceeds to the further assertion that "mankind has learned to maintain as a truth of reason, that the Supernatural Power is a will—that is a personality" (p. 278). He then contrasts this belief in Theism with a non-theistic theory, by asking whether that "unknown something" is to be the beacon of our hopes, the refuge of each forlorn and shipwrecked brother, &c. &c. (p. 280), and elenches the argument by saying, "surely the mockery of madness could go no further" (p. 281). In fact, all that Mr. Jackson can do is to lament the obstinacy of his opponents, and quote some of their most telling writings. His book is a perfect anthology, and bears witness, if to nothing else, to the child-like candour and profuse reading of its author. David Hume and Mr. Gladstone, Archbishop Thomson and Mr. Carlyle, Sophocles, Cowper, and Lord Houghton jostle each other on the same page, or, in the words of the prophet, the wolf dwells with the lamb, and a little child leads them. More to the point are Mr. Jackson's quotations on scientific matters. His statements of fact are fairly accurate for the purposes of such an essay, and among his authorities are Claparède, Huxley, Haeckel, &c. The only important class of scientific writers who are not mentioned, are the anthropologists, Bastian, Waitz, Tylor, Lubbock, &c., a reference to whose works would have modified the statement on page 7, that no one has yet alleged a reason for the fallaciousness of religious beliefs. On the whole the book strikes us as feeble, not from inaccuracy of data, or want of a tolerable acquaintance with matters bearing on scientific materialism, but from an incapacity on the author's part to apprehend or construct an argument. We are of course far from believing, that natural religion cannot be supported by better reasonings than are here adduced: but apparently the offer of a hundred pounds has not been sufficiently large to call them forth: and in the meantime many persons who prefer suspending their judgment to forming a decided opinion one way or the other, will be grateful to Mr. Jackson for having furnished them with such excellent reasons for doing so.

Mr. Stanley Leathes,^a we would fain hope, is capable of better things, but there is little in this volume of Bampton Lectures to distinguish him from the self-assertive sciolists of the cheap press. One could almost fancy himself transported to the eighteenth century. The untrained, and therefore ineffectual common sense, the narrowness of view and want of acquaintance with the conditions of the question at issue, remind us of the Defences of Christianity by the less distinguished divines of the period of Sherlock. Mr. Leathes has had a great opportunity, and he has missed it. Much Boyle-and-Hulsean-lecture-giving seems to have made him careless. Volume after volume from his pen has loaded the table of the critic, nor can he expect the consideration which a less distinguished offender might fairly claim. He has, in short, taken up a subject which he has neither adequately studied in the original records (by no means limited to the Old and New Testaments), nor yet in the works of other than dogmatically-bound critics. From first to last, he misunderstands his opponents, and begs the question. We shall not trouble the reader with many remarks on the body of the work, partly because it is so very dull, and partly because it carefully avoids details. We will only call attention to the slip on page 150, where the phrase "the servant of the Lord" in Isaiah is said to be "sometimes distinctly applied to Cyrus," and to the numerous mistranslations retained from the Authorized Version. Mr. Leathes withholds his references to the "rationalistic" critics he proposes to refute. The only ones who receive the honour of quotation are Professor Jowett, who however is only appealed to for illustrations, and Mr. J. A. Froude, who, eminent as he is as a historian, has not yet acquired a wide reputation among theologians. But Mr. Leathes' acquaintance with his opponents is clearly not very intimate, as he so entirely misses the point of view from which they regard the Biblical literature. If for instance he had only read Professor Riehm's papers on Messianic prophecy (cited here for their completeness rather than originality), he would never have given so meagre and unsatisfying a sketch of the Messianic elements in the Psalms and Prophecies, and if he had mastered Baur, he would have been slightly less ready with the dilemma, Either the supernatural in the Gospel is true, or it is a baseless fiction. Perhaps the best way to give the reader an idea of the argument will be to add a few extracts from the preface, where the intrinsic feebleness is to some extent obscured by the rapidity of the sketch. His point is that the existence of the Church and the New Testament is an evidence for the ecclesiastical view of its origin. "A short and easy method" with the Rationalists!

"We have a marvellous historic and literary result distinctly traceable to no other cause than the supposed fulfilment in a particular person of the obvious and known requirements of prophecy. Of the nature of this fulfilment we are to some extent competent judges ourselves. According to one view, the degree of the fulfilment is only to be regarded as infinite; it is continually revealing itself to every independent student and disciple. According to

^a "The Religion of the Christ; its Historic and Literary Development Considered as an Evidence of its Origin. The Bampton Lectures for 1874." By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, M.A. Rivingtons: London, Oxford and Cambridge.

another view, the fulfilment is simply nil and purely imaginary. But this we may safely affirm, that the known results of the supposed fulfilment of prophecy in Jesus of Nazareth cannot be accounted for on the supposition that there was no more apparent correspondence between the person of Jesus and the character of the Messiah than those who hold this latter view would have us believe, or on the assumption that the correspondence was unreal. The Gospels, as we have them, which point to this correspondence, may more properly be regarded as the outcome of the belief in Jesus than as the cause of it. The belief itself is still to be accounted for, even if we reject the Gospel view of the character of Jesus, and so likewise are the consequences which followed the belief." (Preface, page xxxiii.)

"It is not true to say that 'the Revelation rests upon miracles, which have nothing to rest upon but the Revelation.' The Revelation is recorded in a literature which presents features altogether unique, that no concatenation of purely natural causes is sufficient to account for. [Q. E. D.] Here then we have a solid basis for the miraculous to rest on, for we are confronted with phenomena which were not merely exceptional, but above nature. It is not this or that detail, this or that text or expression, which cannot be explained, but the vast and complex whole is so remarkable as to challenge to itself the tokens of a Divinely-ordered work. . . . Had there been nothing miraculous in the person and character of Jesus, the New Testament, as a mere literary phenomenon, would have been impossible, and so would the existence of the Christian Church." (Page xliii.)

Thus Christianity is to be saved by ignoring historical criticism. Such is the last word of Oxford and Cambridge theology. Let us frankly admit that we are not fundamentally opposed to the author's main conclusion, with the proper limitations, namely, that after making the utmost concessions to "rationalistic" criticism, there remains much which is of the utmost value as a support, though not (according to us) a foundation of religion. But we repudiate his attempt to save the supernatural, nor can we sanction his assertion of the permanent importance of the Messiahship of Jesus. The life of Jesus will always supply the highest type of love of the ideal and of duty; it is a proof that the highest standard is not practically unattainable; and his consciousness of communion with the Supreme Will is to a religious mind a strong confirmation of spiritual Theism. But more than this is neither warranted by reason nor by the evidence. By reason, because when law reigns in all other departments of human thought, it is absurd to make an exception in favour of Christianity. And by the evidence, because though the debates are still far from their conclusion, the increase in our knowledge of the growth of religious belief, and especially of that most extraordinary period the first Christian century, gives us a well-grounded hope that this great problem will yet receive its solution. But Mr. Feathers has not helped us many miles towards it.

From the "Philosophy of the Unconscious" to the "Decomposition of Christianity" is an easy step, and we cannot be surprised that Von Hartmann has been impelled by the recent success of Strauss to put forth a manifesto of his own.* The result is an important contribu-

* "Die Selbstzersetzung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft." Von Eduard von Hartmann. Zweite Auflage. Berlin: Duncker. 1874.

tion to the solution of the religious problem, though the marked absence of literary elegance makes it by no means pleasant reading, and the harsh sibilants of the German title correspond but too closely to the irritable tone of the contents. The author seems to think, we do not know with how much reason, that he is addressing a small minority. He foresees, he tells us in the preface, that he will please nobody. As a friend of religion, he is obnoxious to the scientists; and as a pessimist, to Protestants both orthodox and liberal. He agrees with Strauss that the traditional religions are rotten, but differs with him in his estimate of the future. He thinks that a new religion is wanted to save modern culture from Ultramontanism, and that this religion must have a metaphysical basis, in other words, Von Hartmann's pessimistic philosophy. Violently opposed as he is to modern Catholicism, he recognises in it the true representative of historical Christianity. Liberal Protestants are not Christians at all, because they believe neither in the Deity nor yet in the Messiahship of Jesus. To them Jesus is but the founder of the Christian religion, though it is as clear as the sun that Jesus never intended to break the bonds of Judaism. But all that is valuable in this part of the argument has been stated with much greater precision by Dr. Overbeck, of Basle, and Dr. Lagarde, of Göttingen, in two little works referred to with high praise by the author, and noticed at length in the *Westminster Review* for Jan. 1874. We have already expressed dissent from these extreme views. It has not yet been proved that "Christianity, like every genuine religion, sprang from a pessimistic view of the world," if Christianity is to be taken in the sense of the religion of Jesus. At the same time it must be admitted that there is much force in the argument against Protestantism. Christianity either means (as Dr. Beke took it to mean) the belief in Jesus as the Messiah, or the religious views of Jesus Christ; and in neither sense can it be said to apply to either of the great Protestant parties. Modern Christianity is a synthesis of an Aryan (Immanence of the Deity) and a Semitic (monotheistic) element, as Von Hartmann is well aware. And according to him, the religious problem of the future is to complete the as yet imperfect synthesis by eradicating polytheism on the one hand (saint-worship and Tritheism), and anthropomorphism (belief in a personal Deity) on the other. We are inclined to think that modern Christianity is not so predominantly Semitic as the author supposes, and that the belief in a personal Deity is not fitly described as a purely Semitic belief, but have no space to pursue the argument. Nor can we do more than refer to the profound remarks on the Trinity, pages 106—108. We need hardly say that the work is thoroughly penetrated with Von Hartmann's pessimistic philosophy, which this is not the place to discuss.

We regret the excess of modesty which conceals the name of the thoughtful and learned writer to whom we owe a new translation of the *Book of Psalms*.⁴ The scholarship of the work is, as far it goes,

⁴ "The Book of Psalms 'Of David the King and Prophet.' Disposed according to the Rhythmical Structure of the Original. With Map and Illustrations." By E. F. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

genuine, though not very precise, and of a slightly antiquated type, and we must add that, though reference is made to several accomplished modern critics, we are not sure that the author's acquaintance with their works is very extensive. Among the Germans, Delitzsch is his principal favourite, and we could wish that he had borrowed more largely from that too conservative but (where theology is not concerned) candid and able critic. He is much to be admired for limiting himself to translation; the temptation to an orthodox divine to preach about the Christian application of the Psalms is almost irresistible. We regret, however, that he has retained so much of the very inaccurate Prayer-book version, for his own sake as well as for that of the reader, as he has thereby been prevented from putting out his full powers as a Hebrew scholar. But the chief object of the work is to exhibit the rhythmical structure of the original, and we think that the arrangement adopted will be found highly suggestive by ordinary readers. There are, as the author justly remarks, many passages which depend for their full comprehension on the logical proportion between the lines, or, as Bishop Lowth calls it, parallelism. It would lead us too far to criticise the author's exposition of this interesting subject in the second of the essays which follow the translation. The delicate tact displayed in it makes amends for the uncritical character of the preceding essay, entitled "The Psalms of David Restored to David," in which it is seriously argued that the great bulk of the Psalms were written by David! We will only add that, besides the Chinese, the author might have mentioned the Accadian and Assyrian poetical literatures as pervaded by parallelism, literatures from which it would appear that the Hebrews borrowed the forms of their poetry. See the documents printed by M. Lenormant in his "Etudes Accadiennes," and Dr. Schrader in his "Höllenfahrt der Istar." There seems also to be no doubt that parallelism was employed in Egyptian, though not with the regularity of the Assyrian and Hebrew poems. The most accessible instance is the famous epic poem of Pentaour, relating an episode in a campaign of the second Ramses. See Professor Lushington's translation in "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," vol. iii., pp. 83—103. The third essay relates to a difficult passage in the forty-eighth Psalm (v. 2). The author rejects the view of "some foreign theologians" (though Hitzig and Ewald are happily not theologians but philologists), that the Hebrew poet applies to Mount Zion a phrase which properly designated the mountain where the gods dwelt, according to Babylonian as well as Persian, Indian and Greek mythology. This view involves, according to the author, a geographical mistake. He examines *seriatim* the arguments of Lewin, Thrupp, Bonar, &c., and finds that they confirm instead of opposing his own theory, that Mount Zion was on the S.W., and not the N. or N.E. of Jerusalem. Consequently he has to render the passage in the Psalm, "(On) the side of the north (is) the city of the Great King," *i.e.*, the lower city, called by Josephus Acra. He should have added that Hupfeld, the best commentator on the Psalms, is with him, and his favourite Delitzsch against him.

Dr. Beke, the well-known traveller and upsetter of cherished theories

—though unfortunately no one but himself could see that they were upset, published two years ago, anonymously, a book called “Jesus the Messiah.”⁵ A very short time before his death he issued the remaining copies with a fresh title-page as an “answer anticipatory” to that admirable work “Supernatural Religion.” How far, on the author’s own showing, it is really an answer, may be questioned. His own religion is of a semi-Jewish character. He believes in Jesus as the Messiah, and as a worker of miracles, but allows that two of the four Gospels are—the one (Luke) in the main an unconscious—the other (John) a conscious legend or fiction. The book is strangely interesting, when one considers its thoroughly uncritical character. Much out-of-the-way reading, a healthy though undisciplined rationalism, and an unimpeachable sincerity, place the work miles above the ordinary lives of Christ, and especially Dr. Farrar’s unhappy work, reviewed in our last number. We cannot say that its writer shows a genuine comprehension of the period of Jesus; the greater part of the book is Philistine in a high degree, in spite of its many merits. The most characteristic chapter is the eighth, headed “On the infancy and youth of Jesus.” Dr. Beke tries, not without some plausibility, to show that Jesus “was not a child of the people, but a person in easy, if not affluent circumstances, who devoted his fortune, together with his life, to the benefit of his fellow creatures.” The popular opinion respecting the social rank of Jesus has arisen, according to Dr. Beke, from the word *tekton* in Matt. xiii. 55, and Mark vi. 3, “having been improperly translated ‘carpenter,’ instead of ‘builder,’ which is its true meaning,” (p. 91); if so, the texts ought to be rendered, “Is not this the builder’s son?” and “Is not this the builder?” Joseph, it is inferred, was the principal builder, if not the only one, in Nazareth. This is a paradox. It is hardly necessary to say that the words in Matt. xiii. mean “one who is an artificer,” and probably a “carpenter.” With all Dr. Beke’s liberality, he still clings to the miracles of Jesus, excepting those of the Fourth Gospel, though he rejects the word “supernatural” as absurd, and believes the resurrection body of Jesus was a spiritual one.

Mr. Page-Roberts⁶ gives us a number of valuable popular sermons on such subjects as Law and Prayer, Religious Use of Old Testament History, Do we make Men into Unbelievers? The Consciousness of Sin. A sound religious feeling combined with liberality and common sense characterize them all. It is odd, however, that he should care to be thought a possible believer in “later formations,” when he thinks so freely about the “primitive strata” of Christian doctrine.

Messrs. Henry King & Co. are the publishers of a most carefully compiled volume of “Characteristics”⁷ from the works of John Henry

⁵ “Jesus the Messiah; being an Answer anticipatory to the work ‘Supernatural Religion.’” By Charles T. Beke, Ph.D., Fellow and Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society. London: Trübner & Co. 1874.

⁶ “Law and God.” By W. Page-Roberts, M.A., Vicar of Eye, Suffolk. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1874.

⁷ “Characteristics from the Writings of John Henry Newman.” Arranged by William Samuel Lilly, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, with the Author’s approval. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

Newman, with a beautiful engraving from Thrupp's photograph of the author. Even those who possess the complete works will be grateful for a collection of the most striking passages of such a master of English prose. Messrs. Rivingtons have sent us a translation of "The Imitation of Christ,"⁸ which seems to be carefully done, though the charm of the style has utterly evaporated. We are thankful it is not in verse; our French neighbours are welcome to the monopoly of a rhymed translation. Also a new edition of "The Christian Year,"⁹ both with red borders and edges, befitting a "Library for English Catholics;" and, which is a real boon to lovers of English, a shilling edition of Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici,"¹⁰ with useful notes. Whoever wishes to study the phenomena of the religious consciousness, in a form unadulterated by modern sophistry or superstition, cannot do better than read this quaint old tract.

Mr. Kingston's little work on "The Unity of Creation"¹¹ is nominally an attempt "to state a theory of creation in harmony with the facts which are known to science," really a very clear and able argument for spiritual pantheism as the creed which enables man to think and feel in unison with "Divine Nature." He concludes with the significant words, "The cultivation of science is the worship which thoughtful and sympathetic men pay to Divine Nature." Those who have broken with theism may derive instruction and edification from his pages; those who are still keenly conscious of the elements of good in traditional religions will not be much moved by his rather crude and superficial polemic. His zeal for the present and the future seems to have led him unduly to disparage the past, and his allusions to the history of religions are for the most part grossly inaccurate. Thus no student of Egyptian antiquities would have fallen into the error of representing the ancient Egyptians as a gloomy, "other-worldly" race (p. 91). "Rien de plus gai," says Brugsch-Bey, "de plus amusant, de plus naïf que ce bon peuple égyptien, qui aimait la vie et qui se réjouissait profondément de son existence." No one with even a tincture of Aryan scholarship would have spoken of "the Aryan female divinity Deva or Dewa" (p. 130); just as the veriest beginner in Semitic antiquities knows that Sin was the moon-god not moon-goddess (as on p. 132). The ingenious speculations on the absence of the female element in the dogma of the Trinity as being due to degraded notions of women are overthrown by the consideration that *ruakh*, the word for 'spirit' in Hebrew, is feminine; it is therefore a mere accident of language that the female side of the deity is not expressed by gender in the Aryan-Christian Trinity, not to mention that the "Mother of God" is practically, if not avowedly, included in the popular Trinity of a large part of Europe. Mr. Kingston's Eng-

⁸ "Of the Imitation of Christ." In Four books. By Thomas à Kempis. A new Translation. London: Rivingtons. 1875.

⁹ "The Christian Year." New edition. London: Rivingtons. 1875.

¹⁰ "Religio Medici." By Sir Thomas Browne, Kt. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. P. Smith, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

¹¹ "The Unity of Creation; a Contribution to the Solution of the Religious Question." By Francis K. Kingston. London: Trübner and Co. 1874.

lish etymologies, "sin" from the Moon-deity Sin (p. 132), and "aim" from "aimer" "to love," are surely fossils from pre-historic antiquity.

We fail to see any reason for the anonymous character of the book called "*The Paraclete*,"¹² which is evidently the work of a thoughtful but essentially orthodox mind. It consists of a series of essays, partly "expository and affirmative," partly "critical and controversial" on the Christian doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Among the sixteen essays of the first part may be mentioned those on Inspiration as a Doctrine, Inspiration as a Fact, Inspiration of Christ's Biography, Regeneration, The Miracles of the Holy Ghost. This part of the book shows considerable literary ability; it gives an agreeable though slightly verbose expression to a refined form of evangelical Christianity. The author is of opinion that the admission of "a world of thought and feeling, as distinguished from a world of fact and activity," makes the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, on which the very existence of the inner life of the Christian depends, more acceptable to the reason. A liberal Theist will find nothing to object to in his leading ideas, though much in his way of enforcing them. They will probably think the author puts more upon the "organ of spiritual discernment" than it will bear. This is notably the case in the essay on Inspiration as a Fact, where the author represents the general sublimity of the contents of the Bible, and the impression they make on most readers, as implying a specifically divine origin. Obviously the writer has not yet grasped the idea that the Bible is a literature, nor read M. Pécaut's admirable letters on the authority of the Bible in his golden little book, "*Le Christ et la Conscience*." The three essays in the second part show an acute mind at work from the outside and with insufficient preparation on problems too big for it.

Mr. Anderson's "*The Curate of Shyre*"¹³ is the story of a country-town clergyman's endeavours to shake his people out of their semi-barbarous ways. He fully succeeds in inspiring the reader with that interest which he himself feels in his characters; the timid, old-fashioned rector, the high-minded, energetic young curate; the thoughtful but enthusiastic doctor, &c. &c., are drawn to the life. The plans for uniting civilization and religion are sound and practical, and form a healthy antidote to the depressing contents of Hartmann's "*Decomposition of Christianity*."

Miss Cobbe has published another volume of *Essays*¹⁴ on religious subjects, with a preface "having special reference to Mr. Mill's *Essay on Religion*." Three out of the four essays appeared originally in the "*Theological Review*," which sustains single-handed the cause of a cultivated and liberal theology. It is a sign of the times when an

¹² "*The Paraclete; an Essay on the Personality and Ministry of the Holy Ghost, with some reference to current Discussions.*" Henry S. King and Co. London. 1874.

¹³ "*The Curate of Shyre. A Record of Parish Reform, with its attendant Religious and Social Problems.*" By the Rev. Charles Anderson, M.A., Vicar of St. John's, Limehouse. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1875.

¹⁴ "*Hopes of the Human Race, Hereafter and Here.*" By Frances Power Cobbe. London: Williams and Norgate. 1874.

accomplished and sensitive woman can discuss, without the veil of anonymity, such a matter as the *Life after Death*, and utter thoughts upon it which are not unworthy of Francis Newman or Theodore Parker. The importance of the two essays on this subject, which are full to overflowing of pious and beautiful fancies, lies in the conscious avoidance of logical arguments for immortality. The authoress contents herself with justifying the belief to the heart, without scientifically establishing the fact. The third essay, which is rather an address actually delivered by the authoress, is an eloquent recommendation of the doctrine of universal salvation, as a consequence of the belief in the goodness of God and in immortality. The fourth is an attempt to trace the evolution of the social sentiment out of the primary stage of "heteropathic" resentment towards pain, through the transitional one of aversion to painful objects, to the still imperfect ideal of sympathy with everything that lives and breathes. Thus, according to Miss Cobbe's happy creed, there are three great hopes for the future, immortality and a ceaseless moral progress for humanity after death, and an ever increasing sympathy with all sentient beings for humanity on earth. The preface might have been shortened without detriment to the reader. Besides a rapid sketch of the contents of the essays, it contains a criticism, too rhetorical to be effective, of Mr. Mill, whose education, she thinks, had stifled his religious sense, and disqualified him for doing justice to religionists.

The new volume of Meyer's¹⁵ *Commentary on the New Testament* seems as well done as its predecessors. It is needless for us to expatiate on the merits of this accomplished scholar, who as an expositor of the plain grammatical sense is unrivalled.

Dr. Overbeck, of Basle,¹⁶ sends us the first part of his "*Studies on the History of the Early Church*." It contains a dissertation on the date of the Epistle to Diognetus, which has been commonly regarded as the most precious relic of the sub-apostolic age, but which he supposes to be a literary forgery, belonging to the post-Constantian period; an essay "*On the Laws of the Roman Emperors from Trajan to M. Aurelius against the Christians*," and another "*On the Relation of the Early Church to Slavery in the Roman Empire*." He shows in the one that the Christian writers have misrepresented the attitude of the Roman emperors towards them in the second century, and in the other, agreeing with Dean Milman, that the action of the Church was by no means favourable to emancipation or benignant to the slaves.

Dr. W. Rosenkranz,¹⁷ not the well-known biographer of Hegel, makes an attempt, we trust for the last time, to set dogmatic theology on a philosophical basis.

¹⁵ "Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of St. John." By H. W. Meyer, Ph.D. Translated by Rev. W. Urwick, M.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1874.

¹⁶ "Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche." Von Franz Overbeck. Erstes Heft. Schloss-Chemnitz: Schmeitzner. 1875.

¹⁷ "Die Prinzipien der Theologie." Von Dr. W. Rosenkranz. München: Ackermann. 1875.

Dr. Hellmann¹⁸ treats of the right of inheritance of members of religious orders.

Dr. Gass¹⁹ has performed the friendly task of editing Henke's lectures on Modern Church History. The volume before us relates to the Reformation. It is solid and thorough, but we fail to see any special reason for its publication. The latter part of this remark also applies to Mr. Roberts' posthumous work called "Church Memorials."²⁰

An anonymous writer sends us a handy volume of "Aids to the Study of German Theology,"²¹ which, though not free from misprints, will be useful to those just crossing the threshold of German speculation. Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton²² have issued another of the works of Dr. van Oosterzee, a second-rate Dutch divine of what we should call the Evangelical school. It is strange indeed that such verbiage should find readers. And finally Mr. Homersham Cox,²³ sends us a demonstration, as he thinks conclusive, that the Church of England is not Protestant.

The growing appreciation in which Mr. Herbert Spencer's services to philosophical thought are deservedly held is attested by the frequent recurrence of his name in ordinary intercourse among thoughtful persons, and by the general recognition of the value of his imposing speculations, in much of the current reflective literature of Europe, and even of America. It is in the latter country, indeed, that he has found his most enthusiastic and uncompromising champion. Zeal and decision, however, are not the only qualities which entitle Mr. John Fiske to be the exponent of Mr. Spencer's doctrines.²⁴ Unquestionable intellectual capacity, undoubted talent for exposition, philosophical grasp, laborious study, scholarly acquirement, solid attainment, and independent research, all evince that, in addition to the glowing sympathy which impelled him to his task, he has the solid mental qualifications which have ensured its adequate performance. The present work, Mr. Fiske informs us, is based on lectures given at Harvard

¹⁸ "Das gemeine Erbrecht der Religiösen. Ein historisch dogmatischer Versuch." Von Dr. Fried. Hellmann. München: Ackermann. 1874.

¹⁹ "Dr. E. L. Henke's Neuere Kirchengeschichte. Nachgelassene Vorlesungen." Herausgegeben von Dr. W. Gass. Band I. Halle: Lippert. 1874.

²⁰ "Church Memorials and Characteristics: being a Church History of the First Six Centuries." By the late W. Roberts, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. Edited by his son, A. Roberts, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

²¹ "Aids to the Study of German Theology." Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1874.

²² "The Image of Christ as Presented in Scripture: an Inquiry concerning the Person and Work of the Redeemer." By J. J. van Oosterzee, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

²³ "Is the Church of England Protestant?" By Homersham Cox, M.A. London: Longmans. 1874.

²⁴ "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the doctrine of Evolution with Criticisms on the Positive Philosophy." By John Fiske, M.D., LL.D., Assistant Librarian and formerly Lecturer on Philosophy at Harvard University. In two Vols. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

University in the autumn of 1869 and spring of 1871, and afterwards repeated, wholly or in part, in Boston, New York, Milwaukee, and London. Notwithstanding the origin of the work, it would be a mistake to suppose it to be only a series of lectures, having more or less reference to a common subject. There reigns throughout it a unity, proportion, and rational arrangement, which give it the character of a coherent whole; with such deductions as must necessarily be made, on the score of the polemical deliverances of the author, and the forcible, rather pamphleteering language to which he occasionally has recourse. Intended to embody the leading conceptions of Mr. Spencer, "*Cosmic Philosophy*," professes to be essentially an exposition of the system which bears his name, though the phrase itself has not found favour with its originator, who appears to prefer the term "*Synthetic Philosophy*." While not claiming to be an original work, however, it has grown so on Mr. Fiske's hands that it can no longer be regarded as a mere reproduction of Mr. Spencer's thoughts. To the new constructive matter, especially to the chapters on the Genesis of Man, with the remarkable theory of the influence of the prolongation of human infancy in originating social evolution, the attention of the reader is particularly drawn, as either wholly or in part Mr. Fiske's own contributions. The polemical element, which, as we have hinted, occurs in these volumes, will be found in different parts, following the order of suggestion, and not coerced into the mould of a separate aggressive disquisition. Of course it will at once be understood that the only philosophical system which the vindicator of Mr. Spencer finds it necessary to oppose is that which the complementary title of his book suggests—the Positive Philosophy. Mr. Fiske appears at one time to have been a decided Positivist, and his admiration of the genius of the Founder of the philosophy so called, is not entirely destroyed by his transfer of allegiance to the distinguished Founder of the "*Synthetic or Cosmic Philosophy*." Mr. Fiske's principal objections to the Positive system concern the limitations, excesses, errors, philosophical, religious, and scientific, which he conceives to be inherent in the system of Auguste Comte. An advocate of Positivism of the type of its two most eminent representatives in this country, Mr. Mill and Mr. Lewes, would without difficulty accede to Mr. Fiske's general view, when he protests against the extravagant claim of Positivism to stand for the whole of attainable scientific philosophy. The extravagances, the shortcomings, inevitable because of the great advances of scientific discovery, the modifications which no philosophical system can escape, would and indeed have been the subject of Mr. Mill's no less than Mr. Fiske's dissenting criticism. But there is much also in that criticism to which a moderate Positivist would demur. The two vital constituents of Comte's philosophy are the historical law of the three stages of the progress of human knowledge, and the classification of the sciences. As regards the historical method of Comte, Mr. Fiske himself admits that it introduced a complete revolution in the attitude of modern philosophy, declares that no concrete presentation of universal history can be compared with the marvellous tableau in

Comte's fifth volume of the "Philosophie Positive," and allows that the general excellence of the conception is matched by that of the execution even to the smallest details. He adds, that this achievement has placed beyond cavil on the highest plane of inductive demonstration the great fact that there has been and is a determinate order of sequence in human affairs. He allows that the earliest attitude assumed by the mind in interpreting nature was a fetishistic attitude; he allows that monotheism was preceded by polytheism, as polytheism was preceded by fetishism; he does not object to the employment of the term metaphysics to designate an intermediate and imperfect phase of science, and the ultimate phase of the deanthropomorphizing process is, he admits "characterized by the complete extrusion of volitional agencies and the universal substitution of the conception of invariable sequence." Why then, it will be asked, does Mr. Fiske reject the law of the three stages? or rather, how, admitting so much, can he be said to reject it at all? The reply which he makes is, that there are not three successive or superposed processes, but only one continuous process, that of deanthropomorphization; that Positivism ignores the Cause, the Absolute Power manifested in the world of phenomena; the existence of such a Power independent of us being an element involved in the consciousness of our own existence. Positivists, we imagine, would not object either to the statement that the progress of speculation is one continuous process, or to the description of that process as one of deanthropomorphization. To a Positivist the continuity of an object or an event would not seem to be destroyed because we contemplate it in its successive aspects. The presence of an Absolute Power in Consciousness is certainly not a doctrine that the Positivists would readily admit; but though, in point of fact, Mr. Fiske rightly charges M. Comte and his extreme disciples with the rejection of all theological belief, the necessity of this rejection is by no means implied in Comte's fundamental theorem. Nor is this law of evolution incompatible with the acceptance of a reasonable Theism. His general view may require revision, but the revision does not seem to involve a repudiation of the law. That a single great Existence is the source of all phenomena is the thesis which Mr. Fiske regards as of cardinal importance. Its rejection vitiates the entire system of Positivism; its recognition is the distinguishing claim of the Cosmic Philosophy. Mr. Fiske, following Mr. Spencer, asserts the existence of an Absolute Force, as the correlative of the Force that we know. The persistence of Force is explained to mean the persistence of some Power which transcends our knowledge and conception; of an unconditioned Reality without beginning or end; of an unknown Cause of the manifestations in ourselves or outside of us. This Power, which is not to be identified with Nature, is, Mr. Fiske contends, infinite, absolute, and though properly called unknowable, is unknowable only so far as not manifested through the phenomenal world, being knowable in so far as it is thus manifested; in fact, it is knowable and unknowable *symbolically*. All its predicates, indeed, have only a symbolical significance; and are

misunderstood by "idealists, positivists, and penny-a-liners." The word power, it is allowed, is anthropomorphic; the conjunction of the three conceptions of Cause, of Infinite and of Absolute, forms a network of contradictions, an absolute cause being no better than a circular triangle. This Existence, not identifiable with mind or matter, cannot be regarded as either single or multiple, but may be spoken of in the singular number. The test of inconceivability, on which so much stress is laid, as the test of truth, is not applicable to it, as a transcendental entity. Though it has neither intelligence nor volition, and though there can be no hypothesis of a moral government of a world which does not implicitly assert an immoral government, yet since the laws of Nature are the laws of God, and obedience to these laws is morality, the relations of the individual to the inscrutable Power manifested in the Universe or Cosmos, are placed beyond doubt. Hence a Cosmic religion arises very superior, as Mr. Fiske believes, to that of the Positivist, whose idea of humanity, however, he commends for majestic grandeur, moral impressiveness, and spiritualizing efficacy, but considers inadequate, because the object of Positivist contemplation is finite, concrete, knowable, and probably perishable. The Absolute Existence is announced as the Scientific Representative of the *Nature* and the *Deity* of metaphysical and theological speculation. Though it cannot be intelligent, because intelligence is *evolved*, it is yet God; though it has neither mind nor will, it is Spirit. For us this conception is more difficult to assimilate than any of the corresponding conceptions of previous speculators. The existence of an independent External Reality indeed is a natural, though perhaps unfounded hypothesis; but if there be an external reality, it does not follow necessarily that any of Mr. Fiske's predicates are applicable to it. Is it absolute? is it infinite? is it power? is it cause? is it spirit? is the moral law one of its manifestations? Are not the symbol words of Mr. Fiske predicates, most of them, in *non*, telling us not what Deity is, but what it is not? The manifestations of this Absolute Power are the tremendous natural forces working in surrounding phenomena. Morality is certainly a result of human development, but why is the Absolute Power to have the credit of it, and not to be made responsible for the immorality, which is also a result? As against an Intelligent Will, Mr. Fiske, who has some admirable remarks on the doctrine of final causes, would allow the validity of this objection. To us it seems equally valid against the Absolute Power to which he does homage. It manifests itself in evil no less than in good. True, such a manifestation is no impeachment of its moral character, because it has no moral character, having neither will nor intelligence; but neither does such a manifestation recommend it as an object of adoring love or reasonable veneration. To our mind Mr. Fiske enthrones in the universe a gigantic idol, a Cosmic Juggernaut, whose attributes are really unknown and unknowable, but of whose nature, unintelligent force, irresistible power, affords us some faint conjectural notion. A Positivist may be excused for thinking that his Ideal, though not coextensive with the universe, is a more

fitting rallying-point of the affectional and æsthetic sympathies of mankind. Equally justifiable, as it appears to us, is the conviction that it harmonizes with the cardinal conception of the positivist evolution, at least as well as his own; for the Fetishistic divinities, though not cosmical or universal, were at least endowed with mind and volition; whereas Mr. Fiske's Deity, though a spirit, has neither intelligence nor will. The second accusation adduced against the Positive Philosophy relates to the Classification of the Sciences. Some of Mr. Fiske's strictures have undoubted relevancy, but then they do not, as it seems to us, affect the substantial merits of the classification. Minute criticism is always possible, often sound; but to modify is not to destroy. Comte should not have placed in physics the law of the accelerating force of gravity, but have included it in astronomy. The conformity of the dogmatic order with the historical development is not exact. In the assertion, however, which Mr. Fiske makes, that physics was constituted before astronomy, is he not in error? Archimedes, it is true, preceded Hipparchus, but did Archimedes advance physics to its scientific stage? Was he not busied rather with the investigation of the laws of equilibrium and motion, included by Comte in rational mechanics, the third branch of his Science of Mathematics? With Comte the sciences are classified according to the subject matter; the principle of arrangement being very simple and readily comprehended. With Mr. Spencer they are classed, as Mr. Mill has pointed out, "according to an unimportant difference in the manner in which we come to know them." His system too is far more complex than that of Comte. In Mr. Spencer's group of sciences we have accounts of aggregates, properties, and relations; abstract sciences, abstract concrete sciences, and concrete sciences, a science with Mr. Spencer "being called abstract when its truths are merely ideal." In Mr. Spencer's scheme biology is ranked as a concrete science; chemistry as an abstract concrete science, though, as Mr. Bain observes, the objects of biology and the objects of chemistry are equally concrete. Psychology, again, though a highly analytical science, is placed among the concrete sciences. Lastly, astronomy, though the theory of gravitation is properly the subject of an abstract science, appears in Mr. Spencer's classification among the concrete sciences. In intelligibility, rationality, reality, and logical and natural continuity, the Positive classification is, in our opinion, preferable to that of the Cosmic philosophy. Such, at least, is the impression that a first comparison of the merits and demerits of both schemes would, we think, produce on a mind accustomed rather to philosophical study than to scientific discipline. The verdict of persons better qualified to pronounce an opinion than we are may be more favourable to Mr. Spencer. It is a subject for congratulation that with the very strong dissent from Positivism expressed by Mr. Fiske, there is yet a general community of purpose and method between the Cosmic Philosophy and its predecessor. Both alike are founded on the Positive Sciences, and both alike, notwithstanding the importance assigned by Mr. Fiske to Cosmic Theism, agree in

excluding Theology and Metaphysics. Both also aspire to transform philosophy into religion. If, as our author is of opinion, Mr. Herbert Spencer is entitled to be pronounced the Newton of the Ultimate Philosophy, Auguste Comte, as he also is willing to admit, will still remain its Copernicus. There is much more in Mr. Fiske's volumes than the Law of the Three Stages and the Classification of the Sciences, on which we could have wished to comment. We must content ourselves with referring our readers to the Essay on Positivism by Mr. Mill, published in this *Review* some years ago, for a defence of Comte's doctrine that the main agent in the progress of mankind is intellectual development; to Mr. Fiske's own book for admirable expositions of doctrines common to the two rival systems of philosophy, as well as for his general survey of the principles of that system of which he is the able advocate. Following the eleven preliminary chapters or Prolegomena of his treatise, we find twenty-two chapters on Matter, Motion and Force, Evolution, Special Creation, or Derivation, Natural Selection, Life as Adjustment, Life and Mind, Sociology and Free-will, the Evolution of Society, and the Moral and Intellectual Genesis of Man. The third part contains the Corollaries, has an excellent chapter on Anthropomorphic Theism, discussions of a more questionable character on Cosmic Theism, Matter and Spirit, and the Consideration of Religion as Adjustment; and finishes with a glance at the critical attitude of Philosophy. Mr. Fiske's enthusiastic admiration of the doctrines of Mr. H. Spencer does not preclude a cordial acknowledgment of the merits not only of M. Comte, and men of eminent and established reputation like Mr. Lewes, Mr. Mill, and M. Littré, but of writers whom he regards as deserving of recognition. Thus his second volume ends with a graceful tribute to "a lady who is fairly entitled to rank as one of the most original and suggestive thinkers of our time," Miss Hennell, and with a long citation from her work on "Present Religion."

In Dr. Tyndall's courageous and pious Address²⁵ we have another attestation to the high appreciation in which Mr. H. Spencer's scientific and philosophical achievements are held. Dr. Tyndall appears satisfied that Mr. Spencer's "overthrow of the restriction of experience to the individual is complete," and that the human brain is the organized register of infinitely numerous experiences received during the evolution of life. He refers, too, without critical comment if without direct approval, to Mr. Spencer's quasi-theistic speculation, that the whole process of evolution is the manifestation of a Power absolutely inscrutable to the intellect of man. After presenting a rapid sketch of Mr. Spencer's psychological and biological doctrines he gives as his own conclusion, that whatever our faith may say, our knowledge shows life and matter to be indissolubly joined; and supplementing the vision of the eye by the vision of the mind, he

²⁵ "Address delivered before the British Association assembled at Belfast." With additions, by John Tyndall, F.R.S., President. London: Longmans. 1874.

discovers in matter which we, in our ignorance of its latent powers, have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of all terrestrial life. He considers, however, that there is as yet no evidence to prove that any form of life can be developed out of matter without demonstrable antecedent life, and rejects the testimony proffered for spontaneous generation. The entire Address of Professor Tyndall is an eloquent review of some of the highest generalizations of science. We have called it courageous because of its unqualified though modest assertion of truth; and pious, because while vindicating the claims of intellect, it recognises the permanent value of the religious sentiment in man. The Address contains a touching tribute to the elevating moral influence of Carlyle, and an ardent recognition of his genius.

For valuable suggestions regarding the process of reasoning, Mr. Jardine, the Principal of the General Assembly's College, Calcutta,²² acknowledges himself indebted to Mr. Herbert Spencer. The doctrine of "mental latency" or permanent registration of forgotten feelings in the nervous tissue of the cerebrum, however, which Mr. Spencer has propounded, he pronounces to be an hypothesis connected with many difficult and obscure problems, but not therefore to be rejected. In his chapter on theories of perception, in which he rapidly glances at the systems of Descartes, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Reid and Kant, he declines to discuss Mr. Spencer's theory of Realism, attempts a refutation of Mr. J. S. Mill's psychological explanation of our belief in the external world, and indicates, but does not demonstrate, his own view, namely, that there is something in the object of consciousness other than a mere mental State. His statement of the theory of Mr. Mill, which he proposes to refute, is very inadequate, omitting entirely the consideration of "the serial fixedness of sensation." He asks how Mr. Mill knows that there is an active force in nature, declaring that it is not a sensation or any association of sensations, and because light, heat, electricity, &c., are in a certain sense termed non-phenominal powers, he apparently persuades himself that they are therefore not phenominal in the sense in which Mr. Mill employs the word. It is true that the muscular feelings are distinguished from the sensations of the senses, but they agree with them in being the fountains of feeling and knowledge localized in a particular set of organs, and we presume Mr. Mill acquired his knowledge that there is an active force in nature, from the feelings of muscular exercise. Mr. Jardine's object in writing his *Elements of Psychology* is to introduce the student to a sphere of research of great interest and great extent, and to furnish some stimulus and guidance in the pursuit of knowledge; and his little volume, which, in addition to his chapters on Perception, contains chapters on Representation and Elaboration of knowledge, will prove fairly well suited to these purposes.

²² "The Elements of the Psychology of Cognition." By Robert Jardine, Principal of the General Assembly's College, Calcutta, and Fellow of the University of Calcutta. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

According to the author next on our list,²⁷ there are only two conspicuous philosophers who have treated Psychology with distinctive speciality, Aristotle and Herbart. There are, we are told by Herr Harms, three forms of Psychology to be distinguished. Psychology is either a physical science, as with Aristotle, and the ancient philosophers; a metaphysical science, as in the middle ages, and in modern times with Wolf and Herbart; or an historical science, characterizing the stages of development by which the Soul has attained her destination, or in other words realized the idea of Spirit, whose essence is freedom. The third or true form was unknown even to Kant. It dates from the time of Fichte, and has been elaborated in the school of Schelling and Hegel. According to this view, Psychology cannot be separated from the history of mankind. History in fact is a universal empirical psychology, but this psychology is capable of expansion through zoology, or the science of the souls of beasts; or at least would be, if only we understood the language of the poor brutes a little better!

Students of Leibnitz are aware that the body is a sort of complex machine which obeys a central monad or intellectual unit, the soul, by which the circum-aggregated monads are held together in accordance with the laws of Pre-established Harmony. Dr. Gustave Class²⁸ does not undertake to give a philosophical delineation of the system of Leibnitz, but to investigate the relation between his doctrine of Individualism and Determinism. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the entire Monad Life is a mechanism, dependent not indeed on the efficient causes, but on a final cause. Piety, virtue, wisdom, love, are factors in this mechanism, which is spiritual, so that no monad is directly coerced by any external agency, though the spiritual mechanism is subjected to the action of the divine intelligence which thus works out its pre-appointed end, the realization of the highest possible perfection for the collective life; no monad in itself being regarded as an end, but being available only as affording material for the attainment of the cosmical or universal end, the misery of the Lost may be treated as a vanishing quantity when compared with the glory of the Saved who enjoy the beatific vision. As regards the Leibnitzian doctrine of the will, Zeller rightly remarks, that the distinction between motive that compels and motive that inclines is a distinction without a difference, since man always elects that course of action to which his predominant inclination attracts him.

To the distinction drawn by Leibnitz between contingent and necessary truths, an authoritative form was given by Kant. A century has passed since the first appearance of the obscure but "epoch-making" *Kritik*, and German sages still continue to dispute its meaning, and to dissent, in greater or less degree, from each successive interpretation. Maintaining that Kant's older adherents, Fichte, Her-

²⁷ "Ueber den Begriff der Psychologie." Von F. Harms. Aus den Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1874. Berlin: 1874.

²⁸ "Die metaphysischen Voraussetzungen des Leibnitzischen Determinismus dargestellt." Von Dr. Gustav Class, Privat-docenten der Philosophie an der Universität Tübingen. 1874.

Bart, Schopenhauer, Schelling and Hegel, as well as the later commentators, Trendelenburg and Ueberweg, have almost as often misunderstood as understood their master, commending Bona Meyer and Cohen for their loyal vindication of Kant against Kano Fischer, and other impugnors of Kantian doctrines, Dr. John Witte²⁹ has written a hundred pages of critical matter, in which he indicates the permanent element or what he considers to be such, in the ethical system of Kant, and points out what he regards as defects in that system.

Some of Kant's errors are also the subject of Herr Spir's critical essay on morality and religion.³⁰ The aim of the essayist is to reconcile intuitive with derivative morality: and Kant and Mill, who are chosen as representatives of the two opposing systems, are criticised with a respectful yet independent exercise of judgment. While we think Mill would have had little difficulty in answering his critic, Kant, we believe, would have found it impossible to reply to his leading objections. In the *Kritik* of the practical reason, as in the moral theology of Kant, Herr Spir details evidence of intellectual decline. Schopenhauer wittily remarks, that Kant, after formally dismissing pleasure at the front door of philosophy as morally heterodox, lets her in again at the back door disguised as the "highest good;" since the gratification of every wish, though not possible now, will be a legitimate privilege and even necessary condition to the existence reserved for us hereafter, and happiness after all is our being's end and aim. Kant also, it is alleged, breaks down in his Free-will doctrine, for while he declares the will absolutely free, he prescribes to it laws which it must obey. The Law of Causality, however, admits of no compromise, or, to use once more the language of the mocking Pessimist Schopenhauer, is not a Fly which, when you arrive at your destination, you can dismiss. The reconciliation between the Intuitive and Utilitarian systems is effected by adopting the eudæmonistic principle of Utilitarianism, and uniting it with a principle of action emanating from the higher spiritual or non-empirical nature of man. With this view is closely connected Herr Spir's theory of religion. The world, so-called, is a mere composite of feelings and sensations. Not by will, not by intellect, but by feeling, in man's higher nature, is God known. He is neither the ground of the world's existence, nor its creator, but he is the still immovable Essence of men and things, which lies beyond the region of experience. The Active Causal Principle lies within that realm. This principle is precisely what we mean by Power, and this power in nature is the cause of all evil. Our affinity with it leads us to suspect in all natural operations the existence of order, design, purpose; and our affinity with God, induces us to attribute the function of the operative principle to him. This deification of Nature, or the Power in Nature, it is which involves us in contradictions, and oppresses us with a sense of the unendurable burthen of existence. Such Nature-worship is not the worship of God, but the worship of a demon. In Christianity and in Buddhism, constituents of the true religion may be found.

²⁹ "Beiträge zum Verstandniß Kants." Von Dr. Johannes Witte. Berlin: 1874.

³⁰ "Moralität und Religion." Von A. Spir. Leipzig: Fuidel. 1874.

The belief in individual immortality is permissible, for it cannot be disproved. These speculations of a German metaphysician may be compared with others recommended to us on the authority of great names in our own country.

The derivation of perfect being from the centre of conscious life, and the rejection of the region of sensation as the medium in which Deity is manifested, in the scheme of the German works just noticed, reminds us of a corresponding distinction of an English philosopher of profound and original genius, Berkeley. For an admirable selection from Berkeley's writings,³¹ including "The Principles of Human Knowledge," and the "Essay towards a New Theory of Vision," we are indebted to the accomplished editor of his complete works. Dr. Campbell Fraser has enhanced the value of this selection by the addition of explanatory and critical notes, with introductory and supplementary comments.

Dr. Rudolf Seydell,³² in the construction of his Ethical System, agrees with Herbart in demanding a moral obligatory principle, independent of and above *Seyn* or abstract existence, a *Sollen* which is unconditioned, residing in the region of the Divine or Absolute, *not* however, derivable from the idea of actual Deity, but from the Absolute inherent in the pure Possibility of Thought. The unconditioned principle of obligatory well-doing is finally pronounced to be identical with well-being, which seems more intelligible. The treatise opens with an historical introduction, and after expounding the general conception of moral obligation, and setting forth a doctrine of virtue, under the head of ethical subjectivity, and a doctrine of goodness under that of ethical objectivity, concludes with a disquisition on ethical development or the doctrine of duties or applied morality.

The ingenuity of German metaphysicians produces a variety of views, distinguished by audacious antagonism, and surprising poverty of result. Summary proceedings are announced, the realms of the Absolute and Unconditioned threatened with revolution, and after expecting momentous results to the universe, we find the world going on as if nothing had happened. Among the metaphysical innovators is Dr. Arnold Lindwurm, the author of a system of "Practical Philosophy," the distinguishing tenet of which is that cognition is regarded as an Activity and based on volition.³³ Dr. Lindwurm professes to have solved the problem which Schopenhauer thought insoluble—how we cognize cognition. He regards Philosophy as supplying the foundation of social life, and offers his treatise as a popular exposition of its doctrines.

In a cosmological exposition by Herr Ludwig Norré³⁴ we have a bold

³¹ "Selections from Berkeley. With an Introduction and Notes. For the use of Students in the University." By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Oxford; and the Clarendon Press. 1874.

³² "Ethik oder Wissenschaft vom Seinsollenden. Neubegründet und im Umriss ausgeführt." Von Dr. Phil. Rudolf Seydell, A.O., Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: 1874.

³³ "Praktische Philosophie." Von Arnold Lindwurm, D. Phil. Braunschweig. 1874.

³⁴ "Die Welt als Entwicklung des Geistes: Bausteine zu einer Monistischen Weltanschauung." Von Ludwig Norré. Leipzig: 1874.

and ingenious attempt to explain the enduring Mystery, in accordance with the latest scientific speculations. Herder, Lessing, Adam Smith, Bopp, Darwin, Haeckel, are particularized, as inaugurators of the great general truth which is the basis of his system; that existence can only be known through development. According to the ingenious Author of the work before us, the fundamental substance of creation consists of homogeneous atoms, which have a similar or equal motion. In them resides, as their most essential quality, a vague feeling or sensation, the equivalent of Spinoza's *thought* and Schopenhauer's *will*. The most elementary animal consciousness of which we are cognizant far exceeds in intensity the obscure shadowy form, the faint glimmer of consciousness, which is the primary characteristic of matter, the rudimentary *ego*, which, in the processes of millenniums, is by a concurrence of favourable causes, developed into Spirit or Intelligence. *Teleology* is not the result of an ordering Cosmic Mind, but of a self-accommodating natural process. *Religion* consists in the recognition of human worth, and the practice of the pieties which have pan for an object. Our highest Ideal is Humanity. Among the leading topics of this curious treatise are the origin of life, of language, and of memory, the theory of the law of development and the doctrine of Monads. Herr Norré professes to have extricated Darwin's hypothesis of Pangenesis from its logical and scientific embarrassments, and to have given it a permanent place among the generalizations of science.

The interesting and erudite series of studies of ancient philosophy by Dr. Gustav Teichmüller,³⁵ includes a minute inquiry into the tenets of Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Xenophanes. The greater part of the essay however is dedicated to an examination of the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle. The author complains of those critics who see inconsistency in the Platonic treatment of different speculations, justifying Plato on the ground that he distinguishes between mythus and science, between the truth for the intellectual aristocracy, the golden natures, and the ignorant vulgar who are incapable of receiving truth, and must therefore be governed by the agency of salutary deception. Agreeably to this view of a mythical and scientific treatment, but not as we venture to think with sound exegesis, Plato, it is affirmed, taught the doctrine of a literal or historical immortality of the soul, only as a mythical device "to keep the wretch in order." "The true immortality accepted by Plato is that of the human race, which, as he believed, had no beginning and would have no end; the eternal Torch-dance, in which the light of life was transmitted from generation to generation, in the endless succession of events which compose the everlasting conflict of preponderant evil with numerically inferior good: a conflict which is the indispensable and irrevocable condition of mundane existence, for when it ceases the world will end.

³⁵ "Studien zur Geschichte der Begriffe." Von Dr. Gustav Teichmüller. Berlin: 1874.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

MR. GLADSTONE'S¹ writings on ecclesiastical and political topics sure to command a multitude of readers. The truth of the propositions maintained in his pamphlet on the "Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance" is little likely to be disputed by liberal readers, not under the sway of the Romish Church. The most important part of the pamphlet is that which discusses the two questions, as to whether, supposing the propositions to be true, they are material; and whether, supposing them to be true and material, the propositions are proper to be set forth by Mr. Gladstone. In discussing these questions, Mr. Gladstone intimates his belief that there is a fixed policy, among the secret inspirers of Roman policy to pursue, by the road of force, the project of re-erecting the terrestrial throne of the Pope; that the existence of such a policy, even in bare idea, is an "incentive to general disturbance, a premium upon European wars;" and that thus the peace of Europe may be in jeopardy, and the duties even of England, as one (so to speak) of its constabulary authorities, come to be in question. Mr. Gladstone further explains the consistency of his present views, as based on the recent action of the Romish Church with his Irish Church and University policy. The relevancy of some of Mr. Gladstone's arguments is illustrated by an able anonymous pamphlet,² proceeding apparently from a Catholic source, and showing clearly enough that the future sympathies and co-operation of Catholics will not be (as often heretofore) with the Liberal party.

Mrs. Nassau Senior's "Report on Workhouse Management of Girls,"³ is of the deepest importance and interest, and exhibits a mind of rare order, endowed with the highest practical sagacity and wisdom. The conclusions she came to were based upon a large number of visits of scrutiny to all the metropolitan pauper schools, and to some country districts in England and Scotland, as well as to institutions for children of various sorts in England, Scotland, and Paris. In addition to this, she sought to trace girls who had passed out of the schools into these other institutions, or into service. Finally, she was unfavourably impressed with the effect of massing children together in large numbers, and was pleased with the result of the "boarding-out" system, and specially thinks it good for orphans. The scholastic training of the girls is excellent under the present system in the metropolis, yet a large number of them are, in general intelligence, below children of the same class educated at home. Their temper is almost uniformly unmanageable, and their fall into immoral habits is seriously probable.

¹ "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: a Political Exposition." By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London: Murray. 1874.

² "The Liberal Party and the Catholics." London: Longmans. 1874.

³ "Report on the Education of Girls in Pauper Schools." By Mrs. Nassau Senior. Parliamentary Blue Book. 1874.

They are all stunted in size and many are delicate. She would fain see the children who are permanently in the workhouse schools, and those who are there as "casuals," educated separately. She finds that girls educated in the separate schools do better than those sent out from the large district schools, and believes this to be owing to the relative amount of personal influence that can be brought to bear on them, and would advocate quite small schools, of some twenty or thirty girls, on a home-like model. Or, she recommends, as an *ad interim* improvement, a classification of children which would set apart some schools as infant establishments, where girls above twelve would receive some training, and gain some knowledge of domestic matters.

A very interesting and remarkable feature of the widening activity of political thought in some parts of Germany is afforded by the publication of such series of cheap political pamphlets as those entitled "Controversial Questions of the Day in Germany," edited by Herren W. v. Holzendorff and W. Onckern, and "A Collection of Popular Scientific Treatises," edited by Herren Rud. Virchow and Fr. v. *Holzendorff. We have before had occasion to allude to some numbers of the former series. Both series are thorough of their kind, and while addressed mainly to pressing questions of the day, are, from the erudition and logical method which distinguish the treatment of them, calculated to impart the soundest sort of political training. The relations of the State to banking and commerce are investigated by Dr. Carl Gareis,⁴ and, if he does not assume the firm standing-point occupied by Wilhelm von Humboldt and Mr. Herbert Spencer, he certainly shows himself to be quite awake to the dangers of the extension of government activity in this direction. Herr M. Baumgarten, in his "Anti-Kliefoth,"⁵ addresses himself to a question of more exclusively German concern, though not destitute of larger references, that is, the mode in which the Protestantism of Germany is compromised by the attitude assumed by Kliefoth in Mecklenburg. Of course, at the present moment, in Berlin such a question involves considerations of the most exciting sort. Dr. Franz Cramer's pamphlet on "Despotism and Popular Government"⁶ is a curious index of the leaning in scientific circles in Prussia in the direction of democracy. It contains an examination of Goethe's political position, and the conclusion is that Goethe was as much afraid of the people as he was of a mere tyrant. It is argued that the true and only course now is to recognise to the full the essential force and value of the popular element in all modern governments. In his pamphlet on "Marriage in Ancient and Modern Legislation,"⁷ Dr. J. Baron propounds the question, as to how far it is expedient for the State, directly or indirectly, to favour

⁴ "Deutsche Zeit-und-Zeit Fragen." Heft 41. Die Börse und die Gründungen. Von Dr. Carl Gareis.

⁵ Heft 42. "Anti-Kliefoth." Von M. Baumgarten. Berlin, 1874.

⁶ "Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge." Heft 207. Despotism und Volkskraft. Von Franz Cramer.

⁷ Heft 211. "Das Herrathen in alten und neuen Gesetzen." Von Prof. Dr. J. Baron. Berlin. 1874.

marriage, and he recounts the efforts made in Roman law for this end.

Professor J. M. Hart,⁸ after passing through the collegiate course in America, studied for three years in Germany, and again visited that country after he had had some years' experience of teaching in his own country ; so that he is well fitted to compare the educational systems of America and Germany. It seemed to him that among the multitudes of books touching on the different sides of German university life, there was none which gave a plain, straightforward account of what a foreign student may do there, and what he may best set himself to accomplish. He first spent six months at Göttingen in learning German grammar, and hearing lectures from professors whose style was likely to be helpful in acquiring the language to such perfection as was necessary for the purpose of taking rapid notes, without needing to stay to translate the speaker's words mentally into the hearer's native tongue. Professor Hart details the system under which a student has a certain limited licence to hear lectures before deciding which courses he will attend. He then describes the sort of work done by the professors, including a description of Mömmsen, lecturing from five minutes past nine to ten minutes past ten, and then again for another hour, on the Pandects, and of Vangerow, at Heidelberg, on the same subject for four hours daily, without notes. The German professors are kept up to the mark by the *privat-docenten*, or accredited teachers attached to the university, who, being younger men, and aspirants to professorial chairs, would attract the students of any subject from the professors' classes, did the professors not keep themselves *au fait* with the latest speculation and science of the day, or, indeed, did they not constantly show power of fresh investigation of unknown fields of research. The behaviour of classes is exemplary. Duelling has its good side as well as its bad, in Professor Hart's opinion, since it prevents the rude chaffing and bullying of an American college, and the street rows and practical joking of an English university. The discipline of a German university is very strict and unflinching, all the more so because the various seats of learning throughout the land are so far in connexion with each other that a student admitted to one is easily enrolled among the students of any other, or a student expelled from one is, *ipso facto*, expelled from all. This gives enormous authority to the supreme courts of the universities, for "a majority of the members of every legislative body in Germany, and three-fourths of the higher office-holders, and all the heads of departments, are university graduates, or have, at least, taken a partial university course, enough to catch the university spirit." Studying, with all possible diligence, for an examination in Roman law, which would make the hair of American or English students stand on end, Professor Hart enjoyed his recreation times with an intensity which serves, after the lapse of years, to cast a halo or glorious mist around the German game of ninepins, and even over the syste-

⁸ "German Universities ; a Narrative of Personal Experience." By James Morgan Hart. New York : Putnam. London : Sampson Low. 1874.

matic students' drinking bouts. The details of the way in which Roman law is taught in Germany, and the picture of the amount of erudition in that subject requisite to get a degree in laws, will be found exceedingly interesting to some, and may convey a useful lesson to all teachers and learners in serious branches of study, while the mode of special preparation for examination stands in striking contrast to the modes common amongst us. The examination which Professor Hart successfully passed consisted of writing two dissertations on knotty questions in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, for which he had two or three months' time allowed him. Then followed a three hours' oral examination, by four examiners; and it was by special grace that he was exempted from a further scrutiny as to his knowledge of German common law. Professor Hart maintains the German system to be immensely superior to either the English or American, and brings strong evidence in support of his position. Indeed, he maintains that, properly speaking, there are only colleges in the two English speaking countries, and that in Germany alone is the true idea of university life carried into effect. He considers the denominationalism, the expensiveness, the supervision, and the competitive system of English universities altogether foreign to that true ideal; while the effort rather at large breadth of culture in America, for "practical" purposes, destroys any pretence at rivalry with the strong specialist learning fostered and required by the German system. Statistics of the leading German universities, together with some catalogues of the courses of study at Leipsic and elsewhere, add to the great substantial value of the book. Professor Hart seems hardly aware of the energetic efforts that are now being made in this country for teaching the higher and more scientific branches of law in all its departments.

It would not be easy to put into the hands of the political economist a more stimulating and instructive work than the abridged report of the answers to the questions on circulation and credit proposed by the Council of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry of France⁹ in 1865. The subjects of the questions ranged over a very wide field, including monetary crises, credit and its conditions, and banking. The persons examined included a vast number of the most eminent French bankers and economists, as well as Mr. Walter Bagehot, Editor of the *Economist*. The opinion of Mr. Bagehot on the relative merits of the English and French systems of banking has, to English readers, an independent interest of its own. Mr. Bagehot commends the system now, though not formerly, practised by the Bank of France of protecting the reserve by raising the rate of discount. He speaks with great favour of the multiplication of banks in England, and the facility which this provides for utilizing all the capital in the country, whether by lending it in the neighbourhood or sending it to London. The method of preventing commercial

⁹ "Dépositions Orales faites devant le Conseil Supérieur de l'Agriculture, du Commerce, et de Industrie." Résumées par M. Arthur Legrand. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1872.

crises is naturally one that comes under review, and some of the respondents might be expected to speak, as they do, with favour of the superior policy of the Bank of France in this respect. Mr. Bagehot speaks with general approval of the Act of 1844, but believes that France has yet to provide for the greater and freer use of paper money, and not, as England, to guard, by regulating competition, against its abuse.

The topic of local government and taxation as it is presented in this country, may derive much elucidation from an inquiry conducted by Dr. Victor von Brash¹⁰ into the history and financial constitution of the French Communes. The learned author of this inquiry notices that the proper constitution of the centre of local government is one of the most pressing problems for the nineteenth century. In the Middle Ages, the local district, so far as it had independence at all, had it, as it were, at the expense of the State, and in opposition to it. In the eighteenth century the local district was reduced to an insignificant point or knot in the general administrative net of central government. The question now is as to how far the vitality of the local district can be resuscitated so as to make it an effectual co-operator in—instead of, as of old, a rival with—the work of the State. In order to discover the solution of this problem, Dr. Victor von Brash traces the history of the French Communes from the period before the revolution of 1789 up to the present time, and considers the existing institutions and practices in reference to expenditure and income, direct and indirect taxation, ownership of land, and liability in respect of debts. The work, which is very compendious in form, affords a valuable and critical insight into an important side of modern French administration.

We have few detailed histories of industry in England, and yet no kinds of historical investigation are likely to be more productive to the political economist and the social philosopher. Such histories may be founded on either of two distinct plans. A particular centre of industry may be selected, and the history of the rise of that place as a productive or manufacturing district, and of its successive fortunes and vicissitudes, may be related in chronological order; or all the whole history of a particular kind of industry may be told in detail. Herr J. B. Trenkle¹¹ has adopted the former method in his laborious and erudite history of industry in Schwartzwald. The work is full of interest, and covers an enormous field of social, biographical, and political incidents. The whole is extremely instructive as exhibiting the various conditions, physical and moral, upon which the full and free development of industry depends.

The subject of assurance and assurance companies, treated by Dr. W. Gallus,¹² demands for its proper elucidation the exercise of not only

¹⁰ "Die Gemeinde und ihr Finanzwesen in Frankreich." Von Dr. Victor von Brash. Leipzig. 1874.

¹¹ "Geschichte der Schwarzwälder Industrie von ihrer frühesten Zeit bis auf unsere Tage." Von J. B. Trenkle. Karlsruhe. 1874.

¹² "Die Grundlagen des gesamten Versicherungswesens." Von Dr. W. Gallus. Leipzig. 1874.

a political and legal, but also a mathematical faculty. Dr. Gallus grapples with all the problems presented in the course of founding assurance companies, ascertaining the rate of premium and estimating the general profits to be looked for in the transactions contemplated.

The topic of marriage in its relation to the modern claims of the Roman Catholic Church is one of pressing importance on the Continent at the present day. Civil marriage is one of the great *foci* of conflict between Church and State in Prussia, and the question of the celibacy of the clergy and the permissibility of divorce are among those which seem to promise a new reformation within the Catholic Church itself. A Catholic theologian¹³ publishes a work on "Marriage," of what he calls a "popular and scientific" kind, and in which he endeavours to clear away all the scholastic and Romish cobwebs which have gathered round the subject, and to trace for himself and his readers the history of the institution as exhibited in the biblical records and the early history of the Christian Church. This process naturally involves a purely theological method of inquiry, but it is conducted in a liberal and rational spirit, and the writer is wholly antipathetic to the contemptuous treatment which marriage has practically received at the hands of the Church of Rome. The opinions of the writer very much correspond with the views of ordinary English people of the more orthodox type. He says little about the province of the State in reference to marriage, but what he does say is favourable to the claims of the State as opposed to those of a religious hierarchy.

The question as to the exact authority in a State which finally concludes treaties is one which cannot be determined on general principles, but may have to be answered differently for each State with respect to which it is proposed. Dr. Ernst Meier,¹⁴ in his treatise on the "Conclusion of Public Treaties," presses the true method of an inductive inquiry, and investigates the problem in reference to four characteristic political bodies which, for the purpose of making public engagements, may be treated as independent States. The bodies selected for examination are the States of Prussia, of the German Confederation, of England, and of the United States of America. These supply the writer with the various conditions of two single States with a parliamentary and monarchical executive, respectively, of a federal union based on a republic, and of one based on a monarchy. The writer notices that it is a noticeable feature in England that the legislative and executive authority are combined in the paramount authority of the House of Commons, which is for all purposes supreme, and he cites Wheaton and Kent in order to establish the true quarter in which the treaty-making authority lies in the United States. The work belongs to a class which has hardly any English representative.

Herr Alexander Doon¹⁵ contributes a work extremely valuable at

¹³ "Die Ehe popular wissenschaftlich dargestellt von einem katholischen Theologen." Nördlingen. 1874.

¹⁴ "Ueber den Abschluss von Staatsverträgen." Von Dr. Ernst Meier. Leipzig. 1874.

¹⁵ "Aufgaben der Eisenbahn-Politik." Von Alexander Doon. Berlin. 1874.

the present time on the "Problems of Railway-Politics." The writer examines the subject of the principles of legislation in reference to railways under its various aspects, and illustrates his positions from the reports and statements of the managers of the leading European, and especially English companies. He considers the successive topics of railways in relation to the public and to the State, of the value and probable duration of competition, of opening the use of lines to general traffic, of the relation of roads to real traffic requirements, and of the administrative difficulties in the way of making the changes the writer advocates. The general changes favoured by Herr A. Doon are in the direction of a more comprehensive organization of the whole railway system of a country by the State as distinguished from free competition on the one hand, and the institution of mere State railways on the other. He dwells with great distinctness (as we have often done ourselves) on the loss to the public interest incurred through the necessity of railways constructed by private companies instantly paying their way. The result is that some districts are never supplied with railways at all, and therefore are only tardily developed, while the traffic is forced in districts to which it is naturally unfitted.

We should feel inclined to accord a high place in the philosophy of political morality to a paper read by Mr. E. A. Russell¹⁶ before the Liverpool Philomathic Society, if we did not find that, in the practical application of his elevated standard, he opens out a loophole for political immorality of the deepest dye. It may be quite true that the Contagious Diseases Acts were passed by persons wholly ignorant of the subject, in a hurry, without any public deliberation, on a one-sided report, and in implicit reliance on the authority of a few scientific preachers of panic. This may afford some excuse to those who were concerned in passing them into law; but to call the imperious and inexorable demand that arose for their repeal, so soon as once their true nature was understood, and they were condemned by one of the most variously constituted Royal Commissions that ever sat, "a crotchet," and to rank it with attachment to the Maine Liquor Law, betokens a confusion of moral and political insight which is wholly unworthy of an author, who generally writes in so elevated and just a strain as Mr. Edward Russell.

The Rev. J. T. Burt¹⁷ publishes a valuable paper on the "Principles of Penal Legislation," read at the meeting of the British Association held at Belfast last August. He is an advocate for extending the use of "Restricted or Conditional Liberty" as a means of punishment. He would have it substituted in some cases for part, and in some cases for the whole of a sentence to imprisonment, and administered by a special agency acting under the magistracy, the supervision being of a friendly and sustaining character, and the offices of a Discharged Prisoner's Aid Society being called in when its help was required, and of the police when kindness failed.

¹⁶ "On Morals in Politics." A paper read before the Liverpool Philomathic Society, 25th March, 1874. By Edward A. Russell. Liverpool. 1874.

¹⁷ "Principles of Penal Legislation." By J. T. Burt. Central Press Company. 1874.

The purpose of Professor Sheldon Amos's introductory lecture on "Law as a Science and as an Art"¹⁸ is twofold. Its purpose is, on the one hand, to show what is the scientific aspect of law as contrasted with its severely practical aspect, and, on the other hand, to inquire as to how far Mr. Austin's conception of legal science was too much circumscribed. The writer claims for the region of the science of Law all the matter treated by Sir H. Maine in his account of primitive institutions; all inquiries into the subjects and province of the "Law of Nations," and also the logical methods exemplified nowhere so completely as in Justinian's compositions and the writings of the commentators upon them. The relations of Law to Morality on the one hand, and to Government on the other, are also properly handled in a scientific treatment of law.

Among educational treatises we have much pleasure in noticing some further volumes of the English School Classics,¹⁹ containing choice pieces from Goldsmith, Macaulay, and the *Spectator*. "The Infant Reader,"²⁰ which abounds in simple illustrations, also deserves a word of praise.

"The Chess Player's Manual"²¹ seems to be what it professes, a complete guide to Chess.

In this new narrative of the conversations of Friends in Council the subjects dealt with are well worthy the attention of those leaders of Liberal opinion who are, though not without work, yet fairly at leisure to see what are the matters of daily common use to which they can most advantageously turn their observant faculties. Of these domestic matters perhaps none presses more for attention than that which Sir Arthur Helps²² makes the subject of Mr. Milverton's first essay, namely, the too great size of large towns and all the dangers to health and morals that arise from their unwieldiness; and if he does not supply a panacea for their evils he discusses them in a manner likely to prompt practical thought in his readers' minds. Shorter papers on the "Choice of Men for Offices," in which he objects to the highest legal posts being dependent on politics, and discusses the desirableness of having a few official seats in Parliament for the training of statesmen; on Local Government, which weighs the advantages and disadvantages of the Municipal Corporation as the unit of Local Government; on Looking back on Life, which deals with the length of time it takes to get anything done; and some on lighter matters, will all charm their

¹⁸ "Law as a Science and as an Art." An introductory lecture delivered at University College at the commencement of the Session 1874-75. By Sheldon Amos, M.A. London: Stevens. 1874.

¹⁹ "English School Classics." Selections from Addison's Papers in the *Spectator*. By Osmond Airy, M.A. "Goldsmith's Traveller and the Deserted Village." By C. Sankey, M.A. Macaulay's "Essay on Moore's Life of Lord Byron." By Francis Storr.

²⁰ "Elementary School Series." Infant Reader in Three Grades. London: Rivingtons. 1874. Third Grade. London: Strahan. 1874.

²¹ "The Chess-Player's Manual." A Complete Guide to Chess. By G. H. D. Gossip. London: Routledge. 1875.

²² "Social Pressure." By the Author of Friends in Council. London: Daldy, Labister and Co. 1875.

readers and delight them with the assurance that Sir Arthur Helps' facile pen may long be relied upon to call attention, by thoughtful essays and brilliant conversations, to things on which thought is well bestowed.

M. Kaufmann has rendered a valuable service to the English and American public by reproducing in an English dress (without strictly translating) Dr. Scäffle's German work "*Capitalismus und Socialismus*."²³ The work itself belongs to the highest class of politically educational treatises, and exhibits a style of composition of which we have far too few native specimens.

A mother, dying, says to her husband about her eldest boy, "Teach him to be like Christ." The husband, a hearty country squire of the kindly English type, more "a good fellow" than anything else, concluded that by this special exhortation he was bound to bring the boy up in some other way than the usual one, and resolved upon putting him under the care of a certain clergyman until, at thirteen, he should go to a public school. The lad, reared in a peculiarly strict and narrow form of faith, is then sent to school and in a few days succumbs to the intolerable conflict between his own convictions and the tone of life around him, a monitorial flogging hastening his death and giving the title to the book.²⁴ The following passages give the gist of the book, though the writer leaves it doubtful whether the idea of a strict imitation of the personal example and literal obedience to the teaching of Christ, or the English Public School system, is the most obnoxious to him:—

"What is the use of praying for the help of God's Holy Spirit, if the Holy Spirit is not strong enough to enable a boy to meet temptation—if after all he is obliged to lean on common sense and experience—obliged to employ at his utmost need the weapons of this wicked world? You sign your child with the sign of the Cross, in token that he shall serve God faithfully from the day of his baptism till the day of his death. You then send him to pass his boyhood in a place where God is not served, or at best is served very imperfectly and on the sly, in order that when he reaches man's estate he may have become tolerably familiar with the sight of sin, and may be less shocked than he would otherwise have been when he mixes with persons by whom the service of God is openly disregarded. . . . Public schools, my dear friend, are the best and noblest institutions of our country. They train our boys to be loyal citizens, brave soldiers, and successful men of the world; and I, believing only in this present world, delight in them. But when you come to talk of imitating Christ, and preparing for the Judgment Day, you know as well as I do that these duties form no part, directly or indirectly, of the public schoolboy's routine. If he practises them, he must practise them in the dark, or in defiance of every principle and every tradition which surrounds him. . . . The Christ whom modern schoolboys worship is not the crucified Christ of Calvary, but a better sort of human hero—an ideal which they have created for themselves—the embodiment of good nature and cleverness and pluck, and every other virtue which makes men prosperous and popular. The playground and the cricket field could tolerate no other Christ than this—no man of sorrows,

²³ "*Socialism; its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered.*" By the Rev. M. Kaufmann, R.A. London: Henry S. King. 1874.

²⁴ "*The Ground Ash.*" By the Author of "*Dame Europa's School.*" Salisbury: Brown and Co. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1874.

meek and bleeding, and covered with reproach and scorn—and, what is more, the schoolroom could not tolerate Him either. . . . The public school itself becomes a standing proof that the modern Christian has renounced the unpalatable Christ whom public opinion scourged and hooted and put to death, and has set up in His place an inoffensive gentleman, affable and polite, laughing pleasantly at the little weaknesses of the age, gliding along passively with the stream, referring all things to the tribunal of common sense, and bearing just precisely as much resemblance to Jesus of Nazareth as Herod when he mocked Him or Pilate when he delivered Him to the Jews. . . . If Christ were to take our flesh upon Him once again, is it possible to conceive of Him as walking down Regent Street during the London Season arm in arm with a rich country rector or spiritual peer? . . . You cannot say that the Cross, if Christ ever truly hung thereon, is being carried by youthful champions before all the world for two long summer days, in the face of persecution and ridicule, at the Eton and Harrow cricket-match."

Whether the reader takes the side of the public school system, or rejects the writer's ideal of sincere Christianity, the book is well worth careful consideration, and might at least modify much present thought—or thoughtlessness—and feeling.

Mrs. Macquoid has found that Normandy has of late days been somewhat neglected by the crowd of foreign tourists, and she wishes, by her charming guide-book,²⁵ to divert at least some stragglers to the picturesque old towns and delightful scenery of the ancient and beautiful province so closely linked with English sympathies. William the Conqueror is a great hero in her eyes, and no spot connected with his name escapes notice. She aims at giving very practical advice to the traveller, and her work will serve to help both those who can follow her whole route, and those who can visit, it may be, only one or two of the points included in it. Possibly the hot and weary tourist might sometimes wish that his guide had left out minute descriptions which have tended to make the book thicker and heavier to carry as well as quite too big for any reasonable pocket; but on the other hand, he will rejoice in the thoroughness which lets him into the secret of many an interesting sight commonly passed over in silence. Among such sights is the Lunatic Asylum, and Deaf and Dumb Asylum of Le Bon Sauveur near Caen, where a Society of quiet nuns manage almost entirely without male assistance a hundred and fifty deaf mutes, whom they train to useful occupations, and some thousand insane and idiot patients. The sunshiny side of such a work was turned towards Mrs. Macquoid; and indeed it is something to find that there is any possible system of treatment which can show brightness. The illustrations are to be commended if it be granted that any guide book should be illustrated.

The fact that Sir Samuel W. Baker²⁶ was employed by the Khedive to suppress the slave-trade of Central Africa, and that he reported com-

²⁵ "Through Normandy." By Katharine S. Macquoid. London: Isbister and Co. 1874.

²⁶ "Ismailia: a Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade." By Sir Samuel W. Baker. London: Longmans, 1874.

plete success in his mission, have become more generally known than the total disappointment of his just expectations and the utter futility of his efforts. It is therefore for other reasons than the essential interest of the volumes before us that it becomes desirable to draw the attention of the English public to the horrors discovered by Sir Samuel Baker. Strong and unwearying influence must be brought to bear upon the Egyptian Government until it becomes convinced that in the matter of slavery England will not allow that to be taken back with one hand which is given with the other. The whole struggle of Sir Samuel Baker has been rather with the falsity of that Government than with physical difficulties, for he has proved that due wisdom and precaution make travelling in Central Africa quite possible, and even ends by saying that when the railway up the Nile is finished, a hundred and twenty miles more will establish communication with an abundantly fertile and healthy country in the very heart of the continent. The Khedive gave *carte blanche* for all necessary arrangements for the expedition, and Sir Samuel Baker should have been well provided, but there were many reasons why his calculations proved erroneous. Of two regiments of Egyptians one was composed chiefly of convicted felons; steamers and sailing boats which should have started in June delayed till the end of August, and thus the expedition was delayed twelve months and six steamers were rendered unavailable: at Khartoum, the rendezvous, the Governor took a house for Sir Samuel Baker instead of preparing transport vessels according to orders, and had collected vessels to send up the Bahr Gazal under the command of one of the most notorious slave-hunters of the White Nile. In Soudan there was a terrible change since Baker's former visit. Under an honest governor, but one who trusted to the honesty of unscrupulous subordinates, the province had been insupportably taxed and the larger number of the inhabitants had betaken themselves to slave-hunting on the White Nile. The cavalry supplied were at this point reviewed and at once dismissed as useless. The slave traders incited all decent boatmen to flight, and unwilling crews had to be secured instead. The course of the rivers is constantly changing, and no calculation can be made as to the ever-varying channels through masses of vegetation which choke the temporary course. "No dependence can be placed on the guides; no place answers their descriptions. We have now been hard at work for thirteen days with a thousand men, during which time we have travelled only twelve miles." Kutchuk Ali had slave stations at different points, and was quite incredulous when told of the Khedive's determination to put down slavery. When convinced of Baker's resolution he simply tried to evade the law and continue the traffic. In spite of treachery, mutiny, and constant desertions, Baker persevered, again and again showing clemency to Abou Saoud who succeeded Kutchuk Ali, and who was full of effrontery and chicanery, a clemency which appears now to have been altogether misplaced and ill-judged. In the end he assured the tribes of the good faith of the Khedive, burned down some of the strongholds of robbers and slave traders, and left Egypt with the conviction that Abou Saoud would be convicted as the soul of the whole nefarious traffic, and that slavery

was practically abolished. Immediately afterwards Abou Saoud was released from custody and actually appointed assistant to Baker's successor in the Governorship-General of the equatorial Nile Basin. This means that the work has to be done over again with two important differences; one being that the ground is now known and the moral and physical difficulties are calculable; but the other difference is that the tribes will place far less faith in the Government than before, and yet their confidence is a *sine qua non* of success. For the story of the great bravery and endurance of the principal members of the force, and of their perils and sufferings, the two well illustrated and well printed volumes must be read, and this is no hard matter, owing to the humour and picturesqueness of Sir Samuel Baker's style.

Mr. W. H. Davenport Adams translates from the French of M. Benedict Révoil⁷⁷ a narrative of romantic adventures in field and forest in North America, to which a somewhat careful scrutiny compels the candid reader to refuse the praise bestowed upon it by the translator, to the effect that it is entirely free from exaggeration. It is, however, an attractive repertory of anecdotes about hunting, for boys whose tastes lie in that direction, and possibly also for men who are greater in the arts of destruction than in anything else. The illustrations are vivid and sensational.

M. Jouveaux⁷⁸ contributes a somewhat rudimentary account of travels in Eastern Africa. The recent travellers in these regions have been in so large a majority English that we have grown accustomed to a rather matter-of-fact treatment of travel and adventures there. It is, therefore, something new to have a Frenchman posing continually in the midst of familiar scenes, and seeming never for a moment to lose the vivid sense of the contrast between Paris and Khartoum. M. Jouveaux was taken prisoner in Abyssinia, shortly before the downfall of Theodore, was released with the other captives there, and went, undaunted, forward into the Galla country and to visit Organda as well as to share the hospitality of Romanika, the friend of Speke and Grant. The translation is of a superior order, and the volume is not without interest.

We have already had occasion to notice Major Brackenbury's history of the Ashantee war. The narrative of the *Daily News*' correspondent, in its republished form, will be read as a valuable supplement to that more serious and technical account.⁷⁹ The writer says that he attempts to provide a connected narrative of what took place, with descriptions of the country and scenes passed through, "which are beneath the dignity of history; but about which many are still interested." The writer notices the inconvenience brought about through the irregular and uncertain modes in which the news reached England; "every one knows how tantalizing is the process of waiting

⁷⁷ "The Hunter and the Trapper in North America," from the French of Benedict Révoil. By W. H. D. Adams. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1874.

⁷⁸ "Two Years in East Africa." By Emile Jouveaux. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1875.

⁷⁹ "The Ashantee War." A Popular Narrative. By the *Daily News* Special Correspondent. London: Henry S. King. 1874.

from month to month for the parts of an exciting novel coming out in a magazine. But how if the February number comes out before the January, and the March number appeared so quickly after the January that the February number being quite forgotten, the March events were supposed to be a sort of direct continuation of the January ?" The writer complains that much historical injustice has been done through readers deriving their chief impression of the whole purport and gist of the story from the confused muddle of its earlier parts. Even when it is republished in a connected and complete form, people who have read it in its earlier stage skim the pages they fancy they know.

Under the desolating rule of the Turk, unmodified by the pressure of European public opinion, Asia Minor is the home of a bigoted, impoverished, and wretched people, among whom there are none to care for the extensive and highly interesting ruins which are to the European traveller of an almost sacred interest. Mr. Davis,³⁰ the consular chaplain at Alexandria, found great difficulty in visiting Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Pisidia, and sums up his experiences in these words: A man needs the digestion of an ostrich, the skin of a rhinoceros, and the strength of a horse to travel in Anatolia. . . . Still, with all its inconveniences and privations there is an abiding charm about Eastern travel. While it is of importance to the antiquarian to gain a knowledge of the desolate heaps of stones which represent Ephesus, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossæ, Sagalassus, and other ancient centres of life, it is of no less living importance to visit the populations which are being ground down under the extortions of the Turkish authorities whom we help to keep in possession, and for whose evil deeds we are to that extent responsible. At the present moment a fearful famine is destroying the unhappy people of Asia Minor, and since we hear no word of it, the probability would seem to be that in default of effective help a large proportion of the population must die of hunger, and the whole country become even more than it now is a wilderness and a solitary place. We should protest against the Porte requiring sixty per cent. of the net gains of the cultivator to be paid in taxes, and then leaving him to perish in times of scarcity.

The suggestion that "the Gentleman Emigrant"³¹ might be made much more happy and successful if a training school in England were provided for him is not at all a bad one. It would have the effect of weeding out lads who were really too idle to succeed in the colonies, and it would furnish the sensible man with the knowledge which he must now gain abroad with much loss of time and risk to health and purse. Mr. Stamer says that the rocks upon which gentlemen emigrants wreck themselves are high-farming, such as is suitable to the comparatively limited English farmer, a desire to secure pleasant society, superciliousness towards fellow settlers of less education, greedy ideas of what may be done in the colonies, and the notion that a man can be both a practical farmer and a regular sportsman. Any

³⁰ "Anatolia." By the Rev. E. J. Davis. London: Grant and Co. 1874.

³¹ "The Gentleman Emigrant." By W. Stamer. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1874.

man who is dreaming or thinking of emigrating would do well to see what Mr. Stamer has to say of cleared farms and of backwoods farms in Canada, of settling in the various parts of the United States, and of the Australian colonies. He will find an apparently impartial account of what are the best uses for capital in the different regions glanced at, and some very practical information as to what industries have been tried in each of them, which have failed, which are prosperous, and what are yet on trial.

It is well known that the Bishop of Natal has recently rendered a conspicuous service to humanity and to the credit of the English Government by bringing to light, and securing some compensation for, the atrocious injustice committed by the panic-stricken colonial authorities of Natal in the case of Langelibalele. The Government published an official record of the trial of Langelibalele,²² late chief of the Amahlubi tribe for alleged treason and rebellion, and an "introduction" has been affixed to a republication of the trial in the form of a Blue-book by Messrs. Keith and Co. The "Introduction," which obviously appears under Government auspices, is a highly-coloured description of all the transactions from a Government point of view, and the Bishop of Natal has addressed himself to its careful dissection, and to an exposure of its exaggerations and falsities. The treason and rebellion complained of, so far as Langelibalele personally was concerned, consisted in nothing else than in refusing to appear in person before the colonial authorities; in being connected with a tribe over which his actual power was very limited, which had not registered all the guns in their possession, though they had been more assiduous than the neighbouring tribes in that respect; in being the chief of a tribe which was withdrawing itself (as it vainly thought) out of English territory; and in being connected with a tribe, though at the time, geographically removed from them, and without any control over them, which resisted an army sent against them to arrest their withdrawal, and which engaged in a *mêlée* resulting in a very few deaths. The general result of the whole proceeding was, that within twelve months, since November, 1873, the two tribes numbering 10,000 and 5000 respectively were dispersed and destroyed. Langelibalele's tribe (the larger one) was outlawed, its chief transported for life, and one of his sons for five years; while six other sons and 189 men were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for two, three, five, seven, or twenty years. More than two hundred of the tribe, including many old men, women, and children who had fled for refuge to caves and bushes, were killed. Two thousand women and children were captured and offered at one time by the Government as servants for three years on certain conditions to "farmers and others," though this project was afterwards abandoned, and in certain cases their friends in the colony recovered them by paying for them ten shillings a head. The

²² "Langelibalele and the Amahlubi Tribe; being Remarks upon the Official Record of the Trials of the Chief, his Sons, Induna, and other Members of the Amahlubi Tribe." By the Bishop of Natal. Printed by Spottiswoode and Co, London: 1874.

lands of both tribes were confiscated, and their cattle, goats, and all their property seized by the Government, or looted by the Government force. On December the 31st, and January 1st, the militia, volunteers, and native services were employed in burning down some thousands of huts belonging to the two tribes, with all the property which could not be carried off. The trial itself of Langalibalele was of a kind perfectly monstrous, and which it is inconceivable that any one familiar with the rudiments of English law and justice, and with the criticism of an English public before his eyes should have had the audacity to resort to. Besides the facts of conceding counsel to the accused only on such arbitrary terms, and with such limitations as rendered the concession nugatory, and the trial being conducted in a language foreign to the accused, "it did seem unfair" (to use the scrupulously moderate language of the bishop) that the lieutenant governor himself, and his chief advisers in native affairs, should sit as judges of the first instance in a case as to which they had already pronounced judgment by signing the proclamation deposing the chief and outlawing him and his people as "rebels," and by executing the most dire punishments upon them in "eating up" the tribe, and all without any trial, by simply assuming their guilt as proved. How was it possible that they should not condemn them as malignant rebels of the most dangerous character, without at the same time condemning their own action as hasty and wanting in judgment, "a step unwarranted," "a state blunder."

Mr. Bathgate²³ has had sufficiently long knowledge of colonial life to make his light sketches of Otago, its history, inhabitants, resources and prospects, pleasant reading; but he does not offer much that an intending emigrant would find practically useful. He is, however, himself of opinion that "colonial experience" is not a mystery to the man accustomed at home to the life of great cities, while it must be gained personally, to a large degree, by the less worldly-wise adventurer, whose days have been spent in some steady slow-going country town in Europe. Otago was founded as a colony of the Free Church of Scotland, about the same time as the Episcopalian colony of Canterbury, and the stamp of its origin remains strongly impressed upon it. It is a flourishing community, with plenty of openings for men who like to work, and can use their hands. Brewing, distilling, woollen manufactures, iron-founding, fish-curing, meat-preserving, timber-felling, and some mining flourish, and many of these industries drive a considerable exporting trade, while paper-making has good prospects. The gold fever has retarded the colony appreciably. Domestic servants are here, as elsewhere, an almost unattainable luxury, for any respectable girl is sure of making an advantageous marriage. Lignite is abundant everywhere. With a fair climate, and abundant resources of all sorts necessary for comfort, Otago may well look forward to a prosperous future, and it is not improbable that that future of success

²³ "Colonial Experiences; or, Sketches of People and Places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand." By Alexander Bathgate. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1874.

may be shared by some whose minds may be stirred or finally made up by the perusal of the little volume before us.

Sir Samuel Baker republishes his book on sporting in Ceylon.³⁴ He claims respect for his early opinions in favour of rifle shooting with heavy charges, as having been confirmed in the course of twenty years spent in a more profitable manner than mere sport, but, nevertheless, full of experience of wild animals in Africa and elsewhere. At the time of which this volume treats Ceylon was in a far less prosperous condition than it now is, and game of all sorts was incomparably more abundant. Then government offered a reward for the destruction of elephants, which now are protected by game laws. The forests have been largely cleared, and all wild beasts reduced in numbers and confined in area. For those who find "sport" a worthy occupation of their time, this account of really wild hunting will possess considerable attraction.

Encouraged by the knowledge of Ceylon gained during his hunting experiences, Sir Samuel Baker resolved, some twenty-five years or more ago, to settle in Newera Ellia, a lovely mountain station between Colombo and Kandy, standing at an elevation of upwards of 6000 feet, and admirably adapted to become, as it has become, the sanatorium of Ceylon. He took out with him a small colony of workpeople and various farming implements and stock, and set himself steadily to the work of civilization. His account³⁵ of his struggles with disasters of various sorts and sizes, of gradual victory, of sporting holidays, and of the fauna and flora of Ceylon, together with his comments upon the management of the island, are written in the graceful and easy style which makes Sir Samuel Baker's stories of travel so much more popular than most others. It is unfortunate that, in his enthusiasm for physical exertion and slaughter, he forgets that wild jungles are not the most likely places to find missionaries, and so feels himself justified in depreciating the labours whose results are, no doubt, visible enough when looked for in likely places.

To a politician, America in 1874 is different from America in 1871, and, to an observer of social phenomena, Japan is even more greatly transfigured; but although so quickly made somewhat out of date, Baron Hübnér's traveller's tales³⁶ are told with so much vivacity, freshness, and judiciousness of selection as to retain much interest. Perhaps it should also be added that the book must be read with a due allowance for the conservatism and Roman Catholicism which affects the writer's estimate of liberal institutions or innovations, and of evangelistic work in the countries which he visited. His rank gained him admission into many recesses inaccessible to more private individuals, while it doubtless served as a screen to hide from him what others can, by their very social insignificance, penetrate. He thinks that American

³⁴ "The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon." By Sir Samuel W. Baker, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S. New Edition. London: Longmans. 1874.

³⁵ "Eight Years in Ceylon." By Sir Samuel W. Baker, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S. New Edition. London: Longmans. 1874.

³⁶ "A Ramble Round the World, 1871." By M. le Baron de Hübnér. Translated by Lady Herbert. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

gallantry to women is an instinctively offered compensation for their being shut out of companionship in the pursuits of their over-busy male relatives. And it is indeed not improbable that to this cause is due some of the modern effort after a worthier occupation for women. Baron Hübner found a certain floating opinion in American society, that a military despotism might become desirable when the population of the States is denser. A chapter on the Salt Lake city is full of interest. For California he foresees a future of agricultural industry which will quite supersede the present mining interest, and quotes, with approval, the saying, "History has proved that society can never organize itself satisfactorily on an auriferous soil." Crossing the continent to San Francisco, and describing with vivid pen a trip to the Sierra Nevada, Baron Hübner proceeded to Japan, where he made a somewhat lengthened stay, and saw many palaces and towns which few travellers had previously visited. He finds vast traces and considerable remains of Roman Catholic Christianity surviving the persecutions of a couple of centuries, and accuses the present reforming government of an intolerance in this respect as great as that of its predecessors. But on this subject his readers will remember his natural bias, the more readily because he constantly refers to his belief that the great revolution in Japanese politics at home and abroad is the transient effect of English and American radical wirepullers, playing into the hands of the four great princes of Japan, who have put down the Siogoon, and compelled their fellow daimios to give up their feudal position, simply in order to usurp for themselves supreme authority in the council of the young emperor. In China, which country Baron Hübner also visited, with the same special social advantages that served his turn elsewhere, he has much to say in an incidental manner about the Roman Catholic Missions. But, in spite of all the author's prepossessions, the reader of these two volumes will find a great mass of most interesting observation, picturesque description, and keen and kindly observation of men and things, which renders the whole work one of the most interesting stories of travel of recent days. The baron's former rank of ambassador and minister gives special point and interest to his remarks and speculations on the past, present, and future politics of the countries he travelled through.

The "Report of the Public Charities of New South Wales,"⁸⁷ will be found to illustrate many matters concerned with the relief of the poor, which are, at present, topics for urgent consideration in this country. It is interesting, for instance, to find the boarding-out system making way in New South Wales and South Australia. In South Australia a boarding-out society has been formed, which is recognised by, and is in constant communication with, the government authorities, who inform it of the places to which children are sent, that visitors may be found for them. The accounts of the different asylums and hospitals included in the report exhibit the intelligent attention paid by the colonial authorities to the true requirements of such institutions.

⁸⁷ "Report on the Public Charities of New South Wales." Sydney: 1874.

The New South Wales Report may be usefully compared and contrasted with the "Tenth Annual Report of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts."³⁸ This report is of a very elaborate kind, and contains some especially interesting pages on foreign pauper systems, lunatic asylums, prisons, and industrial schools.

Mr. A. Heatherington publishes a thoroughly practical and brief review of the mining industries of Nova Scotia.³⁹ A compendious account of each of the districts is given, and some useful statistics from the year 1862 to that of 1873.

We have received from Victoria two useful government papers,⁴⁰ calculated to throw light on the educational progress of the colony, and on the economical and social relations of the colonists to the aboriginal tribes. One of them is the "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for the year 1873-74;" the other is the "Tenth Report of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines of the Colony of Victoria." The latter paper is a very exact picture of the actual condition of the aborigines at the several stations, and reflects credit on the government arrangements for their social elevation.

SCIENCE.

THE transit of Venus is the subject of a small new volume¹ in the "Nature Series." It is written by Mr. George Forbes, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Andersonian University, and is obviously intended for educated readers, who have some little elementary knowledge of astronomy, and are desirous of obtaining general information on the astronomical principles involved in the transit, and on the results expected from its observation in various parts of the globe. It would, in our opinion, have been much better if the preparation of such a treatise had been entrusted to a professional astronomer thoroughly conversant with the subject; and there is certainly no lack of such men in England. Professor Forbes' little treatise, although by no means without merit, makes here and there the impression as if the author had just himself learned what he professes to teach; hence there is a tone of superficiality throughout the book, which, though it will not destroy its usefulness as far as the explained facts go, yet leaves behind an unsatisfactory impression upon the mind

³⁸ "Tenth Annual Report of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts." Boston: 1874.

³⁹ "The Mining Industries of Nova Scotia." By A. Heatherington. London: Trübner. 1874.

⁴⁰ "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for the Year 1873-4." Melbourne. 1874. "Tenth Report of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines in the Colony of Victoria." Melbourne. 1874.

¹ "The Transit of Venus." By George Forbes, B.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Andersonian University, Glasgow. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

of any one accustomed to the more elevated and energetic style of the genuine astronomer. The digression on page 10, in which the author connects an astrological allusion by Horrocks with some researches by modern astronomers on the interconnexion of terrestrial and solar phenomena, is not only quite out of place in a rudimentary treatise like the present, but no astronomical writer would thus flippantly place in the same line the astrological twaddle of two centuries ago with a number of carefully investigated results published by men eminent in modern science. The word "parallax," about which everything turns in the theory of the transit, is defined illogically. Professor Forbes says (page 13), "Let us devote a few lines to explaining what is meant by the word *parallax*, which is continually employed in such discussions. Let a man stand in a street exactly north of a lamp-post; the lamp-post will seem to be south of him. Now let him cross over to the other side of the street; the lamp-post will now be in some other direction, such as south-west." If Professor Forbes had now simply said: The line between the observer and the lamp-post thus turns through a certain angle, which is called parallax, the definition would have agreed with the usual one; but instead of this he goes on:—"This movement of the direction of the lamp-post is the effect of parallax." In other words, the parallax is the effect of parallax. Quite as superficial, and hence obscure, is the attempt to explain the aberration of light on page 21; and the very essence of the geometrical theory of the transit is treated in these few lines by the author on page 37:—"Thus, from observations, we obtain the lengths of these cords; and by geometry we can deduce the least distance between the centres of the Sun and Venus at each of the two stations, and hence we can determine the sun's parallax." This is absolutely all the reader hears about the geometry of the case. The little work is altogether unworthy of the occasion. It is made up to sell; whole pages are filled with illustrations which are either not at all explained, or are absolutely unnecessary. If, instead of the whole-page illustrations of a portable Altazimuth (page 71), or a transit instrument (page 69), or a photoheliograph (page 69), to which scarcely any direct reference whatever is made in the text, a good likeness of a polar bear or a man-eater had been introduced, to draw attention to the possible dangers incurred by the transit observers, it would have been just as well.

A work of a very different type is Mr. Proctor's¹ "Transits of Venus." Mr. Proctor's name will, beyond doubt, be for ever connected with the history of the transits in this century. Quite independently of the actual work which he has done for furthering the objects of these observations, he has not only introduced into the preliminary purely astronomical discussions of the subject a great amount of wholesome liveliness, stir, and controversy, without which many a useful contribution to the success of the work would possibly have never seen the light, but he has also manfully struck out against a

¹ "Transits of Venus. A Popular Account of Past and Coming Transits." By Richard A. Proctor. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

great obstacle to scientific progress—officialism. The value of Mr. Proctor's services to astronomy during the last few years are sure to be appreciated in a very short time; and in the meantime no earnest astronomer will deny him his admiration, even if he may differ from him in points of theory, or in modes of defending them. The present work is undoubtedly the best popular work on transits which has appeared in any language. The history of the transits of 1639, 1761, and 1769 is told with great completeness; and as there is no better road to knowledge than that which proceeds historically, these chapters are the best introduction to the exposition of the theoretical principles of a transit given in the fourth chapter, which we have read with the growing conviction that Mr. Proctor is by far the first popular writer on scientific subjects of which any country can boast at the present time. There is throughout, where polemical reminiscences of former strife come to the surface, a pleasant calmness maintained, which gives to the book an elevated impartial tone. Messrs. Longmans have embellished the work with great liberality. The bountiful and excellent diagrams in conjunction with the admirable discussion of the transits, past, present, and future, in all their bearings, will make this not only a popular work, but a lasting monument of the transits of Venus in the 19th century.

Another small volume in the "Nature Series" has been contributed by Mr. Spottiswoode.* The author, who is one of our first mathematicians, has recently, by his researches, considerably extended our knowledge of the effects of polarization of light. This little treatise, however, seems intended to give to those unacquainted with the whole subject a general outline of it rather than to supply an explanation of its latest extensions only. Taking this view of the aim of the author, we doubt whether his exertions to render a subject of acknowledged difficulty very clear to the student has been successful. This short review of the various modes of producing the phenomena of polarization is readable enough to any one acquainted with the subject, but will scarcely be instructive to the beginner. To understand the reasoning, for example, on page 7, the student must have a certain amount of practice in using mathematical conceptions, which experience shows is mostly wanting in those for whom this treatise appears to be intended. We mention only this single instance, but there are many other sentences which can only be understood by a reader accustomed to mathematical thought. It is to be regretted that on the whole the capacity of rendering the principles involved in abstruse subjects clear to men of average intelligence and education appears to be dying out more and more in this country. Books professedly designed for the beginner, for the artisan, for the elementary student, are now frequently written by eminent men of science, and thrown upon the book-market. But when they are subject to fair criticism it is generally found that the reader is treated on one page

* "Polarization of Light." By William Spottiswoode, London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

as a child, and on the next as a profound philosopher. That enthusiasm of teaching, which was burning in a Herschel, in a Fahrenheit, and is still alive in many continental philosophical minds, which is stirring all its energy to divest great systems of scientific facts of technical language, and thereby render them the common property of all, is fast disappearing.

Mr. Heath's excellent Treatise on Energy⁴ will be welcomed by many students of modern physics. It is indeed the first elementary exposition of the subject in a scientific form which has appeared in this country. The author alludes very modestly to some other English works going over much of the same ground, and he says that he has not seen any the object of which seemed to be precisely that at which he has aimed. We may assure Mr. Heath that not one of the few books to which he alludes can be compared with his for earnestness and scientific care. A young student who has mastered this little treatise is well prepared for the higher paths in which the principles of conservation and dissipation of energy find constant application, and even if it is not his vocation to extend his knowledge in that direction, he will have derived from Mr. Heath's work a most valuable basis for rational thought on many occurrences of daily life. There is only one objection we have to make; not to the general plan of the work, which is well conceived, but to the troublesomeness of the foot notes. If the matter contained in foot notes is of value to the student, and it is in this instance in every case, then a certain unity of external appearance should be maintained by embodying the notes in the text.

English students of the dynamical theory of heat will find in the new work on the subject by Dr. Krebs,⁵ an excellent guide to a branch of Physics, which theoretically as well as technically is constantly growing in importance. The plan of the work is well adapted for the beginner in the study of this difficult part of Physics. The author has given a complete outline of the theory, but has specially dwelt upon certain fixed points of great importance, and discussed these in detail. Such a method is also from a pedagogical view the best, while practically it will have this advantage for technical students, that they are able to obtain a sufficient amount of knowledge of the subject without the necessity of winding their way through the long treatises which have hitherto appeared on the dynamical theory. The book is considerably smaller than Biot's well-known work, but contains really much more important matter. The mathematical part will also be found considerably simplified and accessible to students with a little knowledge of the meaning of differentiations and integrations.

Baron Dellingshausen⁶ has contributed some new essays to the

⁴ "An Elementary Exposition of the Doctrine of Energy." By D. D. Heath, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

⁵ "Einleitung in die Mechanische Wärmetheorie." Von Dr. G. Krebs. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1874.

⁶ "Beiträge zur Mechanischen Wärmetheorie." Von Baron N. Dellingshausen. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1874.

extension of the dynamical theory of heat. The peculiarity of this writer is that he starts with the assumption of a homogeneous constitution of matter, without the supposition of the existence of atoms and molecules. According to him the difference observed in bodies, and the phenomenon which they present, may be explained by vibratory movements, in other words, the explanation of all experimental facts in nature requires nothing else than the supposition that matter is in motion, and is elastic. In the first and second of these essays the author gives the purely mathematical expressions for his conceptions on the nature of heat and the constitution of bodies. Not much is proved in our opinion by symbolic reasoning which starts with a theoretical assumption, and lands us simply in equations not contradictory to the hypothesis on which they are founded. But the third, and especially the last essay, seem really to deserve the attention of physicists as well as chemists. The author determines, first, the quantity of free heat and the corresponding amount of internal work in permanent gases, and shows that the specific heats of these bodies, whether at constant volume or at constant pressure, may be simply derived from comparison of the velocity of sound with Newton's formula for the velocity of waves. Moreover, the author shows very clearly that the chemical heat of gases is founded on the interference of heat vibrations. These facts may contribute much to a more general re-discussion of the atomic theory, which is already losing hold on the minds of some of our first men of science.

Professor Schmick,⁷ whose most valuable researches into the secular variations of the sea level have already been appreciated in the pages of the *Westminster Review*, has now applied his general laws to certain secular marine and climatic phenomena presented by the Caspian and Aral seas, and the area of depression which surrounds them. The author proves a periodic lowering of the level of these inland seas, and traces these effects to change of climate and certain other causes even up to the most recent time. His researches have apparently not yet received in this country the attention and support which has been given to them by the highest scientific authorities on the Continent, and it would be extremely desirable if a short paper embodying the results obtained by Professor Schmick's labours should find its way into one of our scientific periodicals.

The conviction that Physics can only be taught and learnt by a series of well selected experiments,⁸ performed by means of carefully constructed apparatus, seems to be at last becoming generally established. The number of works in which Physics is taught on the basis of experimental results, to be first obtained by the student himself, is still somewhat small, but it is growing, and we have every reason to think that the best teachers and workers in Physics devote more and more of their time to an improvement of the apparatus for demon-

⁷ "Die Aralo-Kaspi-Niederung und ihre Befunde." Untersuchungen von Professor Heinrich Schmick. Leipzig: Carl Scholtze. 1874.

⁸ "Der physikalische Apparat." Von Dr. Jacob Heussi. Leipzig: Paul Froberg. 1874.

strating the fundamental facts of the science. Professor Heussi's new work is therefore a step in the right direction. It teaches how to obtain each piece of necessary apparatus, how to put everything together, how to keep it in good condition, how to work with it, and what to prove by means of each. The work is written with extraordinary care, and is sure to be soon translated into English. How minutely the author goes into every part of the subject may be judged from the fact that there is even a chapter showing how pieces of apparatus should be unpacked when they arrive from the maker. Many a student who on such occasions has generally managed to break a flask or two, or bend and twist a delicate wire, will read Professor Heussi's capital instructions with great advantage.

The essential features of Professor Buff's *Mechanics*⁹ have already been pointed out in the last April issue of the *Westminster*, and nothing in the last portion of the work, just published, can shake our conviction that this is by far the best work on physical Mechanics which has appeared for many years, and is well adapted to the requirements of students with an average mathematical preparation. It is in range of experimental facts much wider, but in rigorous mathematical treatment of principles naturally inferior, to Professor Kirchhoff's¹⁰ *Mechanics*, of which the second fascicle has appeared. In this portion the author discusses the fundamental theorems of Hydrostatics, and carries his subject as far as the consideration of liquid jets, of which some highly interesting cases are investigated in detail to serve as illustrations of the general theory.

Professor Subic's¹¹ treatise on Physics is just one of those capital German text-books which we should like to see imitated and introduced in this country. In about 700 pages, printed very closely but clearly, and sold at a surprisingly low price, we have here a sound experimental and mathematical exposition of the principles, not only of Physics—that is of Statics and Dynamics, Acoustics, the theory of wave motion, Optics, Electricity, Magnetism, and Heat—but also an excellent outline of the first principles of Chemistry, Astronomy, and Meteorology; indeed, it is not too much to say that each chapter on these various subjects is an excellent treatise in itself, and that the whole forms a kind of encyclopædia of experimental science. There is not a superfluous word in the whole book, nor is there a single great principle or experimental fact neglected. Books of this kind are of course not suitable for private reading, but as school books they are treasures of information, and as a rule in nearly every one of the many thousand public schools of Germany it pays each professor to write his own text-book, and all are written in this encyclopædic and thoroughly practical manner. It is quite time for us to put away all

⁹ "Lehrbuch der physikalischen Mechanik." Von Dr. Heinrich Buff. Schluss-Lieferung. Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn. 1874.

¹⁰ "Vorlesungen über Mathematische Physik." Von Dr. Gustav Kirchhoff. Zweite Lieferung. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1874.

¹¹ "Lehrbuch der Physik." Von Dr. S. Subic. Budapest: Gustav Heckenast. 1874.

false pride and decide on simply imitating our Teutonic kinsmen in this direction, in which they can certainly boast of results of which at all times human society will be proud.

Mr. Ballantyne seems to be striking into an unexpected course when he takes to writing about "The Ocean and its Wonders,"¹² but he has produced a pleasant, readable book for young people, containing a very fair account of marine phenomena, interspersed, of course, with plenty of anecdotes and stories of adventure. He describes the composition and depth of the ocean, and the modes of deep-sea sounding, the nature of waves, the Gulf Stream and oceanic circulation, the atmosphere and the phenomena of winds and storms, and the production of waterspouts. Six chapters are devoted to the Arctic seas, and these will probably constitute the most interesting portion of the book to those for whose delectation it is intended. In his account of the animals of the sea we find Mr. Ballantyne's weakest point—his knowledge of zoology is evidently rudimentary. The illustrations are generally good.

Professor David Page has added to his already numerous geological manuals one on "Economic Geology,"¹³ intended to serve as a handbook for students with regard to the practical applications of geological facts. There are, of course, many points in connexion with the arts in which a knowledge of geology is either absolutely useful or of interest as furnishing that information which raises the intellectual standard of the workman, and Professor Page endeavours in his present volume to satisfy both these conditions as far as can be done in a mere manual. In fact, the two are in many points so intimately connected that it is quite impossible to fulfil one without the other. Our author treats, in the first place, of geology in connexion with agriculture, the influence of soil and subsoil in ordinary agricultural operations, and in drainage, and the use of mineral manures—then as influencing the valuation of property, especially as regards its mineral resources. He then notices at some length the stones and cements used for architectural purposes, the geological questions affecting civil engineering, mining, and pottery. Fossil fuels, grinding and polishing materials, fireclays and firestones, pigments, salts and medicines, mineral waters, gems and metals then come in for their share of notice. The little book is, in fact, an extension and completion of a chapter which is generally to be found in our ordinary manuals of geology, in which the economic aspects of the science are very briefly indicated. The subject is a large one, but so far as we can see, Professor Page has done his work well, and supplied his readers with a large amount of useful and reliable

¹² "The Ocean and its Wonders." By R. M. Ballantyne. Small 8vo. London: Nelson. 1874.

¹³ "Economic Geology, or Geology in its Relations to the Arts and Manufactures." By David Page, LL.D. Small 8vo. Edinburgh and London: Blackwoods. 1874.

information, at least so far as the mineral productions of Britain are concerned, for comparatively small space is devoted to those of the rest of the world.

A very different book from this is the English adaptation of a work by M. Arthur Mangin, entitled "Earth and its Treasures."¹⁴ This is a purely popular book, having for its object a general description of the rocks, stones, and metals employed for economic purposes. Coal is omitted, to be treated of in a separate volume. The foundation of the book is no doubt as good as most of the French popular books that we are accustomed to see, but the adapter seems hardly to possess the knowledge necessary for his task; at least we cannot place much confidence in a writer who tells us that augite is "a carbonaceous substance," who translates *fer oligiste* "oligisted iron," who calls flint "common silex," tells us that "hyaline quartz is in reality nothing else than crystallized and transparent silicon," and finally informs us that "hematite is rare in France, unknown in England." The book is full of similar errors, and although many of them are not individually of great consequence, their number renders them very prejudicial.

In "Cave Hunting"¹⁵ Professor Boyd Dawkins has given us an admirable *résumé* of the important results obtained of late years by the exploration of the contents of caverns in various parts of Europe. It is not very many years since the detection of worked flints associated with the bones of extinct animals in the celebrated cavern of Kent's Hole was regarded with such distrust that the assertion that such a discovery had been made was suppressed by the authority of some of the leading geologists of the day, and now so complete a change in opinion has taken place that none but a few *soi-disant* champions of orthodox scriptural views attempt to raise their voices as objecting to its acceptance; in fact, a new branch of anthropological science, which has been denominated "Prehistoric Archaeology," has grown out of the discovery of human remains in caves and surface deposits, the actual remains of man himself having been chiefly found in the former. In his present book Professor Dawkins enters in considerable detail into the discussion of the facts as to the former distribution of animals in Europe and the existence of man in prehistoric times, revealed to us by evidence obtained from caves. After a brief history of cave exploration in Europe, he describes the mode of formation of caves, and indicates that in most cases, at any rate, they are the result of the action of water percolating from the surface and circulating in the fissures and other lines of weakness existing in the rocks hollowed, the effect of the flow of water being aided in most cases, at least in the limestone rocks, which contain the greatest number of

¹⁴ "Earth and its Treasures: a Description of the Metallic and Mineral Wealth of Nature." By Arthur Mangin. Edited, with additions, by W. H. Davenport Adams. Small 8vo. London: T. Nelson & Sons. 1875.

¹⁵ "Cave Hunting: Researches on the Evidence of Caves respecting the Early Inhabitants of Europe." By W. Boyd Dawkins, M.A., F.R.S., &c. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1874.

caverns, by the presence in the water of dissolved carbonic acid. Several caves, with their beautiful formations of stalactite and stalagmite, are described in this chapter, and we can quite sympathize with Professor Dawkins in the interest which he feels in the mere fact of cave exploration, an occupation which, as he says, furnishes much the same excitement as Alpine climbing. The remains found in caves are the subjects of by far the greater part of Professor Dawkins' book. Viewed in connexion with these he divides bone caves into three classes:—Historic, or those containing remains belonging to the later iron age; Prehistoric, representing the ages of polished stone and bronze, and part of the iron age; and Pleistocene, or those in which only the rude stone implements of the Palæolithic age are to be found. In all these periods we find caves used by man as habitual or occasional residences, as places of refuge in times of disturbance, and as burial-places for the dead,—sometimes the same cave has been occupied at intervals by men in very different conditions of culture, the traces of these successive occupations being discovered in different layers of deposit covering the floor of the cave. Earlier still, animals now for the most part extinct in the same regions, had the caverns to themselves, as in the cases of the remarkable hyæna dens of Kirkdale and Wookey Hole, the latter here described at some length by the author. From the examination of the remains of animals found in caves, and the evidence derived from the fossil bones of various river-deposits, Professor Dawkins has been led to certain results as to the distribution of animals in Europe, and the climate and configuration of that continent in Pleistocene times which are of great interest, but to summarize them would lead us too far. With regard to the history of man in Europe, as revealed by the explorations of caverns, Professor Dawkins says:—

“We find a hunting and fishing race of cave-dwellers in the remote Pleistocene age, in possession of France, Belgium, Germany, and Britain, probably of the same stock as the Eskimos, living and forming part of a fauna, in which, northern and southern, living and extinct species are strangely mingled with those now living in Europe. In the neolithic age caves were inhabited and used for tombs by men of the Iberian or Basque race, which is still represented by the small, dark-haired peoples of Western Europe. They were rarely used in the bronze age. When we arrive within the borders of history in Britain we find them offering shelter to the Brit-Welsh, flying from their enemies after the ruin of the Roman Empire, and throwing great-light on the fragmentary records of those obscure times.”

This short extract will suffice to show how interesting are the matters discussed by Professor Dawkins in his book, which we can further recommend as being written in a very lively and pleasant style, and as evincing not only great knowledge, but also a most philosophical candour on the part of its author.

The second volume of Dr. Robert Brown's "*Races of Mankind*,"¹⁶ contains descriptions of the inhabitants of Spanish America and the South Sea Islands, the Malays and the inhabitants of Africa. As we

¹⁶ "*The Races of Mankind: being a Popular Description of the Characteristics, Manners, and Customs of the Principal Varieties of the Human Family.*" By Robert Brown. 8vo. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1874.

have previously stated, this book can make no pretension to be a scientific treatise, but as a popular work it is very entertaining. The woodcut illustrations are numerous, large, and well-executed.

"A Year's Botany," by Mrs. Kitchener,¹⁷ is a little book intended to facilitate the practical study of the science of which it treats. The author is of opinion that the ordinary mode of teaching botany adopted in text books by starting from a set of anatomical details, is calculated to render the science exceedingly dry and repulsive, especially to young people who have no special object to be served by acquiring a knowledge of it; and in order to get over this difficulty she commences by plunging her readers at once into the elementary practical examination of the structure of plants. Thus, in a series of chapters, she mentions a selection of common plants, the flowers of which are to be obtained and examined in the manner pointed out in this book; and doubtless by following this course, a great amount of knowledge as to the structure of flowers will be easily and pleasantly acquired. She then proceeds to explain the morphology of the flower, the phenomena of fertilization, the structure of other parts of plants, and the general principles of classification. This seems to have completed the original design, which was carried out in twelve papers communicated to the *Monthly Packet*, and these form twelve chapters of the present volume, constituting, we presume, the year's Botany. To these, three additional chapters, treating of rather difficult plants, have been added:—the first relating to umbellates, composites, spurge, and pines; the second to some monocotyledonous groups, such as the arums, the rushes, and sedges and the grasses; and the third to the orchids. An appendix is added, furnishing the reader with an explanation of those technical terms, the use of which has been as much as possible avoided in the body of the work. That Mrs. Kitchener has in this little book struck out a new and useful idea in connexion with the teaching of botany, and that she has carried it out remarkably well, there can be no doubt. The knowledge that will be gained by using her book in the manner she indicates will be thoroughly practical knowledge, very different from the parrot-like acquaintance with technical terms which seems to be the sole object of much of our so-called science teaching; but at the same time it must be borne in mind that when the book is used in schools, knowledge on the part of the teachers will be an essential requisite. For self-instruction in the elements of botany it is admirably adapted, and the illustrations, though not showy, will be found sufficient to guide the early steps of the student.

Dr. Saxby's "Birds of Shetland"¹⁸ is a posthumous work completed from the author's notes and published by his brother. It is one of those books of which the naturalist is always glad to see the number

¹⁷ "A Year's Botany, adapted to Home and School Use." By Frances Anna Kitchener. Illustrated by the Author. Small 8vo. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

¹⁸ "The Birds of Shetland, with Observations on their Habits, Migration, and Occasional Appearance." By Henry L. Saxby, M.D. Edited by his Brother, Stephen M. Saxby, M.A. 8vo. Edinburgh: Macleachlan & Stewart. 1874.

increase,—a record of careful observations continued during many years, and put forward with a modesty which seems the best proof of the candour of the author. In Dr. Saxby's volume we have a complete list of all the birds ascertained by him to occur in Shetland, with notices of their habits and of their times of arrival and departure in the case of migratory species, and some anecdotal matter. The list compiled by the editor gives about 200 species in all, including resident species, and regular and occasional visitors. More than half these birds are, as might be expected, either waders or swimmers. Dr. Saxby's work is a valuable contribution to the literature of British Ornithology.

Entomological books intended for general reading seem to be rapidly increasing in number. Within the last three months the Rev. J. G. Wood, the most indefatigable of popular writers on natural history, has produced as a pendant to his account of British Insects, a stout octavo volume, entitled "*Insects Abroad*," in which he describes a selection of the more remarkable exotic forms of insects, and gives some details as to their natural history. The subjects referred to are classified, and the characters of the groups are indicated, and on the whole the book may be regarded as a useful introduction to general entomology. Mr. Wood makes less direct pretence to originality than is, we think, usual with him; the chief form in which his assumption to be a great authority breaks out being the introduction of criticisms upon generic names, some of which are absurd enough. There is, however, one point against which we must protest, and that is, the insertion in a work of this nature of descriptions of supposed new species. It is hardly fair to expect entomologists, and especially foreign entomologists, to take cognizance of two or three descriptions scattered through a popular treatise of nearly 800 pages. The book is abundantly illustrated with good wood-engravings, mostly drawn from the insects themselves.

"*The Insect*," by M. Michelet,²⁰ of which an English translation by Mr. W. H. Davenport Adams has just appeared, is another of those rhapsodical or almost hysterical compositions in which that author delights to promulgate his views. It contains a comparatively small quantity of, not always reliable entomological information, mixed up with reflections upon things in general, love, life, the harmonies of nature, the arts, and social science. The author's chief object in the work appears to be to invest the insect with a sort of fanciful importance, and to prove for it, and for still more lowly organisms, a closer kinship with man than is generally accorded to them. The gist of the book is summed up by its author as follows:—"All see, all feel, and all love: a miracle truly religious! In the material infinite which deepens under my eyes, I recognise, for my reassurance, a moral infinite. The individuality hitherto claimed as a monopoly by the

¹⁹ "*Insects Abroad, being a Popular Account of Foreign Insects, their Structure, Habits, and Transformations.*" By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1874.

²⁰ "*The Insect.*" By Jules Michelet. 8vo. London: Nelsons. 1875.

pride of the chosen species I see generously extended to all, and conferred even upon the least. The gulf of life would have seemed to me deserted, desolate, barren, and godless, had I not discovered everywhere the warmth and tenderness of the Universal Love in the universality of the soul." The translator's task, which must have been a difficult one, is in general remarkably well performed, although here, as in another publication of his which we notice this quarter, several blunders occur which seem to be due to his want of scientific knowledge. The illustrations consist of numerous woodcuts, generally very characteristic and all beautifully executed.

"Fairy Frisket," by A. L. O. E.,²¹ hardly pretends to be an entomological book. It is a fairy tale for children, containing the usual good little boy and bad little boy who figure in nursery stories, the latter being of course finally reclaimed from the error of his ways by the action of the fairies, combined with a little entomological information. This little book may be recommended at the present season as a present for the young folks.

Independently of its direct importance as a department of physiology, Embryology has of late acquired such a prominent position in the discussion of the higher questions of philosophical zoology, especially the mutual relations of animals, that it will in future be quite impossible for any one but the mere describing zoologist to get on at all without some embryological knowledge. Under these circumstances it will be a gratification to the English student to learn that one of our most accomplished physiologists, Dr. Michael Foster has commenced the publication of a Text-book²² of this most difficult branch of science. In the first part of this work Dr. Foster and his *collaborateur* Mr. F. M. Balfour, treat exclusively of the development of the chick in the egg, describing in succession the various changes which take place in the course of its evolution from day to day. The choice of the subject is simply one of convenience, the development of the hen's egg offering particular facilities for investigation, so that although from the complexity of its phenomena in some respects it may not be theoretically the best starting-point for a treatise on embryology, the advantages which it offers counterbalance the scientific inconveniences. The practical facility of following the development of the embryo in the hen's egg has doubtless had much to do with its selection by the authors, seeing that Dr. Foster particularly urges upon his readers the absolute necessity of their observing the described phenomena for themselves, and gives particular directions as to the manipulation of the objects in order to enable them to complete their studies in this manner. This little volume, which is freely illustrated with woodcuts, will be followed by a second treating of the development of other vertebrata, and this by a third devoted to the embryology of the invertebrate animals, the knowledge of which

²¹ "Fairy Frisket; or, Peeps at Insect Life." By A. L. O. E. Small 8vo. London: Nelsons. 1874.

²² "The Elements of Embryology." By M. Foster, M.A., M.D., and F. M. Balfour, B.A. Small 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

has made such enormous progress within the last few years. We most cordially wish the authors success in their arduous undertaking, which, if completed in the spirit of this first part, will furnish students with a valuable manual of a most difficult subject.

Mr. Clarke in his Preface,²³ says that his chapters "have no pretension to literary merit." Herein perhaps lies their charm, for their literary merit exists, and is as delightful as it is unobtrusive. Few medical men are unaware of Mr. Clarke's place in the history of the profession, and of the interest which must attach to the memorials of the life of one who lived in the midst of the most stirring scenes of the most stirring times of that profession. To all of us, however, Mr. Clarke's papers in the *Medical Times*, revealed more than we well knew; it showed to us that the author was not only a man of exceptional opportunities, but also of rare personal qualities of a kind which admirably fit him for a chronicler of men and things. Gifted with a literary style which, if not always scholarly, is easy and animated, with a quick eye and a quick judgment of men, with a gentle humour and a marvellous memory, he has given us a little volume which may take a place beside any of the best of our *livres de société*. There is scarcely a practitioner in Great Britain who loves quaint historical gossip, and lively sketches of character, who will not keep this little book near his elbow. We sincerely hope that Mr. Clarke will not fail to preserve for us the remembrances of men who, like the late Mr. Wormald and others, are removed by death, while the chronicler is still spared to us.

Dr. Aitken has prepared a digest of the Science and Practice of Medicine,²⁴ which he thinks will be more useful to the working pupil than his larger work, which may be used for purposes of farther study and reference. Probably he is right, though we are disposed to think that handbooks which contain matter in a highly condensed form are very hard to get up. Be this as it may, students will settle the question for themselves. For our own part, we have only to say that the synopsis seems to be admirably made. We do not pretend to have read the volume, but so far as we have tested it, we have found it to deserve our best praise. Indeed we are surprised to see how much of really important matter has been retained by omitting all that is discursive. As a help for a weak-kneed practitioner, we are disposed to think this manual more useful than the larger work. In the larger work he might be bewildered to find that the practice of medicine is not a summary process, and that it is often possible to conceive of two or more methods of dealing with the same disease. If he confines his attention to the Outlines, he will have one bundle of hay before him, and for the most part one only.

²³ "Autobiographical Recollections of the Medical Profession." By J. F. Clarke. London: 1874.

²⁴ "Outlines of the Science and Practice of Medicine." By W. Aitken, M.D. London: 1874.

We have often had occasion in this *Review* to give great praise to these reports,²⁵ and we would urge upon all those concerned not to take our word for it, but to read these volumes for themselves. They are full of invaluable material, and contain much of the best kind of reasoning thereupon. Let us again do our best to make these excellent reports better known and more quoted. Dr. Parke's report on Hygiene in the present volume is alone worth more than the small price of the whole.

The venerable and highly respectable Medical Society of London has, in the hundredth year of its age, decided to publish its Proceedings.²⁶ The officers and the public can only be congratulated upon this decision, though the rapid multiplication of "Archives" is becoming a very serious difficulty to readers and inquirers. The volume presents the sort of contents which are usually seen in the publications of such bodies; it is needless to say that if somewhat unconnected reading, it is full of variety and interest. It is to be noted that these are "proceedings," not "Transactions."

This revised and enlarged edition of Oesterlen's handbook of medical statistics²⁷ cannot appear without a word of welcome and commendation from us, though we must refrain from any detailed notice of it. Honest, laborious, and invaluable as a work of reference, it stands alone in its way, and is indispensable to all who need such a guide, to all medical men, that is, who are engaged upon special literary work. If we have had to differ from some of Dr. Oesterlen's views in other works of his, we now have the more pleasure in giving him our almost unqualified thanks.

We have so often commended Dr. Ringer's handbook²⁸ in the *Westminster Review*, that we need not do more than announce the fourth edition. The present edition is amplified in many ways, the literary blemishes of the earlier editions are lessened, if not removed, and new sections upon croton-chloral, phosphorus and hamamelis are inserted. *Hamamelis virginica* or witch hazel is employed by American practitioners to arrest passive hæmorrhages. The carelessness which has disfigured Dr. Ringer's book in all its editions is seen in his new sections. He recommends "one or two minims" every two hours, but does not say of what preparation. As he recommends the drug also as a lotion or injection, the reader's bewilderment is the more. There is still no allusion to electro-therapeutics, while other physical means, such as heat, cold, baths, &c., are included. To the chapter on baths a section on mineral and thermal springs should be added. The book, too, would be more useful if arranged in alphabetical order. On the whole, this edition, though containing the excellences of the former ones, does not show that advance upon them which its ready sale ought to have encouraged.

²⁵ "Army Medical Department. Report for the year 1872. London: 1874.

²⁶ "Proceedings of the Medical Society of London." Vol. I. 1872-4. London.

²⁷ "Handbuch d. Medicinischen Statistik." Von Dr. Fr. Oesterlen. Second Edition. Tübingen: 1874.

²⁸ "A Handbook of Therapeutics." By Sidney Ringer, M.D. London: 1874.

This volume is the first instalment of a complete work on *Materia Medica*,²⁹ and seems to promise well. Dr. Phillips' clearly arranged paragraphs contrast favourably with the more loosely written parts of Dr. Ringer's book. Moreover they are more free from therapeutical fancies than the latter, though, on the other hand, they show less originality and fewer evidences of personal inquiry and clinical experience. Not that Dr. Phillips is lacking in the latter qualities however; on the contrary there are many pages which show him to be far superior to the common book-maker. As an example of this we may refer to the important chapter on *Cocculus Indicus*, a drug which Dr. Ringer does not mention. As we have already said, we should prefer an alphabetical order for books like the present, but we are aware that many persons would differ from us on good grounds. We hope that Dr. Phillips will soon be able to publish his second volume as we think the incompleteness of his work will, in some measure, militate against its ready sale at present. Sooner or later it is sure to claim a place among the most useful books on the doctors' shelves.

Phosphorus has become a fashionable remedy within the last few years, and perhaps few physicians in large practice have failed to arrive at some useful knowledge of the drug, and of its methods of administration. Among those who have published their observations, Dr. Thompson³⁰ has taken a prominent place; but we were scarcely aware how thoroughly this author had made the subject his own until the present volume came into our hands for review. We gladly admit that there is scarcely a page in it which does not contain something to interest us, and not a chapter which does not contain much that was quite new to us and very important. The book is one of great merit. Not only must it be read by all physicians who pretend to a refined knowledge of therapeutics, but it is seldom that a monograph so useful and so carefully written is provided for them. Dr. Thompson has used phosphorus in many cases in which we ourselves have had no experience of its action. In neuralgia we have used it frequently for some time, on account at first of its relationship to arsenic, a known remedy. We have found it more generally useful than the latter, though by no means so brilliantly successful as others have done. Our failures may, however, have been due to our ignorance of the many precautions set forth by Dr. Thompson. We can also bear testimony to its use in the "typhoid state;" we have seen more than one patient pull through under its use of whom we should otherwise have despaired. It is a great boon to those of us who, like ourselves, had got a little weary of "pushing the brandy," to have another remedy not less promising in our armoury.

The Professor of Clinical Medicine at Montpellier³¹ is tolerably well

²⁹ "*Materia Medica and Therapeutics.*" By C. D. F. Phillips, M.D. London: 1874.

³⁰ "*Free Phosphorus in Medicine.*" By J. Ashburton Thompson. London: 1874.

³¹ "*Clinique Médicale de Montpellier.*" Par J. Fuster. Tom. I. Paris: 1875.

known as an ardent disciple of the traditional doctrines of that school. For our own part we wholly lack sympathy for these doctrines, and for the views of Borden and other early leaders of the school who proclaimed a very questionable philosophy with slight learning, ability or insight, but with much vigour, industry and self-conceit. The school of Montpellier is, perhaps, alone in modern days as cherishing the logic of vitalistic conceptions as opposed to the investigation of vital properties, and Professor Fuster is, we hope, the last of the apostles of a metaphysical creed. Differing, however, as we do from Professor Fuster's theoretical views, we welcome from his hands a work which promises to be full of clinical interest, and we welcome it the more for this, that in the old bottles there remains some old wine. With old reasonings, Dr. Fuster retains some of the better things which belong to them, and which, with them, have been too hastily forgotten. His chapters on the influence of season, local conditions and other influences of wide generality are Hippocratican in method if not in ability, and really deserve a careful reading.

Our first criticism upon Dr. Foster's book³² is, that its title is somewhat too ambitious for a widely printed octavo of 350 pp., which deals only with ten subjects, and with these, or most of them, only in an episodic way. The volume consists of a few reprints from medical journals, and, like most reprints, contains matter worth preserving, together with some remainder matter which had sufficiently served its purpose already. The first lecture, on gastric ulcer, is an intelligent summary of methods of treatment which is very well adapted for students, but which is scarcely needed by physicians. The author very properly lays much stress on the plan of treatment by rest to the stomach. Lecture the second treats of cyanosis from patent foramen ovale. The cases given are well worthy of record, and the apparently successful use of peroxide of hydrogen is very interesting, but needs further testimony. The use of ether in phthisis forms the subject of the third lecture, and both for the ingenuity of the idea, and for the apparent success of the method, this lecture deserves attention. The lecture on digitalis is intelligent, but seems to us to contain much that is questionable, and some things which are less than questionable. At present we can only refer to the doctrine of "over compensation" as being highly improbable to say the least of it. Lecture five contains an interesting and clever suggestion of a way of distinguishing the precise segment affected in cases of rupture of the aortic valves. It is shown that the distinction, if possible, is one of great clinical importance. The remaining chapters deal with well-known subjects in an adequate way, but without any great novelty in facts or in the handling of them. The interest which they have depends in great measure upon the importance of the cases upon which they are based.

The fourth volume of these admirable Reports³³ shows no falling off; indeed the series seems, if anything, to gain rather than to lose with advancing years. Dr. Browne is not only industrious and able

³² "Clinical Medicine." By Balthazar Foster, M.D. London: 1874.

³³ "The West Riding Asylum Medical Reports." Vol IV. 1874.

himself, but a cause of the same in others ; and there is probably no asylum in existence where so high an aim is set before the staff and where so much is accomplished.

The author of this essay,²⁴ has taken up a subject which can yield in interest to none, and which has, perhaps, been too much neglected by sober and sane observers. Such men have probably felt, and felt justly, that dreams are so far unfitted for examination, as they are removed from investigation. Self-questioning, even by the waking man, has seldom been fertile of anything but error and harm, and we have no divining rod to enable us to gauge the dreams of others. Hence the study of dreams must belong not to the earlier stages of psychology but to the later. Interesting and ingenious as is Professor Strümpell's essay and tintured as it is with genuine scientific colour, yet it fails to commend itself to the positive enquirer. The author's system of thought is essentially metaphysical, and were we versed in metaphysical scholastics we might readily learn, no doubt, from his phraseology to which school he belongs. This we leave to wiser men than ourselves. Suffice it to say that he uses the term soul as a capacity independent of the body, and speaks of external stimuli in the body playing upon it indirectly and calling forth its harmonies. It is not for us to deny that man has a soul ; we have only to point out that the soul is a wholly unknown and unknowable entity, and being such cannot be reasoned of, or used as a factor in reasoning. The student of dreams will do better to devote his time to Spencer or Bain, if he wishes to know what little can be known of a subject as yet so remote from the boundaries of organized inquiry.

By the courtesy of the publisher we have received the advance sheets of this essay,²⁵ the author of which is so well known by name at least, to English readers. Dr. Pettenkofer is known to have conducted some most curious and laborious researches into the origin and propagation of Cholera in Munich, and he is also known to have arrived at certain conclusions asserting a direct connexion between the rise and fall of the ground water and the fluctuations of cholera epidemics. The same doctrine he also applies, with but little variation, to the explanation of the rise and fall of typhoid fever. Dr. Pettenkofer is a man of intensely active mind and of much originality and acuteness ; he is moreover endowed with dialectical abilities of so high an order as to make him a formidable champion of any opinions which he may happen to form. This being so, his researches and his arguments thereon, if they have not settled the question of cholera infection, or even brought to light any factors in the process which are assuredly of universal or very general validity, have, nevertheless, done more to arouse attention and to stir up a vivid interest in the subject than those of any other writer. Whatever be the result of the adverse criticisms of Wolfsteiner, Parkes, Buchanan, Chapman and others, yet we owe to Dr. Pettenkofer an incalculable

²⁴ "Die Natur und Entstehung der Träume." Von L. Strümpell. Leipzig: 1874.

²⁵ "Cholera." By Dr. Max von Pettenkofer. Translated by Thomas Hime, M.B., &c. London, 1875.

debt, and we have to thank Mr. Hime for presenting some part of his work to us in an English translation. While however we yield to none in our admiration for Dr. Pettenkofer's keen and vigorous spirit of inquiry, we must, at the same time, be permitted to say that we are by no means convinced as yet of the finality of his conclusions, nor even of their present probability. True for Munich they may be, in a greater or less measure, but they have certainly failed to explain the phenomena of the rise and fall of epidemics in other places. We have not space to enter into detail upon this question, we would therefore content ourselves with saying that whether Pettenkofer's main hypothesis be true or false, there is much in his observations of the movements of the air, in the soil and elsewhere, which is both true, new and important.

We have only to remind our readers that this most useful and handy reissue of Henle's *Anatomical Atlas*,³⁶ is progressing satisfactorily. The parts now issued are four, the first on the bones; the second on the ligaments; the third on the muscles; and the fourth now before us, on the vascular system, sanguineous and lymphatic. The manageable size, the clearness and the beauty, and the comparative cheapness of this issue, make the edition a great boon to students in the dissecting-room. Other parts are in progress, and a translation into English is contemplated, but the amount of German is so small as scarcely, if at all, to interfere with the studies of those who are ignorant of that tongue.

Professor Moos of Heidelberg has given an account of some careful observations upon the state of the Eustachian Tube³⁷ during life, and of its minute anatomy. These observations are not only coarse and fine dissections, but include sections of the tubes at various points made upon frozen parts with a cold saw. We find that we cannot in our present space, give any useful summary of Moos' results; but we must refer anatomists to the work itself, which is enriched by admirable drawings, and is sold at a small price.

Dr. Julius Arnold made a series of minute investigations into the development of the lens for Gräfe and Sämisch's *Handbook of Ophthalmology*.³⁸ In order to describe the anatomy of the lens, he rightly believed that a key to its minuter structure must be found in watching the genesis of its tissue. He thus collected a mass of information, not upon the development of the lens only, but also of its capsule, of the ciliary zone, of the hyaloid membrane, of the cornea and sclerotic, of the choroid, the ciliary body and the iris, &c. His observations were made upon calves. The essay is well illustrated, and must be in the hands of all whose attention is specially directed to the minute anatomy of the eye.

It is somewhat surprising to find that 150 closely printed pages can be written upon the human hair,³⁹ but such is the case; and

³⁶ "*Anatomischer Hand-Atlas.*" Von Dr. J. Henle. Viertes Heft-Gefässe. Braunschweig: 1874.

³⁷ "*Beiträge z. Anatomie u. Physiologie d. Eustachischen Röhre.*" Von Dr. S. Moos. Wiesbaden: 1874.

³⁸ "*Beiträge z. Entwicklungsgeschichte des Auges.*" Von Dr. Julius Arnold. Heidelberg: 1874.

³⁹ "*Das Menschliche Haar.*" Von Dr. Oesterlen. Tübingen: 1874.

we are bound to say that there is nothing in Dr. Otto Oesterlen's treatise which could be spared. Moreover, as much attention is given to the medico-legal aspects of the matter, the treatise is one of much practical value. In the first section the morphology, the coloration, the length, strength and thickness, the hygroscopic conditions, and the specific characters of hair are considered, and the varieties of hair in different persons, and in different parts of the same person, are described. Then come many valuable sections upon legal evidence, with illustrative cases; questions of criminality, which may depend in part upon the distinction between the hair of man and animals, and between the hair of one individual and another, and so forth; or again, upon whether a given hair had fallen out or been torn out; upon the changes which hair may undergo after prolonged burial, &c. Finally it is suggested, if not asserted, that certain poisons, such as arsenic, may be found in the hair after prolonged administration.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

FRANCIS CHARLES AUGUSTUS ALBERT EMMANUEL, more generally known as the Prince Consort of England,¹ was a man of whom even Solon might allow that he was *δλβιώτατος* amongst men. Born the younger son of a comparatively obscure duke, he married the Queen of a mighty nation. Possessing no supreme ability, he was honoured by those whose abilities were supreme. Endowed with a love of art, which was disproportionate to his artistic capacities, he yet won the admiration of those whose names form epochs in art. He was provided with guides and friends who were wise, and he was wise enough to listen to them and to be guided by them. In a position difficult to maintain he won the respect of persons unlikely to yield him homage; and his life was not barren of such things as are thought to make life estimable. He had children at his desire, and the grateful nation, whose Queen he had espoused, made a substantial provision for his babes. He died, England mourned for him; and his biography has been written by Mr. Theodore Martin.

“Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος, τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς, δλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιός ἐστι.”

The first volume of Mr. Martin's biography brings the life of the Prince down to the year 1848. There is much in it which will be read with interest, and it can truly be said that Mr. Martin has performed his task well. The Queen had placed at his disposal the amplest materials for its accomplishment; and he acknowledges with gratitude the “generous frankness” which has facilitated his labours. The royal *penetralia* are accordingly thrown open to the public eye; and no one who reads these pages will doubt the sincerity or simplicity of the affection which united the royal pair. The satisfaction which accompanies such certainty in the popular mind is curious, but

¹ “The Life of His Royal Highness, the Prince Consort. By Theodore Martin. Vol. I. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

not inexplicable. A community of feeling with the high-born adds a dignity to plebeian virtue and generous feeling. It ennobles a bourgeois passion, when those who experience it are conscious that the same feeling has thrilled illustrious hearts. Doubtless the Queen and Mr. Martin have intended to emphasize this fact. It is therefore pleasant to read that the Prince wrote to the Duchess of Kent, Nov. 21st, 1839: "What you say about my poor little Bride sitting all alone in her room, silent and sad, has touched me to the heart. O that I might fly to her side to cheer her." Then again the Queen's letters to her husband, and about him, are to be found here, and are creditable to her as a woman and a Queen. The great influence which Baron Stockmar had over the Prince is fully indicated. How far such influence was desirable is a question which need not be discussed now. The correspondence printed between the Prince and the Baron is large and intimate. The Prince is sentimental, as a man may venture to be towards one to whom one's bride has written: "Albert won my heart, and all was settled between us this morning" (p. 40). And Stockmar is shrewd, far-seeing, and wise. To sum up the whole book, we may say that it is well written; it is scarcely necessary to say so much, for it is written by Mr. Theodore Martin. It is written with enthusiasm. This remark is also unnecessary, for it is written by command of the Queen. But what is its permanent value? What, we would ask, is the permanent value of the innumerable "Albert memorials" throughout the breadth and length of the land? There is scarcely a considerable town whose market-square does not contain the brazen effigy of a pawing steed, and the figure of the Prince Consort in well-balanced equestrian poise. We may be sure there will be no great library which does not also contain Mr. Martin's biography. And after all, what will the English people two hundred years hence think of the amiable German, who wrote a little music and drew a few pictures, and "wore the white flower of a blameless life," and had his biography written, "with portraits and views," by Mr. Theodore Martin, and was honoured with a splendid and barbaric mausoleum, and statues set up to awe a hundred towns, &c. &c.? They will think differently, we venture to say, from what the great majority of people think now. They will not ask very much for Mr. Martin's biography of the Prince Consort of England. They will read with tempered enthusiasm "Leaves from a Journal," and they will take that just view of the Prince's merit which we can only trust "posterity" to take.

Dr. Granville was a man who had seen many men and many nations, and his autobiography² is the record of an eventful life. He was born in 1783, his father was an Italian official, his mother an English lady. His family name was Bozzi, and he prided himself upon his descent from the aboriginal Italians. About the year 1800, he entered the University of Pavia, where he studied under Volta. His account of the earliest experiments which he witnessed is vividly told.

² "Autobiography of A. B. Granville, M.D., F.R.S." Edited by Paulina B. Granville. 2 vols. H. S. King & Co.

"I have had," he says, p. 44, "the good fortune of hearing Sir Humphry Davy, Gay-Lussac, Biot, Faraday, and Tyndall discourse on electricity; I have witnessed the decomposition of the alkaline salts and oxides by the same agency but how shall I describe the feeling which, in common with my fellow students in the class of experimental philosophy at Pavia, we experienced on the day when the immortal Volta, in our presence, called into being this mighty power?"

Science however did not long detain the gay doctor. In a short time we find him in the position of "*secondo amoroso*" in a Genoese company, with which he travelled through some parts of Italy. In 1803 he visited the Ionian Isles, where he acquired the modern Greek language, and the title of physician to the English Embassy at Constantinople. From thence he visited Greece, and records his impressions, more than seventy years old, of Ossa, Olympus, and Athens. At Gallipoli he took the plague, from which he soon recovered, and settling at Stamboul acquired the Turkish language. Shortly afterwards we find him in Spain, where he adopted the maternal name of Granville, a name which he ever afterwards bore. In 1807 he arrived in England and began the study of the English language. In this country he married and became acquainted with many celebrities, varying so widely as Mr. Legh Richmond, Blanco White, Sir Joseph Banks, and Madame de Staël. In 1814 Dr. Granville was in Italy again, and the same year he formed intimacies with Gay-Lussac and Baron Cuvier. Shortly after this he undertook the lectureship on chemistry in the medical school of St. George's Hospital. It is, however, impossible to trace in detail the whole of Dr. Granville's professional career in England. He was cosmopolitan both in his tastes and his acquaintances. The greatest names of the early part of this century were personally familiar to him. Mrs. Siddons, Sir Humphry Davy, Gérard, Cuvier, Viscount Palmerston, Theodore Hook, Joseph Bonaparte, Miss Martineau, Sir John Bowring, are persons with whom Dr. Granville was acquainted, and of whom he speaks with genial gossiping frankness. The latter part of his life was spent in England; it was occupied, as the greater portion of it had been, with questions of medical and social science. A previous residence in Russia brought him into close connexion with the Imperial family, and at the period of the Crimean War he wrote to Lord Palmerston, a medical opinion of the Emperor's health, the receipt of which Lord Palmerston was contented merely to acknowledge. Dr. Granville died two years ago, and this very interesting biography has been edited by his youngest daughter. There was scarcely a country and scarcely a language of Europe with which Dr. Granville was not familiar. An Italian by birth, he was an Englishman at heart; he was profoundly versed in the science of medicine, an accomplished man of the world, and clearly an earnest benevolent nature. As an author he held a facile pen, and writes in a style which carries the reader through pleasant ways of talk and sunny narration. The book is altogether one of the most charming instances of autobiography we have lately seen. Dr. Granville is a modern Herodotus, who travelled much and made notes, all of which

are worth reading. Moreover in reading them one learns to love the man who wrote them. We cordially commend the book.

A Life of Bossuet,³ by the author of "A Dominican Artist," and dedicated to Dr. Liddon, bears on its titlepage sufficient evidence of the line of thought which may be expected in the work. But Bossuet's life is well worth writing, and upon the whole the present volume is fairly well written. It is written, at least, *con amore*, and that is one point in its favour. The main outlines of the Bishop's life are known, although no popular biography is to be found either in French or English. He was born at Dijon in 1627, received his early education in the Jesuits' College at that place, and went from thence to Paris, where he came under the influence of Nicholas Cornet. He soon won a reputation as a preacher, especially of funeral sermons. In 1668, he became Bishop of Condom. His funeral discourse upon Henriette d'Angleterre, Duchess of Orleans, who died in the flower of her age, was a remarkable effort of oratory, and his sermon at the death of the great Condé is still regarded as a masterpiece in that species of eloquence. In habit and in creed he was ascetic. His contest with Fénelon is perhaps the most interesting event of his life to the historical student—much of this is touched upon in the present volume, and a separate volume will deal exclusively with the life of the Archbishop of Cambrai. The present work is, we need scarcely say, written from a Catholic point of view, but it would be unjust to deny the author a fair amount of literary ability and grace. Catholics, Roman or Anglican, will read the work with pleasure, and, it may be, profit; for all other classes of readers it is dull and unsatisfactory; the views are warped and perverted, the atmosphere is monastic, the prevailing tone is that of ascetic ecclesiasticism. Yet it is certainly the best life of the great French preacher which we have in English.

The name of Mrs. Gilbert⁴ will not probably awaken any distinct literary memory in the minds of most readers. She however belonged to a well-known family, the Taylors of Ongar; she was the sister of Sam. Taylor, and the present Autobiography passes over much of the ground occupied by the memoir of Jane Taylor, by her brother. Her grandfather, the first Isaac Taylor, was a brassfounder at Worcester. He entered the service of Josiah Jefferys of London, and distinguished himself as an engraver of crests and devices. Eventually he became secretary to the Royal Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain, from which sprang the Royal Academy. The second Isaac, son of the first, was the father of the subject of the present biography. The family were Nonconformists, and were brought into contact with many of the more eminent Nonconformists, as, for instance, the Condors. In 1796 her father entered the ministry; meanwhile the two sisters, Anne and Jane Taylor, paid their share of the family expenses by engraving. They were certainly remarkably clever and in-

³ "Bossuet, and his Contemporaries." By the Author of "A Dominican Artist." Rivingtons.

⁴ "Autobiography of Ann Taylor and other Memorials of Mrs. Gilbert." Edited by Josiah Gilbert. H. S. King & Co.

tellectual girls, with their minds fully open to all the best literary impressions. As authoresses they started by writing for "Minor's Pocket Book," in 1800, and subsequently they wrote much for that and other periodicals. In works for children they were eminently successful, receiving 20*l.* for the "Rhymes for the Nursery," a large sum for such work in those days. And here we may observe in passing, as the question of the authorship of the "Butterfly's Ball," has lately been warmly discussed in the pages of *Notes and Queries*, that Mr. Gilbert unhesitatingly assigns it to "Roscoe of Liverpool." Indeed she was one of the imitators of that popular *jeu d'esprit*, and was fairly successful with her "Wedding among the Flowers." About 1804, the receipt of the French news was anxiously awaited, and there are some letters here which quaintly describe the panic which seized even so quiet a family as the Taylors. At Colchester, an immediate attack of the French was anticipated.

"Heath is commanded to take twenty-five thousand loaves of six pounds each every fourth day; soldiery keep pouring in daily; the cavalry horses have not had their saddles off for several nights; the butter market is being walled up round; and General Craig is up early and late, indefatigable in his preparations."

In 1807 old Mr. Isaac Taylor died. He had taken an active part in Wilkes's election, and lost more than 1000*l.* in doing so. He had still sufficient money left to add materially to the comfort of Mrs. Gilbert's family. The autobiography breaks off shortly after this period, but other memorials are supplied by the editor. The estimate of Mrs. Gilbert's literary ability (ch. vi.), though partial, is a fair one, and does no more than justice to the grace and tenderness of some of her poems for children. Unquestionably, however, the book is too long. A vast portion of the second volume consists of family letters and family details which will not take the general reader. The Taylors are specimens of the best class of devout Nonconformists; but, even thus, it is a mistake to publish at great length private letters, immature verses, domestic diaries, and interminable details of retired life. One volume would have contained all, perhaps more than all, that we care to know about the amiable and affectionate lady whose name the book bears.

Our next biography suffers from another fault—it is too brief. The life of David Strauss,^a a life so noble and pure that its memory is dear to every lover of truth, may well be recorded at greater length than that of the short book before us. But the present volume is yet precious. It consists chiefly of personal recollections, and is based upon some few published notices. We catch glimpses of the great, grand figure of the earnest Swabian who wrote the "Life of Jesus." Of that work we do not care to speak critically now. To our minds it is based altogether upon a wrong theory. That is, however, immaterial to our estimate of the thinker who wrote it. To us it seems

^a "David Friedrich Strauss, in his Life and Writings." By E. Zeller. Authorized Translation. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

more than probable that the enlargement of our knowledge will make the Straussian theory less likely of acceptance than it is at present; but nothing can diminish the glory of the "bold writer who pitilessly analysed his subject with scientific coldness," and whose love of truth cost him the loss of position, family affection, and all that was dear to a nature so truly tender as was his. But when once his hand was laid to the plough, it was impossible for him to look back. Fearlessly into that which seemed darkness he ventured forth, and found solace in the great panacea, honest, truth-seeking work. Indeed, he needed a solace; for in 1839 he lost her whom he loved most—his mother. At Stuttgart, during this period, his life was exceedingly simple. The result of his retirement was the "Doctrine of Faith," which appeared in 1841. In 1842 he married Agnese Schebest, a highly-gifted lady, but one who was not calculated to make him happy; and after a union of five years, they were separated by mutual agreement. Two children remained to him, whose mental development became a source of increasing joy. In 1849 he resided at Munich, delighting in the art treasures there accessible, and in 1854 he settled at Heidelberg. Here he wrote the "Life of Ulrich von Hütten," of which we shall presently speak. In 1862 appeared his work on Hermann Samuel Reimarus, his most remarkable predecessor in the eighteenth century, wherein he gives a highly instructive account of that work of Reimarus (still unpublished as a whole) which Lessing took from the Wolfenbüttel fragments. A brief estimate of Strauss's controversial treatises, and his political views, leads up in the biography before us to his last great work, "The Old and New Faith: a Confession." How much that book disturbed minds in England we know well. There is something lion-like in the language with which he dedicated it to an old friend of his youth:—

"Vixi et quem cursum dederat fortuna, peregi. Quod injunctum mihi a numine erat ut profiterer neque homines celarem, professus sum: sermonem quasi meum a primo jam usque ad ultimum verbum recitavi. Non ultra dices, quando moriar, debitorem me æqualium aut nostralium esse morituro. Quæ habebam, cum eis communicavi; libellus hic quidquid supererat continet."

In six months six large editions of this work appeared, to which a seventh has now been added, a success without parallel in the history of German theological literature. He was not long to enjoy the renown which this "Confession" brought him. In 1873 the malady of which he was to die made its appearance. It grew rapidly, and deprived him of physical peace and rest; it could not conquer his moral strength and greatness. A few weeks before he died he wrote some exquisite lines, in which he compared his failing life to an expiring light and a fading sound. We have not the original before us, and the translation does not do them even approximate justice; so we shall not quote them. He died one day in February of last year, in his son's arms. He was buried with no ecclesiastical ceremonial, but amidst the tears of all who had known him. There was no tolling of bells to tell that he had passed; but, at his own request, the hearts of the poor were gladdened by the distribution of alms in

his name. We said above that this biography was too brief. Indeed, we might well linger over the records of the life of Strauss, but our complaint shall be withdrawn. The book is an admirable specimen of biographical art. It has reticence and dignity. It is free from the gossip which characterizes commonplace lives, and the morbid details which are retailed of commonplace deaths. It is a worthy memorial of a simple life. It stands apart, like the Autobiography of, John Stuart Mill, from other works of a similar kind, by its solemnity and earnestness. The translation is good, except in the case of the verses, of which a few are given. But short as the volume is, the portrait of Strauss stands out with a clearness which a larger book in feebler hands would fail to give. Other portraits may furnish fuller traits; they will not supersede the bold and loving limning of Eduard Zeller.

Mrs. Sturge is quite right in believing that Strauss's "*Life of Ulrich von Hütten*,"⁶ a name frequently mentioned in connexion with the Reformation, is a valuable contribution to the history of the period with which it deals. The work appeared first in the autumn of 1857, and a second edition in 1871. It is this second edition which Mrs. Sturge has translated. In choosing Hütten as the subject of literary work, Strauss chose well. He chose it as a consolation for himself, in a season of despondency and reaction, the reaction which followed the miscarriage of popular hopes in Germany after 1848. The work is based upon the comprehensive and accurate study of all trustworthy sources, and traces the development, career, and fate of the man. In his preface to the second edition, Strauss tells the story of the origin of the book. "I cried," he says, "is there no Hütten here? And because there was none among the living, I undertook to revive the image of the dead, and to place it before the eyes of the German people." With regard to the book itself, it was not without effect. It contains a full account of the vigorous part which Von Hütten (the translator always calls him Hutten) took in the Reformation, and of his connexion with Melancthon, Luther, and Erasmus, and it is deeply tinged with the colour under which Strauss regarded all theological questions. Hütten attracted Strauss by his indomitable desire for free human development, by his gallant and valiant nature; and it was this which made him single out Hütten as the great hero of the Reformation. He could never bring himself to write a biography of Luther, which, by the desire of Gervinus, he had intended to succeed the present work. Mrs. Sturge's translation has abridged even the abridged second edition of the original biography, but she has been successful in retaining everything of importance, and in preserving the picturesque character of the narrative.

The biography of Dr. Rowland Williams,⁷ chiefly known as one of the Oxford essayists and reviewers, exhibits the difficulties which surround a clergyman of the Established Church who attempts to win

⁶ "*Ulrich von Hütten*." By D. F. Strauss. Translated by Mrs. G. Sturge. London: Daldy Brothers & Co.

⁷ "*The Life and Letters of Rowland Williams, D.D.*" Edited by his Wife, Henry S. King & Co. 2 vols.

for himself liberty in the direction of free thought. If the present volume, written by loving and capable hands, dwells with too personal affection upon the character of its subject, the sin will be forgiven by the reader. Whilst an Established Church exists, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of its containing within its limits honest, truth-seeking men like Dr. Williams. They mitigate sectarian narrowness, they put bigotry into the shade, and, perhaps, better than all, they prepare the way for a happier time, wider views, and a freer, fresher atmosphere, which shall circulate in later days amongst minds equally devout. The life of the rector of Broadchalk was not an eventful life. He was born the son of a Welsh clergyman, and was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. In these places he won a respectable reputation as a scholar and man of letters. In 1850 he returned to Wales as Principal of Lampeter College. He found the College at a low ebb both of learning and popularity, and devoted himself to the hard task of raising it in efficiency. In this he more than succeeded. His personal influence was great, his lectures were marked by a generosity of judgment and a freedom from prejudice which attracted immensely the Welsh students, who were accustomed to the narrowness of evangelical fervour. Many of his students in the present biography bear grateful testimony to the suggestive nature of his intercourse with them. In February, 1860, appeared the "Essays and Reviews." The history of that really unimportant volume is now well known. Unfortunately for Dr. Williams, it caused him much trouble and persecution. One of the earliest articles which directed attention to the Essays, was, Mrs. Williams says, a paper in this *Review*, entitled "Neo-Christianity." Mrs. Williams adds:—

"By its injurious perversions of the Essays, its bitter sarcasm, and its unseemly tone of jubilation at what it assumed to be the scepticism of their authors, this article contributed to fan the smouldering fire to a great flame."

Mrs. Williams continues:—

"It enlarged much on the negative tendencies of the book, insinuated that the necessary logical deductions from admissions made by the writers would not allow of their stopping where they did, welcomed them as friends, *i.e.*, in other words, claimed them as atheists, but found fault with their timidity in not having gone still further, and declared themselves infidels at once."

Whether the *Westminster* was unfair, sarcastic or jubilant, we need not stop to discuss with Mrs. Williams. The reviewers and essayists maintained a dignified silence. In his private journal of Feb. 19, 1861, Rowland Williams made the following entry:—

"Essays and Reviews" are now lighting a candle. Lord God of Latimer and Ridley, cause this light never more to be quenched in England and Wales."

There is something especially touching in Rowland Williams's affection for his native country. Wales was always near his heart, and in all his work, and in all his trouble he never forgot her. The difficulties which followed the publication of "Essays and Reviews,"

gathered round him thick and fast. The trials which he experienced were much mitigated by the sympathy of friends, such as Ewald and his pupils of Lampeter. When the appeal to the Privy Council resulted in a reversal of the judgment against *Essays and Reviews*, he received the news with excessive thankfulness, and henceforth devoted himself to the duties of a parish priest at Broadchalk. He died in 1870, and the deep grief of his own people was indescribable. "We never heard such sermons," they said, "and we never shall again." The book is interesting to those who wish to follow the history of thought in the English Church. It has the pardonable fault of biographies written by relatives—it is somewhat too much of a family record. From a literary point of view it is reputable, and gives upon the whole a fair portrait of a man whose name may be placed high amongst the champions of truth and freedom.

Mrs. Butler's pleasantly written memoir of her father has reached a second edition.* It is a work worthy a wide circulation, both as a history of the progress which has been made in the science of agriculture, and also as giving the picture of a brave and honest English gentleman, by whose moral and professional influence the Border country was especially benefited. The value of the first edition was so clearly recognised in Italy that it has been translated into Italian by Signor Minghetti, Prime Minister of Italy. Perhaps the portion which deals with the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 is the most interesting, but the whole memoir is good, both from a literary and a historical point of view.

Mr. Hudson's *Life of John Holland* is a good specimen of bad biography.† In the first place there has been no sufficient call for a long biography, extending to 600 pages, of John Holland. Mr. Holland was the friend of Mr. J. Montgomery, and his claims to permanent attention rest, so far as Mr. Hudson sets them forth, upon a small basis. Mr. Hudson is, we learn from his preface, an itinerant Wesleyan Methodist, and the task of his writing this book has been both "heavy and protracted." It would have been better for Mr. Hudson, and also for his readers, if he had both lightened and shortened his labours. He has thrown together without much order or ability a "heavy" mass of details, without interest and without significance. He has raked up from defunct provincial newspapers every poem with which Mr. Holland supplied them; he remorselessly and monotonously dilates upon the circumstances which led to it, and he often prints the poem in full. After having dogged Mr. Holland through life, and described him in death, he has still room for a few concluding remarks, of which the following are specimens:—

"Mr. Holland had not an exact acquaintance with any other language than his own, but his vocabulary has, it is believed, more than an average comprehensiveness." "He composed sermons which have been delivered from

* "Memoir of John Grey of Dilston." By his daughter, Josephine Butler, Revised Edition. H. S. King & Co.

† "The Life of John Holland." By W. Hudson. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

pulpits of the Church of England." "His contributions to the newspapers on matters of local interest were numerous and extensive."

And Mr. Hudson actually adds :—

"His poems are probably equal in extent to the whole of Shakspeare's works; his letters were more numerous and comprehensive than those of Cowper." "Mr. Holland's usual place of worship was the Wesleyan chapel in Carver Street, where he attended the morning service with great regularity."

We have said enough to show the character of Mr. Hudson's work; we will conclude by adopting his own style. Mr. Hudson's book is probably equal in extent to the whole of the works of Herodotus and Thucydides together, it is written with a circumstantial dulness and a prolixity which are as unprovoked as they are pitiless.

Mr. Yeatman has some newly invented theories of the origin of English law.¹⁰ His views he tells us are wholly at variance with those of any of our lawyers, whether of the past or the present time, and he has been compelled to travel out of the region of law in which he was more versed, and to "dabble" in that of history. And very curious in some points the dabbling of Mr. Yeatman has been. He has a horror of everything German. When he comes to discuss the question of the Teutonic origin of the English people, the English language, or English customs, he works himself up into a frenzy of indignation. Some reviewer said of a former work by Mr. Yeatman, that his language was "lively and vigorous." This we learn from a flyleaf in the present volume, and we are at one with the earlier reviewer. The following language is, we venture to think, especially lively. In speaking of the early English, Mr. Yeatman says (p. 58) :—

"Every foreign word which the early German savages abused and brutalized, and which we obtained directly from Rome, or Rome from us, has been claimed [by the Germans] as genuine; and even when it is pure Celtic, it has been labelled Teutonic, for the benefit of our innocent universities."

And this (page 60) :—

"To Germans is still confided the task of teaching our youth the science of comparative philology, a science which is yet in its infancy, an infancy of poor promise, since the unhappy offspring is tortured like a Chinese mandarin. Its poor feet are boxed up in impossible bottines, whilst, far worse, the head is squared to the dwarfed intellectual theories of the Germans."

And how vigorous is the following :—

"One is disgusted with the impertinence of the comparisons drawn between our universities and those of the Continent—comparisons, of course, greatly in favour of German institutions. . . . What is wanted in addition to the present routine [of the English universities] is a chair for the study of British literature, laws, and language, including a proper attention to all the Celtic dialects, the English, Welsh, Gaelic, Erse, and Manx, as well as the study of the ancient Gallic, the Breton, &c. The idea of studying the Teutonic or the Indian languages is as absurd as if a chair were to be created for the study of the lingo of the Christy Minstrels" (p. 65).

¹⁰ "An Introduction to the Study of Early English History." By J. P. Yeatman, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Mr. Yeatman's theories are no less lively and vigorous than his language. He says (p. 63):—"It is questionable whether Sanscrit or Latin were ever spoken languages." German blood, he declares, is infinitely inferior to English or Danish. "From whence comes it none can tell. We only know that it was execrated as something vile and horrible by the aristocracy of the old world, and it is an undoubted fact that every atom of literary remains which the Germans claim to possess, is annexed from their neighbours the Danes" (p. 232). It would be absurd to argue with Mr. Yeatman: the mention of Old High German would be perilous; to refer to the great writers in Middle High German, to Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gottfried von Strassburg, Walther von der Vogelweide would be fatal. We shall therefore only add for the information of those who are pleased with Mr. Yeatman's "vigorous and lively style," and admire his "dabblings" in history, that there is much more of the same kind to follow, and that he has a big book on the history of Common Law in the press, which may be obtained for the price of two guineas, bound in cloth.

Mr. Trotter's *History of India*,¹¹ is creditable alike to the author and the Society under whose auspices it has been published. It is popular, full, and complete, and the style in which it is written makes it the best handbook for the student which has come before us. Both in arrangement and in scholarly treatment it resembles the historical handbooks which have been issued under the editorship of Dr. W. Smith, and will bear comparison with the best of them. It is divided into six books, corresponding to the great epochs of Indian history, and brings the narrative down to the latest period. It is a history to which the highest praise may be awarded—namely, that of having adequately accomplished its design.

Mr. Barton's little work on Bengal¹² is a well written account of an important portion of our Indian empire. It gives a very full account of the physical peculiarities, the products, and traditions of the district, and deals at some length with the characteristics and religious beliefs of the natives. It is in every way eminently readable, and the chapter upon the effects of British rule is judicial and significant. The progress of education in the Presidency seems, upon the whole, to be estimated favourably, though there is still much to be desired. The progress of female education is backward, owing, it appears, to the old superstitious notion that a girl taught to read and write soon becomes a widow. The poverty of the people is also a hindrance, which in course of time it is to be hoped will be removed.

Sir George Lawrence's *Reminiscences*¹³ of forty-three years' service

¹¹ "History of India." By L. J. Trotter. Published under the direction of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

¹² "Bengal." By J. A. G. Barton. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons.

¹³ "Reminiscences of Forty-three Years in India." By Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Lawrence, K.C.S.I. Edited by W. Edwards, H.M.B.C.S. London: John Murray.

in India forms a work of sad but profound interest. The Cabul disasters and the mutinies in Rajpootana lose little of their horror, though now looked back upon through a distance. The present book has been compiled by the editor from Sir George's letters and diaries, and forms a vivid history of the distressing period to which it refers. Sir George had full opportunity of being acquainted with the views and policy of his friend and chief, and the description of the murder of Sir W. Macnaughten and the treachery of Mahomed Akbar is feelingly given (p. 124). Subsequently, Sir George was sent as a hostage to the Affghans, and attended many of their deliberations. His narrative of these events and of the misery which the war inflicted upon our soldiers is heartrending. In 1846 General Lawrence held the chief political authority at Peshawur, and by his tact and energy kept to their allegiance a whole company of Sikh troops. When they mutinied and he was made a prisoner, they still trusted him, and communicated through him with the British Government. The remaining portion of the diaries relates to the rebellion at Rajpootana. Through all the sickening details of war and misery which we find in this record, one thing above all else shines forth—that lofty grandeur of indomitable integrity, which we have learnt to associate with the name of the Indian Lawrences. This, if nothing else, should recommend the small book to the general reader.

The fact that Dr. Lang's *History of New South Wales*¹⁴ has reached a fourth edition, is in itself some testimony to the value of the work. The first volume, which contains an admirable map of the country, gives a chronological sketch of the colony under the successive governors from Governor Phillip to Governor Young. The second volume deals with the physical, social, and agricultural characteristics of New South Wales. The book is certainly valuable, not only for those who may have to deal politically with the government of the country, but for all intending emigrants. Scarcely anywhere else could they find so much information of all kinds relating to the colony compendiously arranged. The self-complacent garrulity with which the author writes is not offensive in an old man. Other literary peculiarities of Dr. Lang are equally amusing and harmless; as, for instance, his curious use of italics. One debt of gratitude to him, however, no reader of these volumes will repudiate—namely, that which is due to him for having reprinted the lines by Mr. Lynd addressed to the party proceeding on the track of Dr. Leichhardt. We are glad of this opportunity of drawing attention to them, for they are worthy of being included in any English elegiac anthology.

Mr. Lindsay¹⁵ has attempted a great task in essaying to write the history of Merchant Shipping; but we may say that as far as the first two volumes (which alone have yet appeared) are concerned, it is a

¹⁴ "Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales." By J. D. Lang, D.D. Two vols. Fourth Edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle.

¹⁵ "History of Mercantile Shipping and Ancient Commerce." By W. S. Lindsay. Four vols. Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle.

successful essay. Mr. Lindsay begins very far back, indeed, so far back as Noah's Ark, the difficulty connected with which he does not attempt to evade. He points out that "this great ship is described in Scripture as having been three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height or depth—dimensions corresponding very nearly with those of the most improved models of the sailing vessels of the present day." He estimates her registered tonnage at 15,000 tons. He does not, however, dwell much upon this ancient vessel, which he suspects to have been "simply a raft of stupendous size, bearing on it a structure of the above dimensions," but passes on to a later period, where our information is more technical. His first volume brings the history of the mercantile marine down to 1500. We must especially mention the great light which the author throws upon the vexed question of the working of the ancient triremes, and we commend to classical scholars still in doubt the ninth chapter of the first volume which deals with the subject. The second volume brings the history down to the modern period, and is appropriately illustrated with a large plan of the Liverpool and Birkenhead Docks.

Mr. Sampson's *History of Advertising*¹⁶ is one of the most amusing books which have been issued by Messrs. Chatto and Windus. The author in a modest preface deprecates the reviewer's critical judgment. Such judgment could not be unfavourable. With evident labour in a comparatively unworked field Mr. Sampson has compiled an excellent history of the various forms which the great art of advertising has assumed. The first delusion which Mr. Sampson dispels, is the notion that the art is a modern one. Here are to be found the Pompeian inscriptions *Villa bona, beneque edificata*—a good and well-built house for sale. Here too are the advertisements of John Houghton, F.R.S., the father of modern advertisers, who in 1692 issued such notices as:—

"If any young man that plays well on the violin, and writes a good hand desires a clerkship, I can help him to 20*l.* a year.

"If I can meet with a sober man that has a counter-tenor voice, I can help him to a place worth 30*l.* the year or more.

"I want a genteel footman, that can play on the violin, to wait on a person of honour."

Not only the history of advertising but the curiosities are duly recorded. Cryptographs are made plain, swindles and hoaxes are set forth, quacks and impostors are exposed. A large collection of American and Colonial extravagances brings the book to a conclusion.

We pass on to the German books which have reached us this quarter. Herr Wachsmuth's¹⁷ account of the City of Athens is a critical and exhaustive research into the ancient topography of that place. All the passages in classic writers containing topographical references to the various localities of the city are brought together, and by the aid of modern research a clear picture of the ancient sites is, so far as pos-

¹⁶ "A History of Advertising, from the Earliest Times." By Henry Sampson. Chatto and Windus.

¹⁷ "Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum." Von Cirt. Wachsmuth. Erster Band. Leipzig: G. B. Teubner.

sible, worked out. The book has at present gone no further than the first volume, which is to be followed by a second containing an index. Without this the first volume is both awkward and difficult to refer to. It contains more than 700 closely printed pages and innumerable references.

Dr. Brandes's¹⁸ short treatise on Ancient Oriental History deals with the Assyrian canon of royal names, and with the chronology of the double line of Hebrew Kings. With regard to the Kings of Judah, Dr. Brandes thinks that he has definitely established their dates, and in the line of the Kings of Israel, he thinks that the chronology is likewise established to the time when Menahem ascended the throne. The third paper endeavours to set Egyptian dates upon a correcter basis. In his preface Dr. Brandes says: "I have not the honour of being either Ægyptologist or Assyriologist. I am a historian, and for historians my essays are designed."

One of the most interesting German works we have received is Dr. Otto Henne Am-Rhyn's *German popular traditions*.¹⁹ It is an attempt to group together such stories as spring from the superstitious beliefs of the various Teutonic races, and to classify them. More than a thousand local traditions, some little known, are grouped under their respective heads. Thus popular stories about animals are brought together from various parts of Germany, and referred to the "Animal Saga," with which they clearly have connexion. Stories of elves, dwarfs, giants, and fairies become intelligible when the legends of various districts are classified according to their subject; the threads are unravelled into a cord, whose significance may become important to historians. To take one instance. Near Brecknock, in South Wales, there is a large lake known as Llyn Llangors. Local tradition has long declared that under this lake lies a drowned city. The boatman on clear evenings sees far down the gleaming spires of churches and the shining roofs of houses. Upon occasions, too, he hears the vesper bell. Amongst the stories which Herr Rhyn has collected is one in reference to this lake. How that a Welsh peasant saw often upon its banks graceful ladies, who danced till midnight, and then plunged beneath the waves. How three times he rushed towards them and heard them say: "Had he done this he would have taken one of us." How he did take one of them and led her home as his bride, and how she made him a faithful and obedient wife, until when he treated her with harshness, she too returned to her home in the lake of Llangors. So far we are in the land of legend. But the curious thing is that within the last few years numerous traces have been found of a large lake city in Llangors Lake, showing clearly that it has certainly been the site of one of those lake towns whose ruins have been so fruitfully investigated in Switzerland and elsewhere. Unfortunately the author of this work is dead. For years he had devoted himself to

¹⁸ "Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients im Alterthum." Von Dr. Heinr. Brandes. Halle: Lippertsche Buchhandlung.

¹⁹ "Die Deutsche Volksage, Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie." Von Dr. Otto Henne Am-Rhyn. Leipzig: Krieger.

the collection of legends and traditions, to assist in the interpretation of popular superstitions. The present volume is a worthy memorial of his industry, and will be of supreme assistance to those who pursue the subject in the future.

Dr. Doetsch's²⁰ Monograph on Juvenal, as the *Censor morum* of his time, endeavours to show how closely the moral condition of Juvenal's age was bound up with the political events of the time. From the scattered hints in the works of the satirist, and such others as were at a hand, the author has endeavoured to depict clearly and as a whole the chief traits of that degraded period. Dr. Doetsch has dismissed the question of the genuineness of any of the satires, and has based his conclusions upon premises drawn from the sixteen satires attributed to Juvenal.

Dr. Wittstock's "Lexicon,"²¹ or "Treasury" of the biographies of self-instructed men may form a useful and practical incitement to industry amongst German students desirous of improving themselves. The first number, which gets as far as the letter B, includes a great number of sketches of the lives of men who were born in an obscure position, and who yet by their own exertions attained to wealth or fame. Amongst them we find our classical friends Æschines and Æsop, Christian Andersen, and Audubon. The stories are told concisely, and are accompanied with moral observations and hortatory precepts, which cannot but prove useful to the lagging student. In other respects the book is fairly good reading.

Herr Virchow,²² in one of the brief tracts belonging to the series of 'Popular Scientific Tracts,' deals with the question of the original population of Europe. This population he assigns to the Stone period, and he seems likewise inclined to ascribe to them a date not less than three thousand years before historical times.

In the brief space remaining at our disposal, it is impossible for us to deal worthily with the valuable work on ancient Latin,²³ which Mr. Wordsworth has recently published. In the humility of the preface and the learning of the copious notes, the true scholar is equally visible. The first portion of the book consists of an exhaustive grammatical introduction to early Latin. This is followed by fragments and inscriptions; but the greatest value of the book is in the notes that occupy many closely printed pages. Mr. Wordsworth was, as his mention of the late professor implies, one of that band of younger scholars who gathered round Professor Conington. The composition of the present book has been saddened by the remembrance of his great loss. From those who loved Professor Conington have come the best recent works

²⁰ "Juvenal, ein Sittenrichter seiner Zeit." Von Dr. P. Doetsch. Leipzig: Engelmann.

²¹ "Autodidakten-Lexikon." Von Dr. A. Wittstock. Leipzig: Meitzel. Lieferung I.

²² "Die Urbewölkerung Europas." Von R. Virchow. Berlin: Sammlung gemeinverständlicher, wissenschaftlicher Vorträge. Heft 193. Lüderitz'sche. Verlagsbuchhandlung.

²³ "Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin." With Introduction and Notes. By John Wordsworth, M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

on Latin scholarship in the University of Oxford, and Mr. Wordsworth's "Fragments" is a good specimen, perhaps the best, of that real Latin scholarship which the late professor not only possessed, but was able to communicate to others.

Mr. Crawley, the translator of Thucydides,²⁴ devotes his preface, somewhat fatuously, to the thesis that, in spite of Mr. Cobden, Thucydides is really worth more than a file of the *Times* newspaper. If we take this for granted, and proceed to Mr. Crawley's translation itself, we shall fail to see any superlative excellence in his rendering. It is better printed it is true than Dale's in the Bohn series, and for those who wish a luxuriously edited translation it is preferable. But upon the whole, for those who could not read the original, Dale's was adequate. Some time ago Mr. Crawley published a translation of the first book. Nobody, he says, took the least notice of his labours, he had not even the satisfaction of hearing them abused. Undeterred by this neglect, he has concluded his self-imposed task. We will not abuse his later labours. On the contrary, Mr. Crawley's English runs well, and we have read some of the speeches with admiration. We think that perhaps his translation may prove a competitor with Dale's for public favour. It certainly looks better upon a bookshelf, and is a patient, scholarly work.

We need only notice Herr Seyerlens' French course²⁵ for German students, as it has already reached an eleventh edition. It is based upon the same principles as are the similar works of Dr. Ahn, and has the advantage of being both cheap and complete.

The three latest volumes, published by the authority of the Lords of the Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, are named below^{26 27 28}. The most interesting is perhaps that by Mr. Stubbs, who has given several versions of the life and ridiculous miracles of St. Dunstan. Whether from such material as he has amassed a true life of the saint can be elaborated, seems to us uncertain; the material, as it stands, is a congeries of superstition and absurdity, pitiable enough to draw tears from an angel's starry eyes. The three chronicles are of course well edited.

²⁴ "The History of the Peloponnesian War." By Thucydides. Translated by R. Crawley. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

²⁵ "Elementarbuch der französischen Sprache." Von J. Seyerlens. Elfte Auflage. Stuttgart.

²⁶ "Calendar of State Papers." Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth. 1569-1571. Edited by A. J. Crossby.

²⁷ "Chronicon Angliæ." 1828-1838. Edited by E. M. Thompson.

²⁸ "Memorials of St. Dunstan." Edited by W. Stubbs, M.A.

Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans and Co.

BELLES LETTRES.

NOT profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for edification, for building up or elevating in any shape! The sick heart will find no healing here, the darkly struggling heart no guidance, the heroic that is in all men, no divine awakening." Thus wrote Carlyle of the *Waverley Novels*. What Carlyle would say to our present novels we will not undertake to say. To even review them is a difficult matter, for as the ancient philosopher observed, it is no easy thing to stick soft cheese on a hook. Their dulness is their security. One novel, however, has at all events marked the past year. "Far from the Madding Crowd" stands to all contemporary novels precisely as "Adam Bede" did to all other novels some sixteen years ago. In fact, when the first chapters of Mr. Hardy's story appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* many good judges pronounced it to be a work of George Eliot's. Nor was their critical sagacity so very far wide of the mark. Mr. Hardy has not reached the splendid heights which George Eliot has attained, nor sounded her spiritual depths, but his new work will certainly in many other respects bear favourable comparison with "Adam Bede." And there are many obvious points of comparison. George Eliot in that story dealt with the farming class in the North Midlandshire Counties. Mr. Hardy has taken his characters from the same class in the Western Counties. There is no imitation on Mr. Hardy's part, but if we may use the word in no invidious sense, a challenge. George Eliot has introduced into her story a number of rustic scenes, notably a harvest home. Mr. Hardy has replied also with a number of rustic scenes, but most prominently with a sheep-shearing supper. George Eliot has made one of her chief characters a young squire, an officer in the militia. Mr. Hardy also has introduced a soldier, but he has in this instance avoided George Eliot's failure. George Eliot's Arthur Donnithorne is a simple impossibility. No man in his position could have acted in the way in which he behaved to Hetty after seducing her. Sergeant Troy's conduct to Fanny Robin is at least consistent with his character and bearing. Arthur Donnithorne, on the other hand, is represented as not only a man of high social position in his county, but a gentleman in feeling, yet he acts like a cur. Men in the army are not very squeamish about seduction, but Arthur Donnithorne would have been scouted by his brother officers for his base desertion of Hetty. Mr. Hardy at least has steered clear of this mistake. Sergeant Troy is simply what he is represented. He has no higher morals than most privates in the army. His character is fairly revealed to us on his first introduction in the fir wood with Bathsheba. We are more fully introduced to him afterwards, especially in the drunken orgie in the barn. His subsequent behaviour is all in keeping. In one other respect, too, Mr.

¹ "Far from the Madding Crowd." By Thomas Hardy. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1874.

Hardy has shown better judgment than George Eliot. In both stories there is a reprieve-scene. Every one will remember the melodramatic scene in "Adam Bede" of Arthur Donnithorne arriving at the last moment waving a reprieve in his hand. Mr. Hardy has not fallen into this absurdity. But the fault of "Far from the Madding Crowd" is undoubtedly its sensationalism. We are not so well acquainted with Mr. Hardy's previous writings as to entitle us to speak with perfect confidence, but as far as we can remember they were distinguished for their pastoral tone and idyllic simplicity rather than for violent sensationalism. At all events sensationalism was a secondary element. But in "Far from the Madding Crowd" sensationalism is all in all. If we analyse the story we shall find that it is nothing else but sensationalism, which, in the hands of a less skilful writer than Mr. Hardy, would simply sink the story to the level of one of Miss Braddon's earlier performances. Take the career of Gabriel Oak, who is the least sensational of the chief characters. He loses the whole of his property in a sensation scene of two or three hundred sheep being driven by a dog over a precipice. He finds his mistress in a sensation scene of blazing ricks. He regains her estimation in another sensation scene of thunder and lightning in the same rick-yard. So the story progresses in a succession of sensation scenes. But sensation scenes are no more Mr. Hardy's strong point than they are George Eliot's. The scene in which Troy woos Bathsheba with his sword is a piece of mad extravagance, fit only for the boards of some transpontine theatre. The whole chapter is simply a burlesque upon the cavalier poet's lines, "I'll make thee famous by my pen, and glorious by my sword." Mr. Hardy has not done this, but only made the one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Of course Mr. Hardy has had good reasons for dealing us such a dose of sensation. He knows what true art is, but he prefers in this story at least to give his readers a bastard substitute. As we have already hinted, many comparisons may be found between "Far from the Madding Crowd" and "Adam Bede." We have already touched upon the question of seduction and the conduct of the two seducers. Sergeant Troy, we must say, is far more true to life than Arthur Donnithorne, who is one of George Eliot's failures. Again a comparison might be made between Adam Bede and Gabriel Oak. Here, again, we think that Mr. Hardy's character, making allowance for the sensation scenes, is truer to nature. Adam Bede is, if we may use the expression, too much infected with self-consciousness. George Eliot has, by the wealth of her language, and a certain pomp of diction, rather overdone him. We are inclined to say, was there really ever a working-man like Adam Bede? This we never ask about Gabriel Oak. We thoroughly sympathize with him and pity him, and we must say that he deserved a far better woman for a wife than such a vain and selfish creature as Bathsheba Everdene. And this brings us to the heroine of Mr. Hardy's story. Upon her he has lavished all his skill. She may for a moment be compared, not from any resemblance, but by way of contrast, with Hetty Sorrel. The famous incident of the looking-glass by-the-bye is repeated with a slight variation by Mr. Hardy. There is, however, not the least

ground for accusing Mr. Hardy of plagiarism. The incident is common enough. We have seen not only precisely the same scene which Mr. Hardy describes, but have known farm servant-girls take bits of glass out of their pockets and admire themselves in the market-place. Human nature is the same in every rank of life. Ladies have looking-glasses let into their fans and prayer-books, and poor girls carry broken bits in their pockets. The looking-glass is still *civilis sarcina belli*. But to return. Both Hetty and Bathsheba are represented as pretty and vain. But their prettiness and vanity are of two very different kinds. And in her description of the charms of Hetty's prettiness, George Eliot shows herself far more of a poet than Mr. Hardy. Mr. Hardy tells us that Bathsheba was beautiful, and gives us an idea of what her beauty was, but he does not paint it with the same feeling with which George Eliot paints Hetty's face. But neither beauty nor vanity are the key to Bathsheba's character. Whatever Mr. Hardy may wish us to think of his heroine, the one leading trait of her character, and of all such characters, is at the bottom—selfishness. She plays fast and loose with poor Gabriel Oak. She blows hot and cold upon Farmer Boldwood. She flirts with Oak in the most heartless manner. She sends Boldwood a valentine with the words "Marry Me" on the seal. Her very selfishness makes her wayward and inconstant. When she is entrapped by Sergeant Troy with his scarlet coat and his vulgar love-making we feel no pity for her. She never really cared a straw for Troy. She was fascinated by his swagger and his flattery. Her behaviour, however, at his death seems to us most inexplicable, and is the only part of her history which is out of drawing. It is open to grave objections. In all other respects she is described with great skill. She is hard and mercenary. When she at last marries Gabriel Oak we feel, whatever Mr. Hardy may intend to the contrary, that she marries him not from any admiration of his nobility of character, but simply because he will manage her farm and keep her money together. Bathsheba is the character of the book, and Mr. Hardy may be proud of having drawn such a character. But she is a character not to be admired, as he would seem to intimate. We have left ourselves no space to dwell upon the individual merits of "Far from the Madding Crowd." We must briefly repeat that it will bear favourable comparison with "Adam Bede" for its humour, its power of description, and character-drawing. This is high praise, but we give it not without due deliberation. Some of the faults, especially the sensationalism, we have mentioned. There are others which seem to be due to George Eliot's influence—a use of a semi-scientific phraseology and a striving after profundity of meaning. As Mr. Hardy has followed George Eliot in her defects, we hope he will imitate her in another direction—not write too fast.

Miss Braddon² has effected a complete change of front. So the critics inform us. And the critics take the change to their own credit. They have reformed Miss Braddon. They have changed her heart, and

² "Lost for Love." A Novel. By the Author of "Lady Audley's Secret." London: Chatto and Windus. 1874.

her writings. Softened by the entreaties of her critics, she has put away from her all wickedness. She has renounced the detective and the titled, blonde-haired Siren. She has put from her bigamy and wells. The critics are in a state of high rejoicing. They will next probably reclaim "Ouida." We wish we could rejoice with our brother-critics. For our part we believe that criticism has a very slight effect on novelists. By this time Miss Braddon must be critic-proof. She has certainly made a change, but we dare not flatter ourselves that this has been effected by the virtuous remonstrances of her critics. The facts are quite the reverse. The more the critics stormed and raved the better Miss Braddon's novels sold. We certainly are not going to trouble ourselves to invent any theory as to the cause of her change. We believe, however, that it will be of very short duration. Miss Braddon can no more do without bigamy and detectives than an old actress can do without paint and rouge. Still we congratulate her on her new attempt. If she possessed any wit, humour, fancy, or grace of style she might succeed.

Mr. Francillon gave promise of so much in his "Pearl and Emerald," that we expected much more than we find in "Olympia." Mr. Francillon cannot be dull, and "Olympia" cannot be accused of dullness. The third volume is decidedly the best. Mr. Francillon's originality is here more clearly seen than in the former volumes. We cannot say that we care much for the Major with his Irish brogue and his Bohemian manners, but the adventures of Olympia in her disguise are decidedly amusing. Firefly, too, is a most original actress, and her philosophy of love is worth studying. "Life," Firefly thinks, "means getting all one can out of everybody," a maxim, however, not confined to actresses. The Phoenix Theatre and the Shakespeare Tavern with their frequenters are described with life-like touches. But Mr. Francillon can do more than sketch mere surfaces. Some of his remarks are shrewd and subtle. Thus in speaking of Gerald Westwood's love for two such opposite natures as Olympia and Firefly, or "The Fly," as she was called by her admirers, he says: "Men mostly must look down, or at least fancy they look down, in order to love in the grand style;" and then he continues, "How could he give the protecting love of a man to the girl whose head was always enveloped in clouds that he could not fathom, and whose heart was always bursting with desires that he could not comprehend?" Rochefoucauld has put this theory into one of his epigrammatic sentences, "We love those who admire us, but not those whom we admire;" and in another place the same cynic observes that we can have no true friendship for those whom we esteem more than we do ourselves. We believe Rochefoucauld is quite right with regard to weak natures, the sort of natures which, by the way, Rochefoucauld only knew. And Mr. Francillon has shown his knowledge of Gerald Westwood's character when he adds, "He must look up to Olympia, but Firefly looked up to him. To the first he was still the child of her own childhood: to the other he was a man and a

³ "Olympia." A Romance. By R. E. Francillon, Author of "Earl's Dene," "Pearl and Emerald," &c. &c. London: Grant and Co. 1874.

hero. To love the first was a duty, to love the second was a joy." Natures like Gerald Westwood's hate duty. In parting with "Olympia" let us give a word of praise to Oscar the bear, who is so admirable a detective that he can tell a young lady when dressed in man's clothes.

"Cicely" may be described as a novel full of bright social talk:—

"Quando conveniunt Maria, Camilla, Sybilla,
Sermonem faciunt et ab hoc et ab hac et ab illâ."

We have pleasant glimpses of foreign life, foreign manners, and foreign scenery, and pictures of quiet English homesteads. The authoress, for "Cicely" is evidently written by a lady, shows culture and breadth of thought, which give a charm to the story. She possesses, too, a feeling for poetry and a true love for nature. Her descriptions are evidently drawn direct from nature. In the first volume we have a picture of a late English spring, such as our younger pre-Raphaelite painters are so fond of painting, a green lane with its banks covered with primroses and violets. Again in the same volume we have a companion picture of summer, not this time seen in an English lane, but in our old-fashioned Elizabethan English garden, such as Shakspeare might have seen, with its moss-covered stone sundial, and its quaintly-cut yew trees and box-hedges and beds of lavender, marigolds, and clove-pinks. The writer's strength, however, lies in her character-drawing and sketches of social life and talk. The characters, especially the women, are distinctly drawn and individualized. Cicely is meant to be the real heroine of the book, and in her the reader will take the greatest interest. From an artistic point of view, however, Geneviève, a far more difficult character by the way to describe, is the best done. We may recommend "Cicely" to all such readers as are looking for a bright, cheerful book, which will pass away the spare hours of the winter evenings. We shall not therefore anticipate their pleasure by describing the plot and the way in which Geneviève entices her cousin's lover away from her.

For the remaining novels on our list we can spare but little room. About some we should like to say a good deal. "Wyncote" is a novel written in such exceptionally good English, and so full of observation and knowledge of what is best in society, that we wonder that its author has not made her mark in the world. "Wyncote" is in short a thoroughly good novel, most conscientiously written.

Everybody has been reading "Patricia Kemball," so that we need not say very much about Mrs. Linton's latest production. It possesses all her charms of style, her delicacy in character painting, her love of natural scenery, and above all her satire and playful irony.

* "Cicely. A Story of Three Years." By Ennis Graham. Author of "She was Young and He was Old," "Not without Thorns," &c. &c. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1874.

† "Wyncote." By Mrs. Thomas Erskine. Author of "Marjory." London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1874.

‡ "Patricia Kemball." A Novel. By E. Lynn Linton. Author of "Bixie Lorton of Greyrigg," &c. &c. London: Chatto and Windus. 1874.

We do not think that Mr. Julian Hawthorne has made any real advance in "Idolatry."⁷ He is writing far too fast, and harping too much upon one string. There are passages, however, in "Idolatry," which show what the writer might achieve if he would but give himself fair play, and keep off that dangerously merbid ground of which he is so fond.

Of the stories in Mrs. Parr's "The Gosaw Smithy"⁸ we like "Little Nan" the best. The pictures, however, of Mr. Frank Rowley in "Madeleine Travers's Fortune," who writes "splendid articles" in a well-known contemporary newspaper, is, from many points of view, amusing.

Those who know Mr. George MacDonald's works will know what to expect in "Malcolm,"⁹ and they certainly will not be disappointed. In it may be found that breadth of thought and liberality, that quaint fancy, that tender playfulness and poetry which Mr. MacDonald so preeminently possesses. The only fault which we can find with "Malcolm" is one which will not be heard on the other side of the Tweed—there is a little too much Scotch in it.

We have found "Theresa"¹⁰ terribly dull reading. But this may be a positive recommendation in the eyes of some people, who candidly avow that they do not like any excitement. There are natures who prefer the canals of Holland or Lincolnshire to the Rhine or the Rhone. To all these good people we heartily recommend the story of "Theresa."

We cannot now do justice to the spirit and verve of "A Story of Three Sisters."¹¹ It is full of brightness and colour. It is a poet's novel. Here, however, is a sombre bit from it—an actress's confession:—

"I had often been to the theatre, and I thought it must be nice to be dressed up in those pretty, gay dresses, and go dancing about to the music with all the people clapping their hands. But oh! it is very different when you are in the midst of it all! Why, I have cried over every yard of muslin in my skirts, for it came out of my poor mother's daily bread. It is all very well dancing when you are light of heart, but when you are sad and perhaps hungry too, it comes to be very different. It was a horrible time. I wish I could forget it. I was dancing away, Pamela, the very night my mother died." (Vol. ii. p. 234.)

The writer, a lady we should suppose, is a very close observer of character and motives. Here is a short sentence which expresses a truth often forgotten: "The mother and son had that curious likeness and unlikeness to one another that we often find lurking at the bottom of family disagreements." The writer's remarks, too, upon colour and

⁷ "Idolatry." A Romance. By Julian Hawthorne. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

⁸ "The Gosaw Smithy, and other Stories." By Mrs. Parr. Author of "Dorothy Fox." London: Daldy, Isbister, and Co. 1875.

⁹ "Malcolm." By George MacDonald. Author of "Robert Falconer," &c. &c. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1875.

¹⁰ "Theresa." By Georgiana M. Craik. Author of "Mildred," "Faith Unwin's Ordeal," &c. &c. London: Daldy, Isbister and Co. 1875.

¹¹ "A Story of Three Sisters." By Cecil Maxwell. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1874.

drawing, and the forms of cloud, and effects of rain and sunshine, prove that if she is not an artist, she has a true artistic nature. Altogether "A Story of Three Sisters" is a very charming novel.

And here at the end of our notice of English novels for this quarter let us call attention to some reprints of novels from other quarters, ^{12 13 14 15 16} Miss Alcott's are to our fancy the best. The Americans often complain that they have no good novels, because it does not pay to write them when English stories can be reprinted so cheap. We consider Miss Alcott's stories to be far better in every way than the generality of English tales. They abound in humour and fancy. The most prudish, too, may read them without the slightest misgiving. We have no doubt that they will be as popular in England as they are in America.

The manufacture of Christmas books is now established. Many authors seem to do nothing else but write stories for this particular season. We believe that pastrycooks used formerly to keep a poet for writing mottoes for bonbons. Report says that there is a manufactory for valentines somewhere near Soho Square. Soon we shall hear of a Christmas-Book Manufacturing Company (Limited). The Right Hon. E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P., might from his experience in this line of business figure as manager of the company. This Christmas he gives us two of his amusing tales, which hit the right medium of pleasing both old and young folk. We think that he does himself great injustice when, in his graceful dedication of "Whispers from Fairyland"¹⁷ to the Mothers of England, he writes, "Sometimes I am too 'old,' sometimes I am too 'young' for my readers." If Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen will allow us to say so, we think that he shows his youth in the fun and joyousness of his "Whispers from Fairyland," and his maturer age in the keenness of his remarks and the polish of his satire in his "River Legends."¹⁸

Of course Mrs. Craik has earned a right to sit as directress on the board of such a Christmas-Book Manufacturing Company as we have imagined. Such a post would be a graceful recognition of the rights of women and authoresses. Her "Little Lame Prince,"¹⁹ which is.

¹² "The Mistress of the Manor." By J. G. Holland. (The Rose Library.) London: Sampson Low and Searle. 1874.

¹³ "Seagull Rock." By M. Jules Sandeau. (The Rose Library.) London: Sampson Low and Searle. 1874.

¹⁴ "The House on Wheels." By Madame de Stolz. (The Rose Library.) London: Sampson Low and Searle. 1874.

¹⁵ "Little Men." By Louisa M. Alcott. (The Rose Library.) London: Sampson Low and Searle. 1874.

¹⁶ "Little Women." By Louisa M. Alcott. (The Rose Library.) London: Sampson Low and Searle. 1874.

¹⁷ "Whispers from Fairyland." By the Rt. Hon. E. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P. Author of "Stories for my Children," "Moonshine," &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1875.

¹⁸ "River Legends, or Father Thames and Father Rhine." By the Right Hon. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P. With Illustrations by Gustave Doré. London: Daldy, Isbister and Co. 1875.

¹⁹ "The Little Lame Prince and his Travelling Cloak." A Parable for Young and Old. By the Author of "John Halifax Gentleman." With 24 Illustrations by J. Ralston. London: Daldy, Isbister and Co. 1875.

as she truly calls it, a "parable for young and old," is simply delightful. Mr. Ralston's illustrations are in-keeping with the text.

Of course, too, Miss Thackeray would be unanimously elected vice-chairwoman of the company. Our only objection would be that she writes too well. "Blue Beard's Keys"²⁰ is rather too good to be reserved only for Christmas reading. If Miss Thackeray is not a poet she has been amongst the poets. "Blue Beard's Keys" open for us the poetical treasures of Miss Thackeray's friends. Who F. W. C., H. T., and the other letters of the alphabet are, who write such comic and fairy-like hexameters, we have no means of knowing, but we shall most certainly hope to meet them again.

And here we may fittingly take the opportunity of paying our small tribute of homage to one whose Christmas books, in their own particular line, have never been, and probably never will be, surpassed—Thackeray. The only way to deal with "Thackerayana"²¹ would be to quote it not with the pen, but with the pencil and the engraver's chisel. It is only Thackeray's sketches which are of the slightest value. The editor's remarks are bald and jejune. He seems to have exercised but little judgment in his selection. Still the book, even in the state in which it has been brought out, will be welcomed by all lovers of our great novelist and satirist. As we turn over the pages we may recognise the first sketches of many a face which we know so intimately in Thackeray's writings. Here we may recognise Becky Sharpe's ringlets and there her bright "green" eyes. Here you may see the features of some Rawdon Crawley, and there the projecting jaw of some Marquis of Steyne.

Mr. David Ker has already made his name so famous in the realms of fiction that we are disposed to take his "Boy Slave in Bokhara"²² upon trust. His intention has been, he informs us, to "group real scenes round an imaginary hero," a feat which he has, we believe, performed before. Boys, however, are not very critical, especially at Christmas time, and we have no doubt that Mr. Ker's tales will please them far more than many stories of much higher pretensions. As far as we have looked into the book, it is written with spirit, and in a plain style—two great attractions for boys, who do not admire fine writing.

For those who require Christmas reading of a more devotional tendency than is generally to be found in fairy tales and adventures by sea and land, especially in Bokhara, we may recommend "Hermann, or the Little Preacher,"²³ and "Waking and Working; or, from Girlhood to Womanhood."²⁴

²⁰ "Blue Beard's Keys, and other Stories." By Miss Thackeray. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1874.

²¹ "Thackerayana." Notes and Anecdotes. Illustrated by nearly 600 sketches. By William Makepeace Thackeray. London: Chatto and Windus. 1875.

²² "The Boy Slave in Bokhara." By David Ker. Author of "On the Road to Khiva." London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

²³ "Hermann, or the Little Preacher. Little Threads, and the Story Lizzie Told." By the Author of *The Flower of the Family*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1874.

²⁴ "Waking and Working; or, from Girlhood to Womanhood." By Mrs. G. S. Reany. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

We have, as usual, this quarter many poetical volumes, but very little poetry. *Place aux dames.* The Hon. Mrs. Willoughby's volume of "On the North Wind, Thistledown,"²⁵ is a very good illustration of the poetical feeling which is now abroad in the world. Mrs. Willoughby's poetry is thoroughly refined, graceful, and sympathetic. It will, no doubt, as the poetry of a cultivated mind always must do, give great pleasure to her friends, but upon the world it will probably make no mark. The reason of this is very obvious. In these days above all things originality is demanded. Take the leading poets of the day, Tennyson, Browning, Rosetti, Swinburne, and Morris. In each case we shall find a marked individuality. Now in Mrs. Willoughby's poems we find nothing which is absolutely original. We find very much that is pretty and graceful, but something more than prettiness and grace is wanted in these days to constitute a poet.

The same remarks which we have made on Mrs. Willoughby's "On the North Wind" might apply, word for word, to Mrs. Taylor's "Poems."²⁶ Here, again, we see a cultivated mind filled not only with a sense of love for everything which is beautiful in nature, but with a profound reverence for all that is noble in man, vaguely expressing itself in musical words. Here we catch an echo of Wordsworth, here of Tennyson, and there of some of our elder poets, but no where do we find a mind stamping and impressing its own indelible mark upon anything. We never find that firm grip of a subject which so distinguishes genius. Had we space we would gladly quote from both Mrs. Willoughby and Mrs. Taylor, to show exactly what we mean. In both volumes the shorter pieces are decidedly the best.

We have been very much disappointed with Mr. Marston's new volume.²⁷ Mr. Marston is one of the few rising poets from whom we certainly expected much. "Song-tide and other Poems" gave a brilliant promise, which has not been redeemed by the present volume. The old spirit is here, but weakened; the old love for nature is here, but fainter; the old passion is here, but feebler, and at the same time shriller. Mr. Marston is less defined than he was. He has given way to his feelings instead of mastering them. We read now of "shivering trees," "bitter kisses," and "passionate tears," and all the rest of the lover's commonplace jargon. It is, however, only fair to add that there are here and there scattered passages of real beauty, which still make us hope that Mr. Marston has a brilliant future. He has his reputation in his own hands.

Whatever Mr. Lockwood's intentions may be, his poems²⁸ read like

²⁵ "On the North Wind, Thistledown." By the Hon. Mrs. Willoughby. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

²⁶ "Poems." By Augustus Taylor. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

²⁷ "All in All." Poems and Sonnets. By Philip Bourke Marston. Author of "Song-tide and other Poems." London: Chatto and Windus. 1875.

²⁸ "Sacred Lyrics." By Henry Lockwood. Author of "Ariel" and other Poems. London: Kerby and Endean. 1874.

a travesty upon the Bible. This is the doggrel into which he turns Psalm xxiii. :—

"The Lord is my Shepherd, there is nought I can need,
By the waters of comfort my feet he shall lead."

Mr. Burn²⁹ has already won a wide popularity as a local poet in a most poetical county. The present volume will, we think, extend his fame. It is genuine, and smacks of the soil and the dialect. "T' Auld Wife's Reason," in the Cumberland dialect, is excellent. We think that Mr. Burn's strength lies in this half-humorous, half-pathetic vein. We hope that he may give us many more such pieces. In them he certainly excels. The poems, which are written in what may be called literary English are decidedly the weakest in the collection. Let Mr. Burn be faithful to his native Doric, and it will be faithful to him.

Amongst miscellaneous books the first place must, without doubt, be given to Professor Masson's magnificent edition of Milton's poems.³⁰ For the future it must be the edition of Milton. Of course it is utterly impossible for us in this section to do justice to a work which has been the labour of a life-time. As far as we can judge Professor Masson has omitted nothing which can make his work complete. In the first volume we are furnished with an introduction, which deals in the most exhaustive manner with Milton's English. We have sections on Milton's vocabulary, the spelling and pronunciation of his poems, the peculiarities of his grammatical inflection, and his versification. All of these sections are especially interesting to the philological student. The last section on Milton's versification should be read in conjunction with Mr. J. A. Symond's admirable paper "The Blank Verse of Milton," which appeared in the last December number of the *Fortnightly Review*. The essay on Milton's English is followed by a very full introduction to "The Paradise Lost." In the course of this introduction Professor Masson raises the question whether Milton's blindness, "which we are apt to think of as a disqualification for poetry," was not a positive advantage in the case of "Paradise Lost." Professor Masson argues the question with a great deal of acuteness and subtlety, supporting his arguments by quotations from the great poem. We cannot possibly enter into the controversy. One thing, however, we feel certain of, that if Milton had lived in the days of Darwinism, he would most certainly have modified his plan of the Creation, and the general machinery of his poem. We now pass on to Professor Masson's notes, both on the great epic and Milton's minor poems. They are, we need not say, everything which can be required. We find ourselves in one or two places, as in some of the notes on L'Allegro and Lycidas, differing

²⁹ "English Border Ballads." By Peter Burn. Carlisle: G. and T. Coward. London: Benrose and Sons. 1874.

³⁰ "The Poetical Works of John Milton." Edited with Introductions, Notes, and an Essay on Milton's English. By David Masson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

from the editor's interpretation, but the difference is never very material. In conclusion, we congratulate Professor Masson on having so successfully brought his great work to a conclusion. He will have the satisfaction of knowing that whenever Milton's poems are the subject of criticism his name will be associated with that of the great Puritan bard.

There cannot be a moment's doubt that the Clarendon Press Edition of Shakespeare's³¹ select plays is by far the best adapted to the student. Two well-known publishing firms, we perceive, are advertising new editions of Shakespeare by Dyce and Singer. Now both Mr. Dyce and Mr. Singer were most admirable Shakespearian critics in their day. But since their day an entirely new school of Shakespearian criticism has arisen. Unless competent editors are employed in both cases to bring up the two editions to the level of Shakespearian criticism of the present day, we fear that much labour will be bestowed in vain. Since Mr. Singer's and Mr. Dyce's day several of the Clarendon Press Series of Shakespeare's plays, and the two admirable *Edinburgh Review* articles containing a wealth of knowledge on Shakespeare's language and vocabulary which has never been surpassed, have appeared. In other quarters, too, great light has been flung upon several Shakespearian difficulties. Stanton's emendations, which, whether we agree with them or not, are of the utmost importance, have since that time appeared in the *Athenæum*. The first part of Dr. Alexander Schmidt's great "Shakespeare-Lexicon" has also been published. Now unless the results of these Shakespearian scholars are embodied into the new editions which are promised us, they certainly will not be able to hold their ground. The great merit of the Clarendon Press Series of select plays of Shakespeare is that the notes keep so thoroughly abreast of the philological knowledge of the present time. Turn where we will in the notes of Mr. Wright's edition of the *Tempest* we find the newest lights on the subject. Mr. Wright, too, is never overweighted by his learning. His authorities do not lead him. He guides and marshals them. And this is as it should be. Generally speaking notes upon the difficulties in Shakespeare are simply pitched haphazard at the reader's head. The result is that the reader is puzzled with all the learning which is so ostentatiously flung about, and leaves the passage in a state of utter bewilderment. If any one will turn to Mr. Wright's treatment of such words as "barnacles," "goss," "pioned and twilled," "broom-groves," "scamels," &c. &c., he will see how notes on Shakespeare should be written.

Mr. Baring-Gould's "Yorkshire Oddities"³² is sure to be popular both in and out of Yorkshire. Mr. Baring-Gould, as we learn from his preface, is a South-countryman, and speaks with raptures of the kindness and hospitality which he has met in Yorkshire. We have

³¹ "Shakespeare." Select Plays. The *Tempest*. (Clarendon Press Series.) Edited by William Aldis Wright, M.A. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1874.

³² "Yorkshire Oddities." Incidents and Strange Events. By S. Baring-Gould. Author of "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," "The Book of Were-Wolves," &c. &c. London: John Hodges. 1874.

no doubt of this. Mr. Baring-Gould's reputation as a scholar and a theologian would insure him respect wherever he went. But we think that there is a reverse to the medal which Mr. Baring-Gould shows us with such delight. Yorkshiremen are not quite so perfect as he would seem to think. We speak of the middle class Yorkshire gentlemen are, of course, the same as other gentlemen all over the world. But the Yorkshire middle and lower-class, especially amongst the farmers, have undeniable peculiarities. They are to a degree clannish. They are suspicious of any stranger. Money is their god. They understand nothing without reference to money. Mr. Baring-Gould, in his preface, modestly describes himself as a "penman." Whether a man holds a pen or a pencil it matters little in Yorkshire. If you sit down by the wayside to sketch, the invariable question of the middle-class Yorkshireman is, "Now, what da ya mak by that?" If you are a philologist, and are collecting provincialisms, the invariable question is, "What da ya mak by it?" L.s.d. is the test for everything. Mr. Baring-Gould should have remembered that Yorkshire is the county not of one Flint Jack but of many, who are ready to sell you anything, from a stone altar to an arrowhead, a land where it is considered the keenest piece of wit to sell a dead horse for a live one, and where nothing is patronized by the middle-class in the shape of art but a circus or a race-course. But even upon Mr. Baring-Gould's own showing Yorkshiremen are far from perfect. His book abounds with stories of thefts, highway robberies, and murders. In places it reads very much like Smith's "Lives of Famous Highwaymen." Part of it might be reprinted under the title of a "Yorkshire Newgate Calendar." Mr. Baring-Gould's work, however, contains better things than these. Some of his "oddities," as "Blind Jack of Knaresborough," "James Nalor, the Quaker," and "Robert Ashe," have taken their places in history. Others, like "Martin, the Incendiary of York Minster," bear an unenviable notoriety. Others, again, like "Jemmy Hirst," enjoy a local reputation not only in Yorkshire, but in Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, and are the themes of chap-books. To them all Mr. Baring-Gould has done justice. His book is full of good things. "Jemmy Hirst" is one of the most popular of his "oddities" in Yorkshire. His life may be bought at many of the fairs, with a frontispiece representing the hero riding on a favourite bull, which he had broken in to follow the hounds. George III. once sent for Jemmy. Mr. Gould shall give one of the scenes which occurred at the famous interview :—

"As Jemmy was taking leave of the king he heard a young nobleman say to another, 'What an old fool that is to wear such a hat; it is three times as large as is necessary.' Jemmy turned sharply upon him and said, 'I'll tell thee what, young chap, folks don't always have things about 'em that's neccessary, or his majesty could dispense varry weel wi' thee'" (vol. i. p. 212).

Mr. Baring-Gould's volumes are full of such good things. Here is one spoken by a Yorkshire butcher, which we must, however, somewhat curtail :—

"His wife was dying. She was long ill, and during her sickness was always exclaiming, 'Eh! I'm bound to dee. It won't be long afore I dee; I shan't be long here.' The butcher got a little impatient over these exclamations, and said one day as she was exclaiming as usual, 'Oh dear, I'm going to dee,' — 'Why, lass, thou'st said that ower and ower again a mony times, why doan't thee set a time and stick to it?' (vol. i. p. 231.)

This will remind the reader of the famous Scotch story of the dying wife, who on mentioning some household matters to her husband, was rebuked with, "dinna fash yoursen wi' household matters, but get on with your deeing." A counterpart to this story may be found in Mr. Baring-Gould's "Yorkshire Butcher." But Mr. Baring-Gould reserves all his most humorous sayings and best bits of wit for his parsons, and after them for his parish clerks. We have, however, no space for further quotations. We must refer the reader to the work, where he can help himself to what he likes best.

Germany sends us several new books and many new editions. Of Spielhagen's sketches³² we prefer those which describe—Italy. "He who would bring back wealth from the Indies, must take out wealth there," says the proverb. The author certainly goes out well equipped. One who knows Bulwer's "Last Days of Pompeii" is sure to be at home with his own countryman's "Gallus." Germans, and especially Frenchmen, are fond of declaiming against the prosaic style of our "Murray." No such fault can be found with the present volume. The writer passes with the greatest ease from grave to gay. According to his mood, he gives us minute photographs or indulges in a more diffuse and sentimental style.

"Zerstreute Blätter"³³ and "Zwei Lebenswege"³⁴ are two not unsuccessful attempts, in very different ways, to popularize science. We cannot, however, say much in praise of the illustrations in either of them.

Amongst new editions and reprints we may notice the works of Gustav zu Putnitz,³⁵ a collection of Dranmor's Poems,³⁶ and a new edition of a translation of Young's "Night Thoughts," which have always been popular with German evangelicals.

But it is in novels that Germany just now is most prolific. The English reader will, perhaps, find some interest in the historical story of "Sir John Fenwick."³⁷ We take it for granted that the characters are correct. A few footnotes are added to explain the text, and Macaulay is quoted. The author excels most in melodramatic scenes.

³² "Aus meinem Skizzenbuche." Von Friedrich Spielhagen. Leipzig: L. Staackman. 1874.

³³ "Zerstreute Blätter." Bilder aus Natur-und Menschenleben. Von Dr. Gustav Laube. Prag. 1874.

³⁴ "Zwei Lebenswege." Prag. 1874.

³⁵ "Ausgewählte Werke von Gustav zu Putnitz." Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel. 1874.

³⁶ "Dranmor's gesammelte Dichtungen." Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel. 1874.

³⁷ "Nachgedanken." Von Edward Young. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: R. Friese. 1874.

³⁸ "Sir John Fenwick." Historische Erzählung. Von Egbert Earlsen. Berlin: Otto Janke. 1874.

A storm in a pine-forest, which breaks over the hiding-place of Fenwick and O'Brien, is described with real power and mastery.

The comic element is supposed to be represented in Herr Winterfeld's "*Gross-Busekow*,"⁴⁰ and Herr Stegman's "*Ein Oratorium der Zukunft*." We should not, however, have supposed, unless we had been told, that humour was the strong point in "*Gross-Busekow*." There is humour certainly, but it is essentially German, that is to say, heavy. The tale, however, possesses far higher qualities than its humour. It abounds with marks of cultivation and wide reading, which always lend a charm to the thinnest tale, quaint descriptions of country scenery, and here and there reflections which show that the author has been a close observer of human nature in some of its every-day aspects. With regard to the military and campaigning portions, we are of the Duke of Wellington's opinion that there are two things which can't be described, a ball and a battle. There is a chapter in the first volume entitled "*Ein Sonntag-Nachmittag*," which is full of poetry. Herr Winterfeld describes the effects of a hot August afternoon on the birds and animals with quite a Raphaelite touches. His remarks, too, upon the shepherd and his sheep are equally quaint and truthful. According to Herr Winterfeld, a shepherd, like a sheep-dog, is not made, but born. He is really and truly, observes Herr Winterfeld, in his small way a scientific man. He notes the flight and cry of birds, the shape and direction of the clouds, the noise of the wind in the tree-tops, and by these can unerringly foretell the changes of the weather. We would gladly have had more of such descriptions in place of Herr Winterfeld's humour, and would willingly give up half-a-dozen of the comic personages for such a genuine character as the old shepherd.

The humour in "*Ein Oratorium der Zukunft*,"⁴¹ also runs very thin. Humour is, perhaps, the rarest of gifts. We English and Germans are too apt to confound humour with mere animal spirits. Of the slap-on-the-back and the horse-laugh style of humour more than enough is to be found everywhere, but of that peculiar humour, which at the bottom is so sad, the note of all great minds, we can find but few traces in the present volume. Now and then there is a flash of laughter. The scenes, for instance, in the "*Three Swans*" are well enough done, and the characters talk with a certain dramatic fitness. But, as in the case of "*Gross-Busekow*," we infinitely prefer the author when he is describing some pastoral scenes or giving us an analysis of character. He may be seen at his best, for instance, in the eleventh chapter of the first book. There he describes a May-day, as Herr Winterfeld has done an August afternoon, with real poetical feeling. Into the discussion about the music of the future and the Wagner controversy we cannot of course here enter.

There is no reason at all why musical people should not have musical

⁴⁰ "*Gross-Busekow*." *Humoristischer Kriegs-Roman in vier Bänden*. Von A. von Winterfeld. Jena: Hermann Costenoble. 1874.

⁴¹ "*Ein Oratorium der Zukunft*." *Komischer Roman in zwei Bänden*. Von Rudolf Stegman. Jena: Hermann Costenoble. 1874.

novels. Hunting and sporting men have plenty of tales expressly written for them which smell of the kennel and the stable. It is only natural, too, that we should find musical novels amongst a nation where the culture of music is both so deep and wide. The countrymen of Sebastian Bach and Beethoven naturally read and write about what interests them most. But to write a good musical novel requires nearly as great a genius as is required to compose a good opera. It is no reproach to Herr Zastrow⁴³ to say that he has failed where only the most consummate skill united with the highest genius would have achieved success. He describes too much from the outside. His theatre scenes are stogy. He has too much description. Once or twice, too, he illustrates the maxim that there is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Still his novel is very readable. Some of the more homely and rustic scenes in the first volume deserve especial praise.

Of the other German works before us we can only speak briefly. Fanny Lewald is very popular with a certain class in Germany. Her last work⁴⁴ will, we think, certainly not diminish that popularity. Her writing is always fluent and sensible, but somewhat commonplace. We can do no more than call attention to a series of novels which appear under the title of "*Bibliothek neuer Romane und Erzählungen*."⁴⁴ They are meant, we should suppose, like similar collections in England, principally for railway travellers.

ART.

M DE SAULCY has shown himself to be an accomplished writer on various subjects, in one he is a master.¹ In many lines of inquiry he has given proof of lively zeal, and of an active spirit of investigation; in one, he has discovered genuine instinct and power. Special branches of numismatic science have found in M. de Saulcy one of their most competent and learned teachers. Nearly forty years ago he printed his "*Recherches sur les monnaies des évêques de Metz*." Other works of a similar character followed in succeeding years, the last and perhaps the most important of all being the volume at present under consideration, "*La Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte*."¹ The work is dedicated to Mr. Stuart Poole, the able and distinguished keeper of the Medal Room in the British Museum. It contains the description of the Autonomic and Imperial Coins of Palestine and

⁴³ "*Die Clarinette als Tälisman. Musikalischer Roman in zwei Bänden.* Von Carl Zastrow. Jena: Hermann Costenoble. 1874.

⁴⁴ "*Benedikt*." Von Fanny Lewald. Berlin: Otto Janke. 1874.

⁴⁴ "*Bibliothek neuer Romane und Erzählungen.* Prag: Druck und Verlag der Aktien-Gesellschaft Bohemia.

¹ "*Numismatique de la Terre-Sainte*." Ornée de 25 Planches gravées par L. Dardel." Par F. de Saulcy, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: 1874. T. Rothschild, Editeur.

Arabia Petræa. In a previous work by M. de Saulcy on Jewish Coins he had included in his list those of *Ælia Capitolina*. These are now ranked with the other series of the same class in the present volume. We thus get two broad divisions of the subject; the first—containing Jewish coins proper; the second—(that now before us) comprising coins struck in the same districts during the period of Greek and Roman dominion. In order to carry out this scheme with precision, M. de Saulcy has seen himself obliged to set aside Phenicia proper, or Maritime Phenicia, as beyond the limits defined by his subject, which should include only those provinces which had remained for some time, whether short or long, more or less absolutely under Jewish rule. These come under four heads—Libanian-Phenicia, First, Second, and Third Palestine (Judea, Samaria, Galilee), and Arabia. M. de Saulcy has, it will be seen, followed the definition of these regions given by Hierocles in the sixth century of our era, but he has excluded Emesa from the province of Libanian-Phenicia as that town belonged properly to Pieria, and has for convenience' sake introduced Ptolemais under the head of the First Palestine, and transferred Pnias from Maritime Phenicia into the province of Palestine the Second, of which it would seem properly to form a part. The arrangement is exceedingly convenient and intelligible. The cities are distributed under each head in the order of their importance, and the coins of each city follow in chronological succession, under the names of the towns for which they were struck. A brief chronological table of the imperial reigns to which the imperial coins described belong is prefixed, and enables the reader to estimate at a glance the precise age of each piece. It embraces a period of nearly three hundred years, from the commencement of the reign of Augustus to the death of Gallienus. In each of his visits to Palestine M. de Saulcy has acquired coins, a considerable number of which he has found to be hitherto undescribed. These have found their place in the present volume, and the description is in each instance thoroughly complete, and carefully exact in all those points which a true science of the subject requires. Many of the pieces necessarily mentioned, in order to make the work in some degree complete as a whole, have not been actually handled by the author; these he is careful to mark out with an asterisk. Everything of purpose to the work, in the collections of France and England, M. de Saulcy has examined and described. It is however to be regretted that the writer in pointing out to the reader that he has not visited the collections of Germany (though they doubtless contain many pieces unknown to him) should have accompanied the statement with a flippant challenge to "*MM. les numismatistes allemands*" to criticise as severely as they please, a work which they will have the right to consider voluntarily incomplete, adding an unworthy "*I shan't care.*" The tone of this postscript coming in the very heart of a serious and scientific work sounds unpleasantly incongruous, and out of keeping. The series of twenty-five plates which complete the volume will be found to contain representations of several of the coins of almost every place mentioned. The curious succession of those struck at Jeru-

saalem by the Procurators of Judea after it became a Roman province is very amply illustrated, and the description is accompanied by a chronological table serving for their classification. The execution of the engravings cannot be too highly commended, it perfectly fulfills the requirements both of art and archæology. We are able to judge of the independent merit, and actual state of every coin depicted, as if we had it really before our eyes. They are rendered with the most scrupulous, and the most intelligent exactitude, and the skill of the artist has been well seconded by the ability of the printer. The impressions are excellent. It now remains only for M. de Saulcy to complete the task which he has thus far so admirably accomplished by giving us, as he indeed promises, a third work which shall treat of the Royal coins of the same country.

French reproductions of the antique are beyond measure superior to those of any other nation at the present day. The collection of chromo-lithographs, lithographs, engravings, autotypes, &c., recently published by M. Rothschild, with an explanatory text by M. Froehner, under the title of "*Les Musées de la France*,"² furnish yet another example of the perfection to which this class of work can be brought by artists whose education and ability fit them for the task. Every branch of archæology is represented in this remarkable publication. Bronzes, Sculpture, Vases, Terracottas, goldsmiths' work, all are figured in one or more examples on these pages, and the care with which the selection of specimens has been made leaves nothing to be desired. Public and private collections have alike been laid under contribution, and although the main preoccupation has been archæological, yet the interests of art have not been lost sight of. The marvellous beauty of the group of Eos and Memnon (Pl. 10) cannot be passed over without remark. The vase on the interior of which it occurs was found at Caprea, and sold by M. Castellani to Prince Napoleon. The name of the painter, Douris, is found on many other monuments of ceramic art. The reverse of the vase is decorated by two noble subjects, also given in this collection; but they do not equal the surpassing dignity and sorrow of the interior group, which is no less remarkable for the powerful charm of its sentiment than for the severe nobility of its line. The fine mask of Medusa (Pl. 10), an Athenian marble now in the Louvre, is also wisely chosen. And the series of terracottas found at Tarsus, now in the Louvre, and well known to all students as the most exquisite of their kind, are here reproduced (Pl. 30-34) with perfect success. The beautiful Venus, which is the chief gem, gleams out of the lines of the lithograph in which she is delicately reproduced, the lovely sway of the body revealing the proportions of her lovely limbs in their full nobility, and calling to mind exactly the lively impression produced by a first sight of the original. One division of the work, the terracotta Roman

² "*Les Musées de la France. Recueil de Monuments antiques.*" W. Froehner, Conservateur du la Louvre, Membre de l'Institut archéologique de Rome. Paris: T. Rothschild. 1873.

Medallions found in the South of France (Pl. 14-16), less interesting from an artistic point of view, claims the special attention of archaeologists. M. Froehner has himself made a small collection of these Medallions, which are particularly interesting on account of the inscriptions by which the figures are nearly always interpreted, and he has accompanied the plates in which a few of these subjects are here reproduced by an excellent introductory essay. Special collections thus localized are of the greatest value for the purposes of study. Many departments of France are rich in antiques found upon the spot. At Besançon and Autun, for instance, very superficial search has been richly rewarded. There is ample material for a substantive work on the subject. It is greatly to be wished that a person as competent as M. Froehner should undertake its execution. A publication conducted on the same system as the fine work at present before us, consisting of a series of faithful reproductions of representative objects (the locality where each was found being carefully specified), and accompanied by an explanatory text, would enable us to form an accurate picture of the state of art in Roman Gaul such as could by no other means be obtained, and without which we cannot form a true estimate of the character and extent of her civilization.

"Eros in der Vasenmalerei," by Dr. Adolf Furstwängler,³ is a valuable contribution to archæological literature, treating of a point which has hitherto been but lightly touched. A couple of papers, entitled "Eros Etude sur la symbolique du désir," were printed by Louis Ménard in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1873. But M. Ménéard only touched incidentally upon the representations of the god to be found in vase paintings, and to vase paintings Dr. Furstwängler directs his special attention. There is, indeed, yet another, and a radical difference, as might be expected, in the treatment of the subject by the two authors. M. Ménéard devoted himself wholly to the investigation of the character of the psychological intention as manifested in the various representations of the god. Dr. Furstwängler does not neglect these considerations, but he employs them solely as a means of co-ordinating his facts. After a page or two which treat of *Eros in voralexandrinischer poesie*, we pass to the study of representations of the god in the pre-Phidian period. In purely archaic art Eros is never found. The very vases which afford to the student his most fruitful field of inquiry do not present types of Eros on early examples; he first appears as an important actor on the red-figured vases of the second period. This is so universally the case that any vessels on which he figures may always, says Dr. Furstwängler, be suspected to belong to the later periods of manufacture. Even the two mirror handles in the bronze-room at the British Museum which have been attributed by Mr. Newton to the age immediately before Phidias are not suffered to pass unchallenged. The subject gives us two Loves in attendance on Aphrodite, and the introduction of these Loves seems, in the author's opinion, to point to

³ "Eros in der Vasenmalerei," Von Dr. Adolf Furstwängler. München: Theodor Ackermann, 1875.

a later date of execution than that assigned by Mr. Newton. In the next division, we enter on the Pheidian period. We then first get certain work to which a positive date can be assigned—that is to say, that Dr. Furstwängler accepts Ottfried Muller's explanation of the admirable Parthenon group of the youth supporting himself on the knees of a draped female figure, as Eros with Aphrodite. This theory certainly seems to have greater probability in its favour than M. Beulé's proposal to consider the youth as Erechtheus amongst the daughters of Kekrops, or than the more recent hypothesis which sees in the same figure the young Triptolemus with the goddesses of Eleusis. Dr. Furstwängler remarks that it would appear that Eros was depicted by the school of Pheidias only in company with Aphrodite, and that he first became the object in himself of independent treatment in the hands of sculptors of the second Attic school. But this part of the subject is mentioned only to be dismissed in order to make way for the vase-paintings which are the principal concern of the inquiry. These are divided into three groups, under the heads of Eros in representations of myth, Eros as depicted in subjects of common life, and finally Eros alone. The work is then completed by a notice of the paintings of Lower Italy in the decadence, of the forms under which Eros is presented, and finally of the intention which motives the various presentations. As a repertory of facts concerning the subject with which it deals, this treatise is of the utmost value. The closely filled pages contain an almost incredible mass of rough material laid ready to hand for the purposes of study. As a work of reference it is quite excellent and thorough, and admirably completes the outlines traced in the first part of M. Ménard's interesting paper. The coincidence of line in certain points is so curious, that were it not for Dr. Furstwängler's opening sentence, in which he states that no one has preceded him in the field (from which we must infer that M. Ménard's articles are unknown to him), we should have been led to suppose that "*Eros ou la symbolique du désir*" had fortunately suggested the production of "*Eros im Vasenmaleeri*."

Herr Bruno Bucher's pamphlet on ornamental art, at the Vienna International Exhibition, forms one of a series of tracts intended for popular circulation, which are in course of publication under the joint editorship of Professor Rud. Virchow and Professor Fr. von Holtzendorff.* Herr Bucher is the keeper of the Oesterreichischen Museum (organized on the pattern of South Kensington), and is therefore specially interested in all branches of decorative art. After a few preliminary remarks of a general character, he passes to special criticism of the works exposed by different countries. These are carefully considered, and very much to the point. The inlaid furniture

* "*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge.*" Herausgegeben von Rud. Virchow und Fr. v. Holtzendorff. IX. Serie. Berlin: 1874. Carl Habel. Heft 208. Ueber ornamentale Kunst auf der Wiener Weltanstellung von Bruno Bucher. Heft 205. Entstehung und Entwicklung der religiösen Kunst bei den Griechen. Von Dr. Doebler.

of England strikes him as costly and wonderful in point of technical execution, but weak to the last degree in drawing, and absolutely incomprehensible as regarded colour composition. The same remarks might be applied, says Herr Bucher, to the rest of the objects exhibited by us, and thence he draws the conclusion that to found museums and to use them diligently is of no avail unless you can teach your public as well as your artisan. Unless this can be achieved our best efforts will not produce enduring results. Spain commanded the attention of all lovers of the beautiful. "We have been told," says Herr Bucher, "that *Pfaffenwirthschaft*, internal divisions, and the system of monopolies had destroyed the industrial activity of Spain, it has been recently stated that the famous products of Toledo were now only represented by marchpane confectionery. But Toledo sent to Vienna arms and equipments which could be compared without disadvantage with the celebrated works of the time of Don John of Austria; and the town of Eibar revealed itself as the seat of a remarkable industry in iron apparently in the full swing of productive activity. Arms, bowls, vases, caskets, buttons, and other objects in this material, decorated with gold and silver ornaments, fixed by the hammer on a surface previously roughened by the file, attracted by their marvellous beauty and completeness the lively competition of all the museums of Europe.

A treatise by Dr. Doehler, entitled "*Entstehung und Entwicklung der religiösen Kunst bei den Griechen*," is another number of this same series of popular pamphlets. The very nature of the subject renders it impossible to present it in a truly popular form. However carefully every statement may be simplified, much will remain which will demand for its full comprehension a sound and tolerably broad basis of general culture. The use of many abstract terms, which are as a rule absolutely incomprehensible to the average reader, often cannot be dispensed with; Dr. Doehler's paper therefore must be regarded as intended for the use of students. To some it will serve as a brief but complete introduction to the special study of the subject, to others it will be welcome as affording an adequate view of a field of inquiry lying perhaps parallel to that in which they are themselves engaged, and which therefore they can neither wholly ignore nor explore for themselves. In the opening pages Dr. Doehler traces with admirable clearness of exposition the gradual passage from Fetichism to Idolatry and Picture-worship; then how idolatry in particular called forth an art the perfect expression of which in Greece has never again been rivalled; how again the product became the object of the passionate attacks of a new religion; but the tendency of the race to clothe religious ideas in plastic form lay so deep that it instantly reappeared in spite of the Semitic traditions which had had power to overthrow the old Polytheistic creed; and finally religious art dwindled away only amongst those peoples of Teutonic origin in whom the taste for abstract speculation overruled the sense for form and beauty. In the concluding portion of his essay Dr. Doehler proceeds to trace the gradual transition amongst the Greeks from symbolic

to imitative forms up to the culminating point reached by the age of Pheidias.

"Untersuchungen über Albrecht Dürer," by Dr. Alfred von Sallet, is yet another contribution to the literature of the unending controversy concerning certain drawings attributed to Dürer in the collections of Berlin, Bamberg, and Weimar, the authenticity of which has been violently attacked. These drawings have all been more or less ill-treated; all have at some early date formed part of a single collection; they resemble each other in execution; all or nearly all are profile heads lightly sketched in in charcoal and chalk, and all have been cruelly cut out in outline, gummed down, and described by name in inscriptions written underneath each, it is supposed by the guilty person, who had ruthlessly employed the scissors. Dr. Moritz Thausing (*Zeitschrift für bild Kunst* vi. 1871, p. 114) stigmatized them in no measured terms as the work of an "indifferent bungler," of a "forger" whom it was the bounden duty of those who honoured Dürer's name to expose. This article was replied to by Herr Hauser, the keeper of the Bamberg art collections, by Herr v. Eye, and Dr. v. Zahn, the late distinguished editor of the *Zahrbucher für Kunstwissenschaft*. The matter cannot as yet be considered as decided. If the drawings are indeed the work of a forger, he must have been a cotemporary of Dürer's, for the paper on which he draws shows in several instances the same watermarks as that employed by Dürer himself. One point on which Dr. Thausing laid much stress was the total want of resemblance between the profile-drawings and the profiles of the persons by whose names they were christened as represented elsewhere. Dr. von Sallet addresses himself to the task of proving that at least as regards two of the drawings in the Berlin collection this statement is over-hasty. He gives indeed a list of many other instances in which it is said that a resemblance exists between the cut-out profiles and the profiles of the same persons as shown in Nuremberg Portrait medallions executed about 1519. The two selected for special examination are the likenesses of Georg Schlanderspach (of whom Dürer himself tell us in his diary that he was with him at Aachen, and that there he had Georg Schlanderspach "mit der Kohlen conterfet") and Sigmund Dietrichstain. In both instances Dr. von Sallet makes out his case. In a second chapter he adds a series of notes on Dürer's wood engravings, engravings on copper, and medals of a direct and pertinent character likely to be useful both to students and collectors of Dürer's work.

Mr. Micklethwaite's volume on "Modern Parish Churches; their Plan, Design, and Furniture,"* is an extremely sensible book. Many of the chapters which go to make up the work appeared originally as a series of papers contributed to the *Sacristy*. In giving to them a substantive form the author has not only carefully revised and

* "Untersuchungen über Albrecht Dürer." Von Dr. Alfred von Sallet, Ehrenmitglied der numismatischen gesellschaft in London. Mit zwei Holzschnitten. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1874.

* "Modern Parish Churches; their Plan, Design, and Furniture." By J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., Architect. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

corrected his text, but has added greatly to the matter which it contains. A chapter on the Organ has been inserted, which is written by Mr. Somers Clarke, and the three concluding chapters "Of Ornament and Ornaments," "Of Pictures and Images," and "Of the Size and Cost of Churches," are also printed for the first time. The text from which Mr. Micklethwaite preaches is "Churches are built for use not for ornament." Appearance indeed, he adds, ought not to be neglected; but in the first place the designer should be guided by the consideration of the purposes to which they are to be applied. Both criticisms and suggestions throughout the volume are therefore offered from what may be called the common-sense point of view. Mr. Micklethwaite has wisely refrained, as far as possible, from the discussion of questions of taste. It is impossible to teach, or preach, people into designing or enjoying beautiful work. It is possible to point out by criticism and argument that given specimens do not adequately and directly fulfil the function which they pretend to perform, and that they are therefore practically absurd and indefensible. This is the weak place which Mr. Micklethwaite attacks. If his book is read, as it deserves to be, by all those engaged in church-building and furnishing, those edifices may indeed remain as hideous as ever, but we shall possibly be spared all those foolish, unworkman-like and paltry pretences which they now too frequently display.

Mr. D'Anvers offers us in one volume an "Elementary History of Art." It is intended to serve as an introductory Text-book to the study of ancient and modern architecture, sculpture, painting, and music. The framework and the greater number of the illustrations are, he tells us, borrowed by permission from a small "Guide to the History of Art," which has long been in use in German schools; but this framework has been filled in by references to standard English, German, and French authorities, and each division of the book has been supplemented by a chapter on Art in England. In executing a work which goes over so great an extent of ground, it is impossible to keep entirely clear of all error. But, opening the volume at p. 37, the reader will come at once upon a blunder of the graver sort. The first period of Greek architecture is taken as included between the age of Solon and the Persian war "(600-740)," as noted on the page, but the second date is of course a printer's error for 470. Amongst Doric buildings of this period Mr. D'Anvers places the temple of Diana at Ephesus, recently explored by Mr. Wood. But the temple from which Mr. Wood brought the sculptured shafts to which Mr. D'Anvers refers was that rebuilt or finished (it is not certain which) *after* the Persian war, and both buildings were Ionic. Printer's errors are also numerous: Woollett the engraver is scarcely

¹ "Elementary History of Art: an Introduction to Ancient and Modern Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Music." By N. D'Anvers. With a preface by T. Roger Smith, F.R.S., B.A. Illustrated with one hundred and twenty woodcuts. London: Assher & Co. 1874.

to be recognised (p. 528) as "Woollet;" on page 597 the eye is caught by "Chopins's playing," and at p. 584 Beethoven is made to protest against being considered "misanthropic."

Mr. Birch's "Country Architecture"⁸ is intended chiefly for the use of landed proprietors who have cottages and lodges to build, parks to improve, and country residences to modify or erect. Many of his designs, especially those of the simpler class, have a good air, and much convenience of arrangement to recommend them. Mr. Birch has executed a great deal of work for Lord Stanley of Alderley, and designs for the proposed restoration of Grafton Hall (an Elizabethan house in Cheshire, the property of Lord Stanley) are given at the close of the volume. The precision and clearness of the text, and the estimates of costs which accompany every design, will probably render the work really useful to those for whom it is intended.

The chromo-facsimiles executed by R. Steinboch and W. Loeillot⁹ after the watercolour sketches made by E. Hildebrandt on his voyage round the world, are equal in merit to the best of their kind. The quality of colour in all chromo-lithographs is inevitably unpleasant, thin, and hard. The least complicated schemes of colour are the least disagreeable. The present series contains five reproductions, the most successful of which is a scene in the Ladrone Islands, the harmony of which is got entirely out of a great sweep of golden sky reflected on still water, an edge of tawny ground in front, and in the distance, just parting cloud from sea, a level line of rocky islets wrapped in a grey haze.

The collection of designs for objects of industrial art reproduced in black and white by Ludwig Pfau¹⁰ from examples exhibited in the Viennese International Exhibition, originally made their appearance in the "Bazar." They were not intended to form an adequate picture of the wonders of the Exhibition, but were illustrations to a text embodying various comments on style and taste. The author was not able to make them as complete as he had designed, even from this point of view; many exhibitors altogether declined to allow the reproduction of their designs; others only gave permission when it was too late for the artist to avail himself of it. There is no example given of the Spanish work to which Herr Bucher called our attention. The stuffs from Java and Sumatra, from the Dutch section, seem very good. Such of the European specimens as look at all interesting are invariably reproductions of old designs.

"The American War: Cartoons by Matt Morgan and other English

⁸ "Country Architecture. Being a series of designs for buildings connected with landed property." By John Birch, Architect. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1874.

⁹ "Hildebrandt's Aquarelle Auf seiner Reise um die Erde nach der Natur aufgenommen in Egypten, Indien, China, &c. Chromo-facsimiles von R. Steinboch und W. Loeillot. Zweite serie. 1 Lieferung. R. Wagner. Berlin.

¹⁰ "Kunstgewerbliche Musterbilder aus der Wiener Weltausstellung." Von Ludwig Pfau. Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert. 1874.

Artists,"¹¹ is a series of caricatures, in which are depicted the chief events of the great American civil war. They are of varying merit, but for the most part decidedly above the average in point of draughtsmanship. The point is not always very obvious. On the whole, the course of popular opinion among the moneyed class in Europe seems pretty fairly represented—that is to say, a Southern animus is displayed by the artists up to the moment when the success of the North becomes no longer doubtful.

¹¹ "The American War. Cartoons by Matt Morgan and other English artists, with illustrative notes." London : Chatto & Windus. 1874.

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THE
WESTMINSTER
AND
FOREIGN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

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APRIL 1, 1875.  
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ART. I.—THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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SIR BARTLE FRERE, whose name is honourably associated with the Zanzibar Treaty of 1873,* in giving evidence before the Select Committee, which reported in favour of the measure which was subsequently entrusted to him to carry out, said:—

“Up to about the time when Lord Palmerston died, for many years the general opinion of all parties in England had begun in favour of a

* This treaty was signed at Zanzibar on the 5th of June, 1873, and was presented to both Houses of Parliament during the session of 1874.

determination to put a stop to the slave trade wherever we could possibly do so without infringing the rights of other nations, and the whole weight of the Government influence had been put on the side of suppressing the slave trade. But of late years it has been manifest that there has been very considerable wavering of our own opinions upon the subject. . . . That seems to me to be the cardinal evil with which we have to contend, and our Government, representing public opinion, appears to me of late years to have been half-hearted in the matter.”*

To us it seems that there can be no doubt that England is half-hearted in this matter, as in most things at the present time. The spirit of the times is lazy and indolent. There is no fire in politics, no enthusiasm in philanthropy, no earnestness in literature. We are told that England wants to rest. The reforms of recent times have taken her short breath away. She has brought to the birth so many great measures that she lies exhausted, and a do-nothing policy or ingenious inaction is to take the place of strenuous endeavours to make this world better and wiser. All the work in that direction is not yet done—nay, it never can be done. Yet we have all made up our minds that the time has come for the folding of the hands, and the closing of the eyes. When in the life of a *man* does such a time as this come? When can any one say my work is done, let me take my rest? Not in this life, of a truth, but when this life comes to be laid down. Work is there to do for every hand that can do it, for every eye that can see it—it is the impotent and the blind to whom holiday times come, to the wise and earnest man there are none such here. So to a country it may be that the do-nothing policy is a sign of incapacity. It is the old and decrepit who can sit for hours with vacant thought enjoying their shallow vitality, it is the young who feel the inspiration of strength which prompts to labour, and whose spirit is stirred within them by thrilling consciousness of this heaven-gift. But half-hearted of a truth we are at the present time, and in nothing is this deformity more

* See Minutes of Evidence, question 448. Livingstone, too, has the following words in his “Last Journals” (vol. ii. pp 9 and 10), “The emancipation of our West Indian slaves was the work of but a small number of the people of England—the philanthropists and all the more advanced thinkers. Numerically they were a very small minority of the population, and powerful only from the superior abilities of the leading men and from having the right, the true, and just on their side. Of the rest of the population an immense number were indifferent—who had no sympathies to spare for any beyond their own fire-side circles. In the course of time sensation writers came up on the surface of society, and by way of originality they condemned almost every measure and person of the past. “Emancipation was a mistake;” and these fast writers drew along with them a large body who would fain be slaveholders themselves.” &c.

palpably shown than in connexion with our feeble efforts in relation to the African slave trade.

If anything was likely to stir England to a grand and fierce indignation—an indignation which would vent itself, not in loose words merely, but in firm acts—surely it was the facts connected with that trade in human bodies and human souls which was carried on in the full face of the blushing sun, in lands which his presence blessed with fertility beyond most. If any circumstances were calculated to arm men's souls with stern wrath, and make men in that fierce rage as terrible as gods, it was those which were brought to light in connexion with the trade in slaves which was carried on between the East Coast of Africa and the Coasts of Persia and Arabia. We have had ample evidence about this, and there has long ceased to be any necessity for any further inquiry; but there has long been an urgent necessity for the action which ought to result from conviction. Yet all our action has been limp. We have been like retired business-men who, with empty days upon their hands, attempt to fill them with a little fussy philanthropy, who attend committee meetings with a view to organizing charities, or shoeblack brigades, or such-like, and in this way endeavour to kill time and benefit humanity. But it is not by such actions that these times, full of many things which demand reform by their huge hideousness and deformity, are to be bettered, and it is not by such actions as England has taken in relation to the African slave trade, that this haggard abuse of power, which is an offence to all men with true human hearts, will be put an end to. But no more thorough measures seem to be forthcoming, although many promises issue from the fecund repository of those who wield the power.

These circumstances, which to our thinking are full of cause for regret, are, we feel certain, due to the half-heartedness which we have noted. In some circles it has become popular to regard slavery as an incident inseparable from a certain stage of civilization, and every futile effort which has been made to put an end to it, is pointed to in proof of this hypothesis. It is argued that it is Quixotic to attempt to put an end to this institution, which is indissolubly connected with every phase of social life in Africa, and that such men as Baker, who bravely endeavoured to put an end to this horrible traffic by conducting, with wise endurance and prudent skill, an expedition into the very heart of the slave-hunting district of the Soudan and Upper Nile; or Livingstone, who thought to bring men to see the strength of love and the weakness of force, by telling them of the Story of the Book, which has been more powerful in the world than many armies; or

Schweinfurth,* who seems to think that the cure for that indigenous disease of commerce will be found in immigrations of the Chinese, are, notwithstanding their bravery and endurance, notwithstanding their incalculable benefactions to humanity, but drivelling dabblers in the science of civilization, and that the efforts of men and nations are powerless against the institutions which are the result of the evolution or dissolution of a people, or a race. This dismal fatalism would, if those who profess its tenets logically carried them out to their legitimate conclusion, result in a paralysis of all effort. But there is a logic which makes theirs ridiculous, and common sense and rational experience teach us that a man may defy fate; that men may and do influence their fellows, and that that influence is oftentimes more powerful than that of isothermal lines, or the character of the soil; that the grand evolution of humanity results from a natural selection of mind from mind, that men become better and nobler from their intercourse with others who are nobler and better than they.

"I know few more sublime ideas," says Fichte, "than the idea of this universal interaction of the whole human race on itself; this ceaseless life and activity; this eager emulation to give and to receive—the noblest strife in which man can take a part; this general indentation of countless wheels into each other whose common motive-power is freedom, and the beautiful harmony which is the result of all. 'Whoever thou art'—may each of us say—'whoever thou art, if thou bear the form of man, thou too art a member of this great commonwealth; through what countless media soever our mutual influence may be transmitted, still by that title I act upon thee and thou on me; no one who bears the stamp of reason on his front, however rudely impressed, exists in vain for me. But I know thee not—thou knowest not me! Oh, so surely as we have a common calling to be good—even to become better—so surely, though millions of ages may first pass away (what is time?), so surely shall a period at last arrive when I may receive thee too into my sphere of action—when I may do good to thee and receive good from thee in return; when my heart may be united to thine also, by the fairest possible bond—a mutual interchange of free and generous love.'"

These are no random words thrown out in the spume of tempestuous oratory, but wise, deep, calm words, which bear pertinently upon the matter which we have here in hand. How are these poor human beings, on whose black fronts the stamp of reason is, although rudely, impressed, whose lives are frittered in endless wars with their black neighbours, incited by the ivory

* "The Heart of Africa, Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa, from 1868 to 1871." By Dr. George Schweinfurth. Translated by Ellen E. Frewer, with an Introduction by Winwood Reade. London: 1873.

and slave-seekers who torment the rich centre of that sultry continent by their presence; and who by their wars fill the ivory stores and the slave pens of their Arab allies—how are these to be brought to feel the influence of a Europe not free, not united in generous love, yet still with some reason in its head, and some love in its heart? How are the poor slaves, who are harnessed in the cruel slave-sticks, or driven in droves through the tangled solitudes of Central Africa to the coast, and of whom four out of every five, and in some cases nine out of every ten, are killed or die before they reach the shore, and are close-packed in ships for export—how are these to be set free from their slavery? How are they to be united to us in that fair bond? This is not a matter which interests those only who are thus driven to market. True, it is terrible enough to think of these! We see the gang driven by Arabs, who press them to journey beyond their strength, and who, when these fall down weary in the toilsome march, or sick from want and disease, raise cruel weapons over them and kill those they cannot profit by, that none other may profit by the slave. Surely the vultures which are hidden by the blue distance over head, and whose keen eyes have seen the tragedy, will spare that poor corpse. All this is terrible enough. Terrible too the story of those who, having arrived at the coast through the corpse strewn wilderness,* are packed on three close decks of wickerwork in small and reeking boats, called dhows,† where they are supplied with a handful of rice and scant drops of water, on their terrible voyage. Many die of course in their cramped sitting posture, and these corpses have to be weeded out from time to time by the Arabs from amongst those slaves which have still life in them. No pleasant picture that! The wickerwork decks on which the slaves crouch close together in foul darkness, and which are so close, the one to the

* That this is not an exaggeration will be evident from the following extract from the Report of the Slave Trades Committee of 1869, which sat at the Foreign Office: "The horrors attending this long journey have been fully described by Dr. Livingstone and others. The slaves are marched in gangs, the males with their mates yoked in heavy forked-sticks, which at night are fastened to the ground, or lashed together so as to make escape impossible. The women and children are bound with thongs. Any attempt at escape, or to untie their bonds, or any wavering or lagging on the journey has but one punishment, immediate death. The sick are left behind, and the track of a slave caravan can be tracked by the dying and the dead."

† These Bugalas or Dhows are low-proved ships employed in the East Africa coasting trade. They are ugly, and look like ships sinking bow foremost. In many instances they are quite unseaworthy, and have to choose still seas to sail upon. The legitimate East African trade is undoubtedly increasing; but for a long time human beings were the staple commodity, and the other merchandize carried by these in-shore vessels were usually only a mask worn over the real features of their ugly commerce.

other, that the slaves cannot sit upright, visited by the savage masters, come to remove the dead which have fallen cold against the envious living!

But although the plight of these is terrible enough, we know not that the plight of those who have power thus to inflict such tortures is not worse. They too are men. They too have a claim upon Europe, upon humanity. They too must be brought under the influence of what divinity is in man. Not only must the slaves be liberated, those who drive them must be set free. The chains of these latter may be more difficult to strike off than those of the former, the emancipation of these from their own diabolic natures may be more difficult than the emancipation of those from the slave-sticks with their cruel prongs, and the cords which bind them. But the question is not one of ease or difficulty, it is one of right. It is not one of choice, it is one of necessity. It must be done. Nay, it is, we are convinced, although slowly and uncertainly, being done, and we have in the works before us some record of the work.

It is as yet feeble enough. Government for a long time failed to see that its casual cruisers upon the east coast of Africa were doing more harm than good. While the number of slaves which were annually exported via Zanzibar was calculated as varying from 20,000 to 56,000, in no year did the English cruisers succeed in liberating more than 1117 slaves from captured dhows. That number was reached under exceptional circumstances in 1869, but in many years the success of these operations was not nearly so great. In 1867 only 431 slaves were emancipated.* But if we consider the means which were adopted with a view to the suppression of this trade the smallness of the result will not be a cause for wonder. In the first place, in the opinion of every naval officer of experience, the number of the ships stationed on the east coast of Africa was too small to permit of any thorough suppression of the trade. In the second place, the appliances with which these were provided were inadequate to the work they had to do. One of the most common incidents in the experience of those who have chased dhows in the Indian Ocean, is the intentional grounding of these ships.† The Arabs whenever hotly pressed by a cruiser run their ships ashore, and having assured the slaves that the white men will eat the black if they catch them, they induce their slaves to escape to the shore and scatter in the woods. To prevent these tactics, by means of which very large numbers of

* See Evidence of Admiral Sir L. Heath before the Select Committee. Question 685.

† See "Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean." By Captain Colomb. London: 1873.

slaves were kept from the liberating hands of England, some specially adapted boats or steam-launches for in-shore service were absolutely necessary. This had suggested itself long ago to all those who were familiar with the subject, yet it remained to be re-recommended by the Select Committee of 1871, and we are uncertain whether even now their suggestion has been adopted. Again, the utter ignorance, in relation to the language, of those who were employed in boarding these ships was a serious obstacle to the discovery of the truth.

The Home Government had done several things to impede the action of those who were sent out to suppress the slave trade. The Admiralty in 1869 issued instructions for the guidance of naval officers employed in the suppression of the slave trade, and amongst these there is an order that vessels having slaves on board, if there are attendant circumstances showing that the slaves are not being transported for the purpose of being sold as slaves, are not to be detained. But these instructions go further and give a definition of domestic slaves which are not to be regarded as a reason for detaining the ship in which they are. "Where the slaves found on board are very few in number, are unconfined, and appear to be on board for the purpose of loading or working the ship, or attending upon the master or the passengers, and there is no other evidence that the vessel is engaged or equipped for the slave trade," these slaves are to be looked upon as domestic slaves, or as slaves not being transported for the purpose of being sold. This impeding regulation must have been framed in considerable ignorance of the whole subject. According to the best opinions there are no distinguishing features about the dhows which are employed in the slave trade, nothing which could indicate equipment for that service, except perhaps in some instances the bamboo deck to which we have referred. The attendant circumstances then are not to be relied upon. Further, as to the small number of the slaves on board, the test is fallacious. The immense number of vessels which are employed in the coasting trade make distribution of slaves in very small companies easy, and if immunity was to be secured by reason of the smallness of the number of slaves on board this distribution would be the inevitable result. It has been calculated that if six slaves were carried by each of the ships passing north from Zanzibar to Arabia and Persia a larger number of slaves than are annually transported from the former port could be easily conveyed. In this way our cruisers would be as useless in the Indian Ocean as the guardships in some of our rivers. But again the further test supplied by the Admiralty is also useless. The unconfined condition of the slaves was no test, for the Arabs had a way of confining them as effectually as if they had

been swathed in cords, by means of threats which could not be perceived by any English lieutenant who might board the dhow. They were known to be in the habit of passing off some of the slaves on board as passengers, and many as servants, while they were in reality being conveyed to northern ports for sale. The officers, whose duty it was to inspect these ships, had no means of judging of the truthfulness of these assertions. They knew nothing of the language, and when, in more recent times, prudence suggested the employment of an interpreter, there were no means of securing his honesty and fidelity, and in many instances he took bribes from the Arabs, and in some cases was personally interested in the trade, to assist in the suppression of which he was employed. On the whole then the means which were adopted on the sea were ill calculated to put an end to the slave trade. It is not to be wondered at that the results were eminently unsatisfactory.

Upon land the expedients were not much better. About thirty years ago there was a treaty with Muscat, which has not had the effect of putting an end to the trade; and one of the reasons why that treaty proved futile, was that it allowed domestic slavery on board trading ships, which at once suggested itself as a ready means of evading condemnation. That it did prove futile is beyond doubt. It was evaded not only by the traders on the coast, but it was evaded on land by the authorities, and every pretext was had recourse to with the view of preventing its operating in the way intended. After twenty-five years of futility we find a committee sitting to inquire and report as to the means best adapted to put an end to that horrible trade, we find it being assured that "to put down this trade requires far more effort and far more energy than England has yet shown in the matter;" . . . that "we must force the Government of Zanzibar into active acquiescence in our views, and if necessary purchase or take possession of that island,"* and by another competent witness, that "he did not think any treaty would have the slightest effect; treaties with Arabs are mere waste paper."† And yet what has been done? Up to that time the consular establishments were far too few in number to be of the use they might otherwise have been of in connexion with the cruisers on the coast, and the Committee very properly recommended an increase in the consular establishments. Before that time English subjects within the dominions of the Sultan, where was situated the "running sore," as Livingstone has called this lurid commerce, had not been prevented owning and trafficking in slaves, and a Captain

* Evidence of Admiral Sir L. Heath. Question 711.

† Evidence of Major General C. P. Rigby. Question 609.

Fraser, a retired Indian officer, possessed a very large number of slaves, a circumstance which no doubt largely conduced to dissatisfaction upon the part of the natives, who saw England burning dhows, and yet saw an Englishman's factories and plantations served by the labour of slaves. This also has been put an end to. Further, the Committee being of opinion that all legitimate means should be used to put an end to the East African slave trade recommended the abrogation of the old treaty, and the substitution of a new treaty. That recommendation has been given effect to and a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade has been entered into between her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar.*

This, although it is something in the right direction, is not much. We have seen that according to the opinion of Major General Rigby, treaties with Arabs are mere waste paper, and that is an opinion which is entertained by many who have had large opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Arab character and the slave trade; and we have past experience of the way in which the Sultan performed his duty under the treaty which this new agreement was the means of abrogating. But even with the best will in the world it appears that the Sultan of Zanzibar is really very powerless. Captain Sullivan, in speaking of the propriety of landing most of the liberated slaves at Zanzibar, and placing them under the jurisdiction of the Sultan, on the understanding that his Highness will afford them sufficient protection against the slave dealers, and will prevent their again becoming slaves, a course which had been suggested by the late Lord Clarendon,† and of which Captain Sullivan strenuously, and for good reasons, disapproves, says: "His Highness is unable to prevent his own slaves being stolen and kidnapped by hundreds annually, by the northern Arabs; and however willing he might be he is unable to give such guarantee; and further, he is a cunning Arab, and is not to be trusted."‡ No very promising foundations these for a treaty—powerlessness and wile.

* Signed at Zanzibar, 5th June, 1873. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty, 1874. That treaty after speaking of the former treaties provides for their abrogation, and the remainder of the first article runs as follows: "His Highness the Sultan binds himself to the best of his ability to make an effectual arrangement throughout his dominions to prevent and abolish the same. And any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such naval officers and other officers and agents, and such courts as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of her Majesty." The second article provides for the closing of the public slave markets; the third for the protection of liberated slaves; the fourth prohibits natives of Indian States under British protection from possessing or acquiring slaves.

† Letter from Lord Clarendon to the British Consul at Zanzibar, dated 16th June, 1870.

‡ "Dhow Chasing in Zanzibar Waters," p. 277.

There is still something more to be done, it seems to us, to prevent this trade, to suppress this traffic, and in the half-hearted condition of England we cannot expect that that will be soon set about.* That some less docile measures would be justified with these men-stealers, we cannot but think. Emergency is a reason for an abrogation of politeness. No ceremony with the man who has murdered his fellow, but off with him to the punishment which the calmness of a dispassionate judge and a jury of his fellows has declared to be his desert. We do not "keep our hands off" the brute who with force is kneading the features of the face of the woman he calls his wife, and whose weakness was given to his protection by the most sacred of all trust-deeds—marriage. No; such actions call for force, and while there are sparks of justice in us which can be fanned to flame and illumine the world with sudden lights, they shall have it. Surely then in this other case the whole world has said that this thing must cease, that England will rather do without paper-knives and billiard-balls than encourage the trade in slaves,† that those family wars which are fomented by fierce and greedy traders, and which are the means of filling the slave markets of Persia and Arabia, shall cease, and that this trading of men through the rich country which ought to blossom like a garden, but which lies dank and feverish under its unhealthy rankness and desolate luxuriance of vegetation, upon a journey sometimes lasting from three to four months from the great lakes to the sea—that this commerce in humanity must end. Surely the trial of these thieves of human beings has lasted long enough. Surely we have here, in these books, enough of evidence deposed to by faithful men. Shall we go on frittering away time in further inquiry? Shall other Committees be appointed? Have we not made up our minds that these tragedies have been acted long enough upon that stage which is draped and lit for the comedy of nature—

* The Queen's speech at the opening of the present Session of Parliament contained this sentence: "The exertions of my naval and consular servants in the suppression of the East African Slave Trade have not been relaxed, and I confidently trust that they will bring about the complete extinction of a traffic equally repugnant to humanity and injurious to legitimate commerce." This, however, only hints at old remedies which have failed before.

† The trade in ivory and that in slaves are intimately associated. Ivory is the principal product of Central Africa, and in many cases it is bought from the head men of the tribes by the slave currency, or, in other words, slaves are exchanged for tusks. It is calculated that the amount of ivory which is annually imported into Great Britain alone would imply the destruction of 44,000 elephants per annum.—"Livingstone's Last Journal," vol. ii. p. 90. A sad fact this, when it is remembered that the elephant would be one of the most efficient means of carrying civilization into Africa.

and that the time has come when they shall be utterly abolished.* Let us take some steps then! Are we to have a non-intervention policy between murderers and their victims? if so we are art and part with the former, and to be art and part with the latter were too good a fate for us. But we cannot believe that that will long be the attitude of the people of England. Individual men have done what they could, even to the sacrifice of their own lives—and the time is surely not far off when the whole people will rise as one man and insist upon the insufferableness of these transactions, which are none the less their concern that they take place in Africa, and will see their way to bring force to bear upon force, to cure all these petty wars with one huge war, and to give peace and prosperity to a land which basks in summer, and which has in its earth untold riches, not only of the shining and glittering sort, but of the black and useful sort; a land which has iron and coal, which has inland seas for the commerce of the lands which would grow rapid harvests under the warm suns and the rich rains, and which would become a new world in the heart of the old. This would be a crusade worthy of the 19th century, which has a tendency to pilgrimages, and goes by rail to Pontigny. To rescue what is fast becoming through this trade in men a desolation and a sepulchre, and make it a city full of palaces—that is what we must look forward to—and not only look, but work forward to. Some men have shown us the way, and in these books before us we have the records of their doings.

Sir Samuel Baker had in his earlier journeys in Africa, which he described in his pleasant works "*The Albert Nyanza*" and "*The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia*," become familiar with all the features of the slave trade of the Upper Nile, and not only had his sense of justice and mercy been outraged by the scenes of which he was the witness, but he had become impressed with the belief that although Central Africa was amenable to the influence of civilization, and was calculated to advance rapidly to a condition of prosperity, the trade in men was an obstacle to any moral or material improvement, and must at all costs be put an end to. Sir Samuel Baker does not seem to have appreciated the indissoluble connexion which, in the opinion of many, exists between the slave and ivory trades, and his object seems to have been to put an end to the former with a view to the continuance and extension of the latter. Whether these two could be disassociated or not we are not in a position to say, but it seems to us that the suppression of both trades would be an incalculable

* "It is not a trade," says "*Livingstone's Last Journals*," vol. ii. p. 11, "but a system of consecutive murdering; they (the Arabs) go to plunder and kidnap, and every trading trip is nothing but a foray."

benefit to the Soudan and to Central Africa, and that if civilization is to make her progress into Central Africa at all it will in all probability be on the back of an elephant. It is evident that the slave trade is depopulating the country, and year by year the raids of the marauding Arabs have to be extended further and further inland, and the hardships of travel are more felt by the herds of slaves who are driven to the coast. It is not much use civilizing a depopulated country. But even supposing the slave trade ceased, supposing the intertribal wars which are incident to this trade were no longer waged, and the people became—what Livingstone points out they have a strong tendency to become—agriculturists, surely elephant hunting would not be their best trade, while the elephant tamed and used as a beast of burden would be invaluable in relation to traffic. No conditions tend more surely to the development and civilization of mankind than settled work with facilities for intercommunication, and the exchange of commodities. These would be afforded by the pursuit of agriculture, and by the domestication of the elephant. A hunter of Sir Samuel Baker's skill, and the zest which is associated with it, may be forgiven for forgetting the utility of the elephant as a domestic animal, and remembering the excitement of putting one of his own explosive shells from a No. 8 Reilly just where he meant to put it, and seeing the huge game roll back dead into the river.*

But although Sir Samuel Baker does not take this view of the ivory trade, he takes, as we have seen, a very decided view with regard to the slave trade, and the work before us is an account of his labours in relation to the expedition which was organized by the Khedive in council for the purpose, as the firman has it, "of suppressing the slave trade and introducing a system of regular commerce," which was to be done by "subduing to the Khedive's authority the countries situated to the south of Gondokoro," and which was placed under his command. His authority, which was somewhat unlimited by the words "the most absolute and supreme power—even that of death—over all those who may compose the expedition," was to commence on the 1st of April, 1869, and was to continue for four years. Sir Samuel Baker, who had the care of many of the preliminary preparations, was in every respect most prudent, and carefully provided everything that forethought could suggest; and had his efforts been as ably seconded in Egypt, the delays of which he complains, and, half-failures, which but for his energy and perseverance would have frustrated the objects in view, would have been avoided, and, although the exploits of the expedition could not have been more brilliant, the results might have been

* "Livingstone's Last Journals," vol. i. p. 412.

made more secure. But these efforts were not seconded, and Sir Samuel Baker had not only to fight with the Baris and the sottish savage, Kabba Réga, and the wily slave hunter Abou Saood, but had to contend with much stress of public opinion and official obstruction, which make the success which crowned his efforts all the more honourable, and his perseverance and courage against such open and secret odds all the more praiseworthy.

Sir Samuel Baker took from England with him not only steamers which he meant to sail on the Albert Nyanza, steel lifeboats, and magazines full of stores and presents for all his savage allies, but he was accompanied by his wife—Lady Baker—his nephew, Lieut. Julian Baker, and an efficient English staff. He travelled to Khartoum by steamer to Souakim on the Red Sea, and thence across the Nubian desert. Here his troubles began. The ships which ought to have been ready for the conveyance of his troops—which numbered 1600 men—were not prepared; the camels which ought to have been forwarded from Cairo, and without which the conveyance of the sections of the steamers he had brought from Europe, from Gondokoro to the lake would be attended with the greatest difficulty, had not arrived. Obstructions were to be met with on all hands; and no wonder, all the people in Khartoum were interested in the slave trade, and those who were at the head of affairs in the south of Egypt were avowedly hostile to the object of the expedition. The nefarious trade upon which the people of Khartoum existed was to be put an end to; it was no wonder that the people looked with disfavour upon the instrument by which this was to be brought about. However, although the passive resistance of delay impeded his purpose, at last, after many hindrances, Sir Samuel Baker began his expedition to Gondokoro on the 8th day of February, 1870. But the tactics of delay had been so far successful. It was now too late to attempt the passage of the Bahr Giraffe, and the passage of the White Nile to ships was rendered impossible by the Sudd or Grass-barrier—which crossed it, and which must be cleared away if that fine river is to become a highway to Central Africa. But the fact that the time for the passage of the Bahr Giraffe—which has, owing to the vegetable rafts and obstructions, become a series of shifting lakes and pestiferous marshes—had passed, had to be learned at the cost of an attempt and failure, and on the 2nd of April, after some hard efforts to make a passage through them, the order to turn back was given.

But although his purpose had so far failed he was not frustrated, Precious time was slipping away, his authority only lasted for four years; and he must remain inactive, with disheartened and unwilling troops, on the banks of the river until the rise of the river would make the passage of that rotting district possible. These months,

however, which had to elapse, were well spent at his camp on the river, to which he gave the name of Tewfikéyah, not only in attempting, not very successfully we fear, to redress the grievances of Quat Kare, the real king of the Shillooks; in freeing some slaves which the Upper Nile hunters still attempted to send to market in close packed diahbeeahs; but in learning something of the politics of the Soudan, by which he discovered that while the Government was pretending to put down slavery with the one hand, it was encouraging slave hunters with the other. Not a very satisfactory discovery that for a leader of an expedition who felt little confidence in the honesty, the spirit, or the sympathy of his men. It might have suggested itself to Sir Samuel Baker's mind, that the annexation of territory was perhaps the real object of the Egyptian Government, and that philanthropy and legitimate commerce were only gaudy excuses which were to be given to Europe for acts that are regarded as somewhat unjustifiable in these days, and as temptations which might induce a man of Sir Samuel Baker's integrity and ability to enter the service of Egypt. Perhaps it did occur to him, but he meant to do the work which, whether it was given him or not, lay to his hand.

On the 11th of December the journey to Gondokoro was recommenced, and the camp at Tewfikéyah was deserted. Even now the carelessness and stupidity of his subordinates were a cause of delay, and no wonder, if "against stupidity the gods fight unvictorious." But after several mishaps the vegetable débris of countless summer growths was again reached, and this time all the difficulties which it opposed to the progress of the fleet were, with infinite patience, untiring perseverance, and versatile ingenuity overcome, and at length the fleet again rode in the waters of the Nile, and on the 15th of April, 1871, it reached Gondokoro. But it was not only against the stupidity and unwillingness of his subordinates, and the obstructions which were thrown in his way by certain authorities, Sir Samuel Baker had to contend. His whole book reads like a novel, and although there is not the usual love-story running through it, there is the conventional villain. Abou Saood, a member of the Khartoum firm of Agād & Co., is the villain of the piece. All the hostility of the Baris which the Government troops, as Sir Samuel Baker is never tired of calling them, had to encounter, was due to Abou Saood. The return of about 1100 men and women to Khartoum by command of Colonel Raouf Bey, an act contrary to orders and which had the effect of crippling the expedition, was incited by Abou Saood. The absence of Wat-el-Mek from Gondokoro, a man who from his knowledge of the country, his courage and ability, would have been of great service to the Government, was planned by Abou Saood. The ill-feeling and

treachery of the usurper, Kabba Réga, who reigned instead of Kamrasi, over the Unyoro, which led to the battle of Masindi, and to the ultimate though brave retreat of the Government troops through eight days of incessant fighting and interminable ambuscades, upon the country of Rionga, was occasioned by the cunning misrepresentations of Abou Saood. The conduct of the Vakeel Suleiman, which was very diabolical, was, it appears, also instigated by this most cunning merchant. He had reason to dislike Sir Samuel Baker and the object of his expedition. The house of Agād and Co. were ivory and slave merchants. The district in which Abou Saood's Zareebas were situated, and in which he profited from the irregular commerce in men and tusks, was the district in which regular commerce was to be established, where slavery was to be abolished, and where settled government, which rules by peace, was to take the place of the anarchic conditions of war, of fraud, and force, which had been the conditions most favourable for the prosperity of that illicit trade in men, illicit, not alas, by the laws of Egypt, which are but a blurred and defaced transcript of higher laws, but illicit by the laws of God. He had every interest to oppose Sir Samuel Baker, every reason to attempt to make the expedition a failure, and he was at least faithful in his diabolic perseverance and that somewhat urgent allegiance to self which is the characteristic of the villain. Sir Samuel Baker's readers will feel that he was too lenient to this marplot, and that he might with some advantage to his purpose have exercised his "supreme power—even that of death,"—in relation to this most energetic member of the firm of Agād and Co. We feel that he is almost too slow to wrath in this matter, and like the boy who, witnessing the long-sword fight between a sturdy Macbeth and an equally valiant Macduff, longing for the catastrophe, regardless of anachronisms cried out "Shoot him;" we felt inclined at more than one juncture to tender the same advice. But we all along hoped to hear that in the end Abou Saood, like his Vakeel Ali Hussein, had met his reward. It is so common in romances, and in the world too, for men may tolerate evil for a time but in the end they abolish it. It is therefore somewhat disappointing to learn that although justice was promised by the Khedive, and although all the proofs of Abou Saood's complicity with rebels, and other punishable acts, were submitted by Sir Samuel Baker to him before he left Egypt, that instead of being punished, this man has been rewarded. This is the postscript to Ismailia: "After my departure from Egypt Abou Saood was released and was appointed assistant to my successor." Does that act upon the part of the Government at Cairo show much real sincerity in relation to the suppression of the slave trade south

of Gondokoro? They are half-hearted in Egypt as well as in England. But Sir Samuel Baker was in earnest, and has, notwithstanding the lack of energy and interest with which he was seconded, notwithstanding the inefficiency of the materials with which he had to deal, notwithstanding the treachery and malice of Abou Saood, done a good work in the districts of the Upper Nile. After much difficulty with the Baris and Belinians near Gondokoro he brought about peace, but not without war, he secured supplies for his troops, but not without force, for the machinations of Abou Saood had the effect of restraining the natives from the marketing and barter which was to be the small beginning of great trades; and he started with a small band of soldiers upon the expedition to the countries south of Gondokoro. His march through Lohoré to Fatiko was unmolested; from Fatiko he marched to Unyoro and thence to Masindi. Masindi was the capital of the realm of the greedy Kabba Réga, and here on a certain day after the slaves had been set free, the Ottoman flag was hoisted and Unyoro annexed to Egypt (14th May, 1872). But here too was treachery, and at length an open rupture between the King and the Pacha which resulted in the burning of Masindi, and after a further act of treachery upon the part of Kabba Réga, in the withdrawal of the Government troops from Unyoro to Rionga. Thence Sir Samuel Baker proceeded to Fatiko, where upon his arrival he found rebellion upon the part of the enraged slave hunters which broke into revolt. This, however, with the aid of the "Forty Thieves," as his picked body-guard was called, he succeeded in putting down, and having formed a corps of irregulars, and attached Suleiman and Wat-el-mek to the Government by opportune clemency, having seen the establishment of peace where he had found the grim visage of war, he returned to Gondokoro and thence to Khartoum. From Khartoum he proceeded to Souakim and thence to Cairo. So ended the expedition, and there can only be one opinion with reference to Sir Samuel Baker's conduct of the difficult and perilous enterprise. He showed courage and ability, and throughout his acts were not only brave and intrepid, but just and lenient. He has carried an example of generalship, kindness, and humanity into the heart of a country which wotted little of these things. These examples cannot be lost. Others will follow where he has trodden. Where the grass has been laid footsteps will broaden into pathways, and pathways into roads. There will be a thoroughfare from Cairo to Zanzibar.

But in one respect the expedition cannot be regarded as successful. Its success really consists in the defeat of the slave hunters. It was doubtless of the utmost importance that they should cease to pursue their nefarious calling. While slave

hunters sought slaves and ivory in the great lake country, the improvement of the people, and the progress of fair and regular commerce, which is the harbinger of civilization, was impossible. But that, after all, was a question of Egyptian police. The ivory and slave merchants were really tenants of the Egyptian Government. They exercised their rights under concessions granted by the State, and if they continued to exercise rights which were adverse to the policy of the State after the concessions had expired, it was for the Egyptian Government to stop these home robbers in the way which a government stops the career of a highwayman. But it does not appear that there was any continuance of the trade when the contract had come to an end, although there was an attempt upon the part of Abou Saoud to defraud the government of the tax in kind which had been imposed on the ivory at his Zareebas. This effort was, if we remember aright, frustrated by Sir Samuel Baker; but we cannot think that his only object in penetrating Central Africa with 1600 men was to act the part of an Egyptian custom-house officer. But if the action of the slave hunters could have been controlled by a governmental act at Cairo or Khartoum, wherein lay the success of the expedition? Sir Samuel Baker found enemies in the Baris and Belinians and he left them allies, but by his own showing the enmity was due to the scheming slave hunter. He found a seeming ally in Kabba Réga, and he left in Unyoro a somewhat bitter enemy. He interchanged compliments and messages with M'tese, the King of Uganda, but he had not really to be conciliated, as he had all along been friendly. All that was accomplished, so far as we can see, which was in the direction of the main purpose of the expedition, was the construction of the fort at Fatiko, and the leaving of the garrison at Gondokoro. The presence of disciplined white men cannot fail to have a beneficial effect upon the natives. Indirectly Sir Samuel Baker's expedition has been of much service. Owing to his representations to Egypt, the White Nile will be cleared of its raft rubbish, and again be opened to navigation. Owing to his representations to Europe, we cannot but think that the Egyptian Government will be shamed out of the encouragement of the lawless trade which renders the Upper Nile region a wilderness, while it might be a farm, with granaries not only for its own wants, but for the wants of Southern Europe. But if Upper Egypt supplied the wants of Europe, Europe would supply innumerable things to Upper Egypt which would create wants, and the creation of wants is the beginning of civilization. Surely the Egyptian Government will begin to perceive that its only function is to make itself unnecessary. While this rapine and wrong commerce exist a government is called for; but it is

a government which will put an end to them. If the rulers of Egypt are unwilling to cope with these evils, a government will surely come which will cope with these evils, and with that other evil, the rulers of Egypt, too! Let them look to it. The days of freedom to do evil are past. The new freedom only means freedom to do right, which, of a truth, is the only freedom. We no longer allow disease to be free to decimate the people; we no longer allow ignorance to be a free path to crime; and a time will come when we will not suffer countries to disgrace humanity. But besides these indirect effects of Sir Samuel Baker's expedition there is another. He raised the Ottoman flag in Masindi, and that is a symbol of rule, of government; but everywhere throughout his arduous enterprise he exhibited what is not the symbol but the reality of rule—the perseverance, the ability, the skill, and the humanity of an English gentleman. That is something to show to the natives of Central Africa.

We must now refer to Livingstone's last journals. A very different expedition that which left Zanzibar on the 19th of March, 1866, from that which sailed up the White Nile and the Bahr Giraffe from Khartoum on the 8th of February, 1870. Yet although the former was insignificant in comparison, we cannot but think that the results will bulk as large in the public eye. What a man can do does not depend upon the assistance of governments, but upon himself; it is not the retinue a man has with him which can effect anything, but what he has in him. Livingstone's retinue was of poor stuff. His dumb retinue of camels and mules are abused by some of his unwilling Sepoys, and by the cruel tsetse fly, and one by one die. Then the Sepoys, finding that such hints of the necessity of a return to better quarters from the hot jungles and the spare diet of Makonde are disregarded, finding that their leader had patience to bear with their malingering and with their tardiness, at length become more explicit, and so even before the expedition has reached lake N'Yassa they are dismissed. Having gone round by the south end of the lake, and having heard various black rumours of those very terrible fellows the Mazitus, a tribe residing on the high table-land to the north-west of Nyassa, and one of whose terrific features was the shields they used, Livingstone lost the society of the Johanna men, who "walked off, leaving the goods on the ground" on the 26th of September. So too of the Nassick boys and the rest, and at the time of his death on May 1st, 1873, there remained only five faithful ones of all that had left Zanzibar in 1866; how faithful these five were, the narrative which the editor of these last journals supplies in continuation of Livingstone's notes shows. But for these five men the valuable journals which are now before us, the important maps which were the careful results of these years of travel,

the careful observations, and vigorous researches of the greatest of African explorers would have been lost to the world, and remains which add another glory to the dust of which Westminster Abbey is the precious casket, would have been poorly buried in an African grave. That these last journals are one of the most excellent contributions to the discovery-literature of the centre of Africa, cannot, we think, be doubted. No traveller has gone over more of the new ground, unknown to white foot, than David Livingstone, and no traveller carried with him more attentive eyes, or a more excellent capacity both of head and heart, than the strong, persevering, brave, and earnest man who died upon his knees in the hut in Chitambo's village, to the south of Lake Bangweolo, two years ago.

But this is a most difficult book to review. It is not written for the reviewer, but for the man himself. It is only made up of jottings which were to save his memory from carrying impossible loads. Day by day we have some shrewd observation, some interesting fact, some manly protest, or some scrap of keen speculation. There is no continuous current of thought running through it, it is simply the honest and faithful jotting of a painstaking man who had his senses well trained to observe, and his head well trained to know what was worth observing. There is a continuity of purpose, however, in the life of which these notes and journals give some faithful records. From the beginning to the end he was conscious of his mission.* He was carrying the broad truth to those who had but dim inklings of what seemed to him the main, the irresistible fact of the universe—the existence and the fatherhood of God. He was carrying the message which God's Son, according to his earnest creed, himself bore, and he felt proud of his mission. He looked forward to the time when the evils of slavery should cease, when the people who have a love of peace and the quiet arts of agriculture† should be left to themselves to work out the end of their existence, and to bring about prosperity and happiness in that wide region which is being desolated in consequence of the false idea that man can have property in man. Over and over again he dwells upon the evils of the present terrible system. Here are some grim fragments:—

"19th June, 1866.—We passed a woman tied by the neck to a tree and dead; the people of the country explained that she had been unable to keep up with the other slaves in a gang, and her master had determined that she should not become the property of any one else if she recovered after resting for a time. I may mention here that we saw others tied up in a similar manner, and one lying in the path shot or stabbed, for she was in a pool of blood."

* "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 66.

† Vol. i. p. 143.

"27th June.—One of our men wandered and found a number of slaves with slave-sticks on, abandoned by their master from want of food; they were too weak to be able to speak or say where they came from; some were quite young."

"29th June.—I saw a person bound to a tree and dead—a sad sight whoever was the perpetrator. . . . A great deal, if not all the lawlessness of this quarter (Waiyau and Makao) is the result of the slave trade, for the Arabs buy whoever is brought to them, and in a country covered with forest as this is, kidnapping can be prosecuted with the greatest ease; elsewhere the people are honest and have a regard for justice."

"16th September.—At the present rate of destruction of population, the whole country will soon be a desert."

And after many other such allusions, he writes:—

"4th June, 1868.—From what I see of slavery, even in its best phases, I would not be a slave dealer for the world."

Such experiences are enough to give earnestness to one's hatred of an institution which can produce such results. Livingstone had a real belief in the possibility of a great future for Africa,* but he knew that that would be impossible while the trade which it was his object to suppress continued. He found that many of the populations of the countries he travelled through were possessed of the idea of property in man,† and he was of opinion that it was this erroneous idea—which is erroneous not only when looked at from the Christian point of view, which looks upon the social relationship as a brotherhood, but regarded as a question of the philosophy of jurisprudence—that retarded all improvement, that prevented the development of character amongst those in whose minds were the elements of justice, the sentiment of honesty, and the germs of religion, and that turned a rich and fertile land into a wilderness and a hunting ground. We cannot but believe that Livingstone was right in this opinion, and right when he thought that slavery, "the great open sore of the world," would be mitigated by religion; and that the religion of love might bring about the peace which was so urgently required to enable Africa to develop her resources—that the religion of equality and brotherly love would bring about the freedom which was the right of each, and the extinction of the idea of property in humanity.‡ Without these the future of Africa would be like the past.

But Livingstone was not a visionary, but a very thorough-headed

* See vol. ii. p. 81.

† Vol. i. pp. 143-154.

‡ "I, too, have shed light of another kind, and am fain to believe that I have performed a small part in the grand revolution which our Maker has been for ages carrying on by multitudes of conscious and many unconscious agents all over the world."—"Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 66.

practical man. He hoped much from God's blessing on his work, but he hoped more from his labours as an explorer and a geographer. For Africa, in the meantime, a Map was more important than a Bible. It almost seems incredible to believe that it remained for men of the nineteenth century to discover that great group of inland seas which lies in the centre of Africa. Every portion of the coast is so well known. It is only a holiday journey round the Cape of Good Hope now. The northern shore has histories which are older now, and were perhaps more splendid once, than those of Europe, and yet, of the interior of Africa, until this century little or nothing was known. An America was lying in the midst of men for centuries, and no Columbus was there to seek for it. But there is no barrier more secure than that of ignorance. That no one knew anything of it was the reason that no one endeavoured to know anything. If once a man shows the way the crowd will follow him. But it requires a strong, able man to go where others have feared to go; indeed, in everything that fearless spirit which will tread anywhere with God, however much the path may separate it from humanity, is the distinction between the great and the small man. The genius thinks thoughts that no one has dared to think, the orator says things that no one has dared to say, the inventor does things that no one has dared to do, and the explorer goes where no one has dared to go. A block is pierced by the small end of the wedge; the explorer is the point of the human wedge which makes its way into the country. The obstacle to the knowledge of Africa has been the ignorance of Africa. The physical features of that vast continent were unknown, and but for some such leaders of men as Livingstone they would have remained unknown. Now, however, a way is opened to other men by the mere footprints of that solitary Scotchman through the dense vegetation, the "steamy smothering air" of that continent, and already men are following in his footsteps.* His geographical discoveries have in that respect been all important. There is a fine figure of speech used in connexion with certain religious tenets by which man is called "a way for us." Surely, in a true sense, David Livingstone is a way for us into the centre of Africa.† How considerable his discoveries have been will be evident from a glance at a map of Africa as it was before his enterprise began and a map of Africa since his enterprise so sadly ended. He has given us continents and seas of which we knew nothing. He has told us of moun-

* We see that Dr. Steer, the Bishop of Central Africa, has just left this country for his diocese.

† "All Central Africa will soon be known," he says, in a note of the 28th January, 1871.—"Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 97.

tain ranges, of high table-lands, of broad rivers of which we were ignorant. In these last wanderings he discovered Lake Bangweelo or Bemba, which is at least 150 miles long by 80 broad.* The Manynema country, for which he set out on the 12th July, 1869, was hitherto unknown. He was the first European to visit Lake Moero. He has made us familiar with every headland and cove in that long narrow lake, Tanganyika, and with the height of innumerable mountains and districts, the breadth of innumerable rivers, and the peculiarities of innumerable tribes. The red lines which show his journeyings on the maps which accompany this careful edition of his "Last Journals," show how much ground he has gone over. The careful naming of the places on the map would have been a most valuable geographical contribution, but the thoroughness of his investigations went much further. No man, we feel convinced, could have contributed more to the knowledge of Central Africa than David Livingstone. A man with powers of scientific observation—a man with admirable ability in geographical dialectics, he yet very seldom indulges in theories, but is content to do the important dindgery of registering the rainfall day by day, of recording the temperature and making barometrical and hypsometrical observations with "unflagging thoroughness of purpose year in and year out"† There could have been no abler or better pioneer of men into the unknown districts of Central Africa than he whose weary journeyings, whose unfailling patience, whose firm perseverance, whose failing health and long illness are faithfully recorded in these volumes. As to the book itself we said it was not one which was written for reviewers, yet it has merits which a reviewer may well note. There is a clear directness of style which is peculiarly pleasant after the many specimens of modern English which seem to sprawl over the thought they are meant to convey. The editing is well performed by the Rev. Mr. Waller, whose past knowledge, not only of Livingstone, but of Africa, contributed to make him a competent and tender editor, and to some extent a biographer. One want we note with disappointment, and that is the absence of an index. In a work of the nature of that before us an index was almost indispensable. It would have been the means of introducing a possible method into a series of observations, discourses, and researches which were necessarily miscellaneous as they left the hand of Livingstone, seeing that they had no other connexion than that of the time at which they were made or recorded. Mr. Waller has done his work so well, we regret that he has

not in this respect done it better. It is weary routine work to the author or editor making an index, but how much weary and annoying trouble and time does it save the reader!

And how does this work bear upon the matter we have on hand? Does it only vamp up stories of the murder of poor over-driven and failing slaves, or tell new tales which read like old? These tragedies are so common now. Will it effect much by bringing to light more of the shocking particulars of the abhorred trade? We fear that its influence will be limited in that way. We have said that England is half-hearted, and will not in the meanwhile be stung by such remote sympathy to do more than send some "cruisers" to steam about the east coast of Africa and enter into waste paper treaties with the powerless Sultan of Zanzibar. But the good work of this man cannot pass away with his troubled life. He has left Europe a legacy of Central Africa. He has by these maps and journals which were made in these laborious journeys possessed us of a knowledge of the country which has opened it to us. Now that he has made the way many will follow in his footsteps. He has made what was a fastness a high road. Already we have had reporters in Central Africa in search of the explorer; we will have many in time to come in search of the explored. It is finding the key to the door that is the difficulty; once the bolt is shot it will turn upon its hinges. That these results will be the means of putting an end—after many days, we fear—to the slave trade, which is an issue of blood to Africa at the present time, and drains its life away, we hope and believe. The influence of man upon man is slow but certain. These "Last Journals" contain innumerable proofs of the influence which Livingstone exercised upon those about him, for we see men become better by the infection of his presence.

It was no wonder that in early times it was believed that great and good men could by their physical touch work miracles, for each man must have had experience of great effects produced by that mental touch which we call influence, effects which to them must have seemed more miraculous than the cure of disease or the raising from the dead. But that law, although occult, is palpable enough to those who have eyes. It is one of the strongest in the universe, and we cannot but believe that now that there has been a little leaven introduced in the dough of Africa, anon the whole lump will be leavened. We cannot but believe that these wanderings will have an immense influence upon the future of Africa. We have there a country well watered by large navigable rivers, which flow in many instances from central lakes which would afford easy means of water communication from the centres of commerce and of industry, which

might under peace grow upon their banks. The climate is according to all the evidence more healthy than that of India, and the population are, on the whole, docile, tractable, and peace loving.* The land is in many places admirably adapted for a cultivation which would make the scraping and penurious efforts of European soil look sterile by comparison, and in many places there is an abundance of easily-worked iron and coal. These physical advantages are immense. America, with only one of these, and labouring against the disadvantage of distance from Europe, has produced some of the first of nations in a couple of centuries. What might not Africa become? We know what Egypt was, but we cannot say what Africa might become. Little or nothing stands in the way of this progress except African slavery, which we as a country are slow to put an end to, but which may, it seems, through the brave and life-sacrificing exertions of some of our countrymen, in time be made to cease. When that time comes we will have to look back upon Livingstone not only as a traveller, an explorer and a geographer, but as a philanthropist.†

ART. II.—PLINY'S LETTERS.

Pliny's Letters. By the Rev. A. CHURCH and Rev. W. J. BRODRIBB. Blackwoods: Edinburgh and London.

THIS is another of Messrs. Blackwood's "Ancient Classics for English Readers," executed with the same care and good taste which have marked its predecessors. No volume of the series is likely to be more serviceable in certain quarters than this one. It will be of use not only to the English reader, but also to the college student, to whom it will be a much-needed introduction to one of the most interesting relics of antiquity. For it is a singular fact that though there are at least two translations in our language of the famous Epistles—those of Lord Orrery, and Melmoth—no attempt, as far as we know, at editing them has ever been made in this country. The same remark

* "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 73.

† "Mine," says Livingstone, "has been a calm, hopeful endeavour to do the work that has been given me to do, whether I succeed or whether I fail. The prospect of death in pursuing what I knew to be right, did not make me veer to one side or the other." Vol. ii. p. 72.

applies to Pliny's contemporary Martial—not to speak of Suetonius, Tacitus, and Quintilian, who have been more or less satisfactorily handled in Germany. But in the case of Martial an excuse can be pleaded for neglect which will not avail in the case of these Epistles. There is not in these last, if we except one bit of ambiguous verse, a passage² which could call up a blush to the cheek of an archbishop: indeed, the present Archbishop of Canterbury has recommended them as excellent reading. Yet the university student, preparing for the Tripos or the schools, and consulting Dr. Smith's Standard Dictionary, will still find Mr. George Long, perhaps the first of our Latinists, recommending the edition of Cortius and Longolius, published at Amsterdam in 1734—continental scholars having, until recently, exhibited a neglect with regard to this particular author as striking as our own. Surely there are at Oxford and Cambridge a number of idle men called Fellows who ought to see to this. There were at any rate many such in our day, and we do not believe that the genus is extinct. These men have not always been idle. On the contrary, many of them have acquired and exhibited at the age of two or three-and-twenty a familiarity with the Greek and Latin languages such as we firmly believe is not to be found in any corresponding body of youths in any other country in the world. We put out of the question such of them as are engaged in college or private tuition; though, by the way, these are generally the only ones who favour us with classical editions of solid merit. We speak of those who having taken the most extraordinary pains to render themselves capable of being useful in certain branches of learning, are discovered, by the curious observer, vegetating under the ivy of the quadrangles; who, after having succeeded in writing better Latin prose than Lipsius and better Greek verse than Scaliger, have all of a sudden deviated into common-room gossip and short whist. It would almost seem as if, in the absence of a sense of duty, an imperious yearning to be doing something with all this load of knowledge would have impelled some of these to turn their attention to neglected manuscripts and neglected authors. At any rate, the conductors of that excellent series the "*Bibliotheca Classica*," should include Pliny's Letters in their programme. There is no lack of scholars in this country who could succeed in turning out an acceptable "College Edition" of them; some one of whom, we entertain the hope, might be pressed into undertaking the task.

The appearance of Pliny as a letter-writer coincides nearly with the fall of Domitian, and the commencement of that long epoch which has been celebrated by Gibbon and so many other historians as the happiest known to the ancient world. The

hand of the tyrant, red with the blood of nobles and dreaded at last, as we are told, by the meanest artisan of the capital, had of course been heavy upon everything in the shape of philosophy and serious literature. A happy time had now arrived when, as Tacitus puts it, "men might think what they wished and say what they thought." Under these circumstances, Roman literature broke out into what was destined to be a final flicker. Not that there had not been writers of talent, and one or two of genius, under Domitian; but theirs were themes which did not require freedom of utterance or elevation of sentiment, which indeed sometimes invited an exhibition of the opposite qualities. Thus Quintilian could compose his treatise on the complete training of an orator, a technical work; and Frontinus could write about water-works, and engineering, and tactics; and there were people, of course, who composed commentaries on Virgil, and others it would seem who wrote about cookery. Statius, we are told, delighted the town with his *Thebaid*, and, difficult as such a conception may be to the modern reader, we may suppose that Silius produced a like effect, with his dreary *Punica*. And there were many other poets who are, perhaps happily, known to us only by name. It was, of course, safe to sing of mythical themes such as those which the great satirist himself, publishing in a time of freedom, thought fit to ridicule: Telephus and Orestes, the grove of Mars and the cave of Vulcan, the wanderings of Diomed, and the bellows of the Minotaur. Æneas, as the same satirist tells us further on, might be set fighting with Turnus, and Achilles might be knocked on the head, or rather on the heel, with no danger to the poet: yet even in these mythical compositions it was thought prudent to bespatter the Emperor with occasional flattery. The fugitive pieces, or "*Silvæ*" of Statius (a work which, like Pliny, has been entirely neglected by the modern English scholar) are full of the grossest adulation: and the same must, of course, be said of Martial, the man of genius *par excellence* of the reign of Domitian. A writer like Martial is thoroughly at his ease under a despotism. His sole aim is to amuse; and slaves, as has constantly been remarked, are more easily amused than any other class of people. Even the better sort of folk are in a humour to be forced into a laugh, in the midst of their miseries. And the tyrant, unless he be one of an exceptional kind, such as Philip the Second, or this very Domitian at the beginning of his reign, or a madman like Caligula, is well content that his subjects should laugh. Flattery, to such an author, costs nothing. It can scarcely be said that he stoops to it. It would be more correct to say that at times he rises to it—or perhaps, rather, that it lies in the same moral plane as the filth in which he de-

lights, and is practised without effort. Hence we find Martial favoured by Domitian, read throughout the empire, and even treated with attention by men such as the younger Pliny. But anything like an independent tone of writing was impossible. This was the case, Pliny himself tells us, in the reign of Nero. It was also the case in the reign of Domitian, as is shown by the fate of Arulenus Rusticus, and Herennius Senecio, the only men who attempted it.

The new epoch ushered in three new authors of eminence, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Pliny; the two former men whose productions—barring such strange accidents as have befallen works like the plays of Menander, the lost *décades* of Livy, and the *Medea* of Ovid—were of a character to defy Time, the last named, an agreeable writer who has had the good luck to elude him. Tacitus indeed seems to have already published a treatise, and it is almost certain that Juvenal had composed the bulk of his first two satires previous to Domitian's death; but the fame of all three rests upon their subsequent productions. A serious writer taking up his pen at such a time would be pretty sure to exhibit one of two influences predominating in his mind. He would show himself soured by what he had gone through, or—especially after the adoption of Trajan—elated by the prospect before him. Juvenal and Tacitus exhibit the former characteristic in a marked degree. Pliny, not without an occasional retrospect at the gloomy past, seems animated by the spirit of Hood's "four-and-twenty happy boys" who come "bounding out of school." The dawn of a new epoch, seen through his benevolent eyes, clothes every object in a rosy tint. We behold a man surrounded by troops of friends, all more or less intelligent and virtuous, visiting them at their agreeable country-seats and receiving them at his own, corresponding with them on literary and philosophical subjects, drawing them to his recitations and delighting to be recited to in turn. When these people write in Greek, they recall Homer, they equal Menander, they surpass Callimachus, every line is full of honey and nectar; in their own language they rival Catullus and Calvus, Plautus and Terence. We behold him interesting himself in the advancement and establishment in life of excellent youths, the pecuniary circumstances and lawsuits of admirable matrons, and the illnesses of young girls, who unite the wisdom of age with youthful sweetness and virgin modesty. His own family connexions are all of the same distressingly perfect type. Hardly a man, woman, or child is named who is not praised. The vices and meannesses of the great city only occasionally make their echoes heard. Thus, on one occasion, the author dines with a man who sets inferior fare before his humbler guests; but the practice

is spoken of in terms which lead us to suppose that it was condemned by public opinion. Again we read of a fortune-hunter, a tyrannical master, a rapacious governor—characters who are to be met with everywhere; and we light upon vague expressions about “the times” such as are uttered in all times. But the general tints of the picture remain unaltered, and nowhere else perhaps are we introduced to so many upright and uninteresting people. We ask ourselves, can this be the same city as that described by Juvenal as a soil where only vice could thrive, with its nobility given up to horse-racing and debauchery, its so-called philosophers sinks of iniquity, full of a foreign population of Greeks and orientals, the scum of the earth, where there is scarcely a woman of the higher ranks that does not practise abortion, or a good looking boy who does not get corrupted? The truth, of course, lies between the two extremes, and the two writers serve to correct each other. For instance, we see at once that Juvenal must be in the right, when he tells us that the recitations, so much affected by Pliny, were, in point of fact, among the dreariest modes of wasting time ever invented. We accept the judgment which he hints upon all this amateur poetry, so superior to Callimachus and Catullus. We are inclined to endorse his estimate of Stoics and professors of virtue, whom he had opportunities of watching when removed from under the eyes of their noble patrons. On the other hand, there were virtuous and refined circles in Rome to which we may be sure that Juvenal, a literary Bohemian, never penetrated. His knowledge of the aristocracy was probably confined to what he saw of them in public, or at the morning reception, or at an occasional dinner to which he was bidden. Any great public scandal affecting the nobility, of course came to his ears: and as he was on the look-out for deformities, he noted it, and, as it appears to us, in many cases presented it under too general a form. We distrust his aristocratic interiors and great ladies’ boudoirs, as much as we distrust the West-end life and Grosvenor Square iniquities of the “London Journal.” Modern critics and historians have constantly fallen into mistakes in this particular. They have judged of society at Rome from the pages of satirists, and epigrammatists, and Christian fathers: which is very much as it would be to judge of society in Paris in the days of Louis Philippe from the pages of Paul de Kock, or of Protestant civilization from the Pope’s Encyclicals.

These letters not only give us an insight into the personal habits and tastes of Pliny, but also throw a strong light upon the cultivated and lettered gentleman of the period. The personal peculiarities are of importance in so far as they mark the epoch. Every age has its affectations, and it is not so long since states-

men were pleased to have it made known to the world how they had spent a day and a night up to their knees in cards, or how, on going into the House, they had seen two Speakers instead of one. The affectation of Pliny is of a much more harmless kind. He publishes—indeed, all these letters were evidently written with a view to publication—how, while engaged in hunting boars, he still continues to “compose.” He informs us that, on being called off to witness an eruption of Vesuvius, he had preferred to “study.” He puts a business inquiry on such a private matter as the purchase of an estate into the form of an elaborate epistle, and includes it in his collection. In one place an instructive conversation is recorded between the philosopher Euphrates and himself. In his post of Prefect of the Treasury he had to hear causes, to sign petitions, to make up accounts, and what appeared to him the worst thing of all, to write business letters into which he could not introduce “graces of style.” On his complaining about all this to Euphrates, his friend reminds him with great good sense, that to carry on the business of the State is not only the function, but the highest function, of a philosopher. But, says Pliny, he fails to persuade me that it would not be better to spend my whole days in listening to him. In all this we have distinct traits marking the cultivated pedant or prig of the time. We must suppose them, however, to have been manifested in an unusual degree by Pliny; and, indeed, there are not wanting stray indications in his letters that he was subjected to the good-natured criticism of his friends on account of some of his peculiarities. We must add—what, indeed, we are not entitled to add with regard to his friends, though we have our suspicions—that such a character was necessarily totally devoid of a sense of humour. An amusing instance of this is furnished us in one of the letters. One Passimus Paulus, an aristocratic knight, had got together an audience to hear his verses. On his commencing *Prisce jubes* (Priscus, do you bid me?) it seems that Priscus Javolinus, a lawyer who was present, could not help exclaiming, “*I, indeed, don’t bid you!*” a remark which excited laughter, in which we should have thought that the reciter might have good-humouredly joined, previous to starting afresh. Pliny pours out the vials of his wrath upon this Priscus, and declares that he was mad, though he is forced to admit that he had a considerable practice at the bar. The fact is that the utterer of this playful observation was one of the most eminent of Roman Jurisconsults. We must then make some allowances and deductions on account of the individual, if we would arrive, from Pliny’s rendering of himself, at a fair view of the pursuits of the men of his circle and his class. Yet the outline of their figures and the features common to all of them are plainly to be discerned.

Public life, in the highest sense in which we use the words—a position enabling a man, in proportion to his talents and opportunities, to influence public events, to “mould a nation’s decrees,” it may be to “shape the whispers of the throne”—had been for a long time interdicted to the Roman aristocracy. The Senate had sunk into a kind of *lit de justice*, or more often of *injustice*, an engine for registering and giving that kind of formal sanction, of which despotism is so often mindful, to the sovereign’s decrees. In the time of Domitian it had often been called together to discuss subjects of a trivial character. If we imagine the Convocation of Canterbury forced, on pain of death, to debate some of the topics which now engage its voluntary attention, we shall be able to realize the condition of the Senate. Juvenal, in a well-known satire, represents it as convened to decide on the mode of dressing an enormous turbot. And if this be a fiction, as we think it is—for we do not attach the same importance as Dean Merivale does to the *res vera agitur* of the poet—yet it would have had no point if it had not in some degree corresponded to a real state of things. To such an extent had this degradation of the Senate proceeded that, as Pliny himself informs us, the practice and procedure of parliament (*jus senatorium*) had come to be forgotten. Curule dignities, such as consulships, prætorships, &c., were still either objects of ambition to the nobility, or dignities for which they felt themselves bound to compete, under pain of falling under suspicion and into disgrace. The duties entailed upon their possessors consisted for the most part in a lavish expenditure of money. The real power was in the hands of the Emperor, and exercised by him through his freedmen. A nobleman might aspire to the governorship of a province, a post in which the despot’s favourite, in some cases nominated by a kind of *congé d’élire* in the Senate, could recoup himself for his extravagance at the shrovs by plundering the provincials. But, judging from the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny, the Emperor had to be consulted on matters of the smallest importance. There were a number of administrative offices, connected with the police, the roads, the water-works, &c., where a man of business habits might find occupation, but such as could hardly be considered objects of high political ambition. There was, of course, the army, and there was the bar, which was open to senators, and which was especially taken to by those who, feeling a vocation for it, sought a means of increasing their income, since trade and commerce were strictly forbidden to them.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that so many of the Roman nobility should have furnished food for the satirist by their extravagance and profligacy. When the private

memoirs and gossiping letters and diaries of the second French Empire shall see the light, it is certain that many very singular scenes and episodes in upper-class life will be found, not indeed described, but hinted at: to describe such even in a private diary or confidential letter would be nowadays impossible. It is greatly to the credit of the Romans that such a number of the better class should have filled up their leisure with pursuits which, if not exactly ennobling, were certainly not degrading. They were not uncommonly seized with a mania for making verses. In one of Martial's epigrams, the host actually sets his guests to work at verses during the dinner hour. These, however, may have been *vers de société*, epigrams, or some other harmless fooling. The productions which the Roman gentry of malice prepense set themselves to concoct, and to pour into the ears of their friends, were by no means always of this innocent character. They comprised such items as tragedies and epic poems. The evil was of long standing, but it probably reached its culminating point in the days of Pliny. Domitian wrote epics, as Nero had done before him; and the Court set the fashion in those days even more than it does in the present day. Even sensible people would think it a safe thing to amuse themselves in the same way as the Emperor. To write Greek verses, or, indeed, anything in Greek, was the height of these people's ambition. Indeed, the time was at hand when Greek was to become the literary language of Rome, as Latin afterwards was that of mediæval Europe, and French of some of the German courts. It is curious to notice how symptoms of the approaching change are hailed by the patrician and the plebeian respectively. "That a Roman should be able to speak such beautiful Greek!" exclaims Pliny, in an ecstasy of delight. "It would be much better to speak one's own language correctly," is the sensible comment of Juvenal, when he informs us that the ladies were in the habit of rattling off the foreign dialect in every circumstance of life. He might have added that the affectation stuck to men in the jaws of death, if he had happened to read Pliny's account of the gentleman who cried *κέκρικα*, "I have made my decision," to the physicians who pressed upon him the food which he refused to swallow. As Greek grew in fashion, the taste for dabbling in Greek philosophy increased. The gentry attended what we should call "courses of lectures" by rhetoricians and philosophers: the wealthiest among them sometimes kept such persons on their establishments: they were the instructors of the youth of the best circles. The Roman loved to air his Greek and his philosophy in his letters, and to assemble his friends to listen to his productions. That this was no joke for the friends is proved by the fact that the recitation sometimes lasted a whole day, and

even more. On these occasions the host arrayed himself in his choicest attire, with his hands sparkling with rings. There were some who delivered themselves at dinner-parties, where also philosophical works were read out loud, and *questiuncule*, small literary questions discussed, and such themes as "the true character of virtue" proposed for debate. Of this epoch our author was the product, and, on the whole, a favourable representative. He was not a mere literary dilettante, on the contrary, he was an active man of the world, but his dilettanteism always accompanies him. When most usefully employed, he is always pining after the study of "philosophy." It is possible that under more advantageous circumstances he might have been a great statesman. If we picture to ourselves Mr. Gladstone under a rigid despotism, pleading small causes at the bar, with only now and then a State trial to awaken his energies, discharging such offices as those of Accountant-General and Curator of the Thames, finally sent to administer Ireland, and forced to correspond with the home Government about the building of a theatre at Dublin, or the best mode of extinguishing fire at Cork, we can well imagine that his private letters would be full of complaints about the time lost to his studies and his translations of Homer, and we shall be able to realize the position of the younger Pliny.

He was born, in all probability, at what is now called Como, on the banks of the lake of that name, of a stock (the Cæcilian) originally plebeian, but long since reckoned as aristocratic. In the Roman Empire of the period, as in the England of to-day, the really old noble families were virtually extinct. Adopted, according to the sensible practice then sanctioned by law, by his maternal uncle the elder Pliny, he was educated under the eye of that extraordinary man. The elder Pliny, like the elder Mill, was one of those men part of whose mission seems to have been to exhibit to the world the impossibility of crushing youthful intellect, even by the most wrong-headed methods. We should expect a young man who came out of such hands to show a distaste for learning; during the rest of his life, as strong as that of Mr. Toots released from the forcing-apparatus of Dr. Blimber. The uncle deemed every moment wasted that was not given to study, and on one occasion rebuked his nephew for taking a walk. Of course the nephew was sent to the best instructors and made to learn Greek. At fourteen years of age he wrote a Greek tragedy, as he himself informs us with evident pride, though he affects to laugh at it. He practised with success at the bar, and held a commission in the army for a short time in Syria. Under Domitian, he served the office of Quæstor to the Emperor, and Prætor, when he had to exhibit games which he characteristically got a friend to preside over for him

In Trajan's reign, he served the office of Consul, and the last we hear of him is as Proprætor of Pontus and Bithynia. The letters began to be published after the death of Domitian, and it is of them that we would speak. The author pretends in his preface that they were collected at haphazard, and given to the world at the request of a friend; but nothing can be plainer than that they were elaborately polished with a view to publicity and issued in chronological order. It is related of Buffon that he was wont to array himself in full dress costume before sitting down to write; and here certainly we have Pliny in full dress. He advances to meet posterity with his best manners and his noblest sentiments. We believe him to have been a gentleman, but those who have bestowed unlimited praise on his moral character should bear in mind that we have only got his own account of himself. It is possible that if Cato, the censor, had published letters, and Plutarch's life of him had been lost, we should have been tempted to admire him as a model master of a household; or, again, if Seneca could have escaped the historians, what a perfect sage would have peeped out upon us from behind his writings. "Most of the letters," says Teuffell in his *History of Roman Literature*, "are devoted to the good and excellent performances or clever sayings, to the principles, mode of life, &c., of the author himself, and exhibit him as a tender husband, good friend, humane master of slaves, admired speaker or writer, noble-minded citizen and liberal patron of good aims." He takes uncommonly good care to inform the world of his largesses, and in one place sticks in a trumpery note of a few lines on purpose to let every one know that his works are sold at Lyons. But apart from the writer's foibles, which are themselves in some degree characteristic of the epoch, what is the light which the Letters throw upon the life of the period?

With regard to ordinary town life, we learn very little. Pliny had of course his town-house, but he never, to the best of our recollection, mentions it. In one of his letters he sums up the usual avocations of his class. "If you ask anybody," says he, "what he has been doing to-day, he will reply that he has been congratulating some young man on his attaining his majority, or else attending a betrothal or a wedding, or the signing of a will; or he has assisted a friend in a court of justice, or been summoned to a deliberation." We have abundant evidence that the duties involved in the relationship of patron and client sometimes weighed hard upon the Roman gentleman, and that the visits of ceremony enforced by a rigid etiquette were a serious nuisance. There are a few points on which we should be glad to be enlightened by Pliny; we should cheerfully dispense with a good deal of his lofty rhetoric, if we could only gain through him some

additional glimpses of the manners of the period. To give but one example in connexion with this matter of salutations. Pliny's path in life was by the side of rich and great men. Is it possible that persons in the position of Consul or Prætor could attend the levées of a number of persons wealthier than themselves for the purpose of carrying off their share of the small daily dole which was distributed at each house? We learn from other sources that this was so but, on a variety of grounds we have great difficulty in believing it. Probably some one or two cases of this kind may have occurred, which were immediately laid hold of by satire. We get no information on this head from Pliny. The trials and the debates in the Senate in which he was engaged form the most interesting passages which we can extract from his town life. In a long letter (the fourteenth of the eighth book) Pliny has made us acquainted with one of these debates, and has dealt with great minuteness, and indeed prolixity, on a point partly of parliamentary, partly of judicial procedure. The point was as to the particular question or issue to be put to the House in its character of a court investigating the circumstances attending the death of one Afranius Dexter, a Consul. The letter does not give us a very high opinion of Pliny or of any of the persons engaged. And we are sure that neither Mr. Speaker Brand nor Mr. Justice Blackburn would have found the slightest difficulty in dealing with the matter.

In relation to the country life of the period the Letters contain some indications of interest. Pliny must have had a considerable paternal estate at Como, to which he succeeded in early life. On the lake he possessed several villas. He had also a marine residence at Laurentum, a seat in Tuscany, chiefly built by himself, and others at Tusculum, Tibur, and Præneste. Nothing better illustrates the mania for building of that period, by which so many families ruined themselves, than the information which he gives us that he is still employed in constructions and additions to his residences. He describes himself as of moderate means, and no doubt correctly when compared with Senators and even Freedmen possessing immense estates in various parts of the Roman world and incomes ranging from fifty to two hundred thousand a year. We are not informed of his exact income, though we learn incidentally that his estate in Tuscany, as it would seem one of his two principal estates, was worth 3200*l.* a year. He had very little personalty, and he speaks of the probability of his having to borrow of his mother-in-law a sum of 24,000*l.* for the purchase of a property contiguous to one of his own. It is interesting to note what a landed proprietor (doubtless a generous one) in this position could contribute out of his own income to benevolent purposes. He presented a friend with 2400*l.* in order to make

up the fee necessary to a Roman knight; he contributed 800*l.* towards a lady's wedding portion; again, he bestowed 400*l.* on Quintilian's daughter, on her marriage, apologizing for the smallness of the gift; he gave his nurse a farm worth 800*l.* On one occasion he assigned an estate valued at considerably over 4000*l.* for the maintenance of certain young people at Comum. He founded a public library there. He built a temple at another place at his own expense. It would be interesting to know whether this kind of liberality was as common as the expenditure on banquets and bronzes, statues and choice tables of which we hear so much from other sources. Of two of his country seats Pliny has given us elaborate and extremely valuable descriptions. His marine villa was at Laurentum, seventeen miles from Rome, so that, he says, he could finish his business in the city, and be down there of an evening. The road being for part of the way sandy, it was pleasanter to make the journey on horseback than in a coach. His house, Pliny describes as comfortable but inexpensive; and he proceeds to enumerate the apartments and conveniences which it contains, a porch, cloisters, courtyard, various dining and drawing-rooms or saloons, a library, a suite of chambers in connexion with the bath, including a warm swimming-bath, passages warmed by hot air, two towers containing additional sitting-rooms, a suite of apartments for freedmen and slaves, but good enough for the reception of guests, a tennis-court, &c. &c. Yet all this, which nearly takes our breath away, was doubtless on a moderate scale compared with other villas in the neighbourhood, as for instance that of Hortensius. His Tuscan house was a far grander affair. In one of his letters he has favoured us with an account of the manner in which he spends his time there. He rises with the sun, but keeps his windows shut for awhile, for the purpose of collecting his thoughts with a view to composition, a process greatly assisted by "silence and darkness." After a time, he calls in his secretary and dictates what he has composed. At ten or eleven he walks in the cloisters or the portico, still "meditating and dictating." He next packs himself into a carriage, not with a view of enjoying the weather or the scenery, but that change of scene and posture may stimulate him to still further "meditations." Occasionally he takes a ride "in order to save time." On his return, after a short nap and a short walk, he recites aloud some Greek or Latin oration, for the benefit of his digestion, then the five's court, as we may style it (where one is glad to hear of him), then dinner, at which "a book is read." After dinner there is an entertainment by comedians or musicians, and, to close the day, literary conversation. Occasionally he goes out hunting, but always with his note-book, so as to be

sure to bag any happy thought that may pass through his head.

In the above account we have a good specimen of the pedantry of the period, with the pedantry of the individual, and no doubt a slight infusion of his uncle, superadded. The affectation of the whole thing is indeed too obvious. Elsewhere he tells us that this sort of life is superior to any sort of business career. Yet there can be no doubt that, despite his numerous disclaimers, Pliny was delighted to get back to Rome, to society, to the *centumviri*, to the Senate, to a scene where he could exercise his abilities and make himself useful. The country has been and will continue to be a delightful place of residence for a great number of people, vastly Pliny's superiors in every respect. But in the mouth of a man like him, who had practised at the bar, had held offices which had given him prominence, if not political power, and had mixed in the best circles in the metropolis, who was moreover as we see plainly ambitious, all this talk is mere conventional language which imposes on no one.

Several interesting waifs of Roman country life float on the surface of Pliny's letters. Thus, we hear how the whole coast at Laurentum is dotted over with villas similar to his own (as was the Tusculan hill, where Cicero's villa was), and how the neighbouring village supplies almost all the necessaries of life. When a friend drops in unexpectedly and there is not time to get the warming apparatus in order, he is sent off to this village, where there are no less than three public baths. At such a short distance from Rome, it is evident that a town visitor would be likely to drop in; but also in the case of his Tuscan estate, 150 miles from the capital, we have evidences of "country society." Many of these country gentlemen, he tells us, were men of culture and refinement, and distinguished for their literary attainments. We have pleasing intimations, most probably true ones, of the virtuous mode of life prevalent at Brescia and Padua (to use the modern names); indeed we have contemporary evidence, generally, of the virtues of the country people. The wild orgies of Rome were as unknown to these people as are the orgies of Paris to a peaceful inhabitant of the department of Var, as are the shoddy extravagances of New York to a puritan family in Connecticut. We hear of the consecration of a temple, and of a *déjeuner* to be given on the occasion. We hear of Pliny going about among his tenants, looking over their farms and into their accounts, occasionally remitting a portion of their rents after a bad harvest, sometimes giving a discount to purchasers of his vintages, if they turned out below the average, just like a modern English or French proprietor.

Of greater interest to us than these casual glimpses of country life, always in civilized nations very much the same, would be

any indications conveyed in the letters of the author's views on such a subject as that of religion. What was the tone of thought prevalent among his cultivated friends like Spurius and Verginius? We have no express information on this head, but there can be no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion. The old religious beliefs were completely honeycombed. Probably no educated Greek or Roman of the male sex, in the days of Pliny, believed in the mythology of his country. The elder Pliny held a kind of vague pantheism, and was utterly incredulous as to a future state. Tacitus candidly admitted that he did not know whether the world was governed by fate or chance. It has been well remarked by Gibbon that Lucian would never have ridiculed the gods of his country if they had not already been the objects of secret contempt to the enlightened. In Juvenal, who, like Tacitus, was the immediate contemporary of Pliny, they had been treated with similar irreverence. The Manes, Charon and his bark, Jupiter and Mars and their amours, the stories of Hercules and the Labyrinth, father Janus, the Muses and their virginity, are handled in terms which are incompatible with a serious belief on the part of the satirist, or on the part of the "large concourses" by whom he was heard. Yet the same poet represents himself as sacrificing a lamb to Juno, and a steer to Jupiter, as a thank-offering for a friend saved from shipwreck. In the same spirit the dying Socrates had ordered a cock to be offered up to Esculapius, and the dying Seneca had poured out a libation to Jupiter Liberator. In short, while the educated disbelieved in the existing system, they acquiesced in it as part of the established order of things. Pliny built temples and rejoiced that by his measures in Bithynia the places of worship, which had been well-nigh deserted were beginning to be filled again, and the sacred rites restored and victims once more offered up to the gods. He was proud of filling the position of Augur, though the functions of the augurship had long been a subject of ridicule. As zealous on behalf of the rites of his country's creed, as are many Gallios who build churches in the present day, he, like them, believed that the one grand object of life was the practice of virtue. "I perceive," he writes in his *Panegyric* on Trajan, "that the gods are pleased not so much by the elaborate prayers of the votary as by innocence and holiness of life; and that *he* is deemed more acceptable who brings to their shrines a pure and spotless mind than he who comes with a laboured invocation." Juvenal has expressed himself in like terms, and his friends Tacitus, and Verginius, and Silius, and Spurius, and Martial, the writer of dirty verses, would all have agreed so far. There was really no other religion than this among the enlightened classes. An able contemporary writer.

speaks of "the approaching divorce of the intelligence of the country from its religion" "as being one of the perils which menaces England." By the way if this be a peril, surely it is one which threatens *all* civilized countries. It is a "rock ahead," not only of England, but of the world. However that may be, the divorce was complete in the days of Trajan. An attempt at reunion was indeed made at a later period, under the terror inspired by the progress of Christianity; and it is probable that many of the upper classes in Julian's time persuaded themselves that they believed in the mythology of their ancestors. But even if these people can be called the intelligence of the country, the reunion was impossible on such terms, for the myths which they sought to imbue with a new life had ceased to constitute the religion of the country.

Of still greater value to posterity would have been some further information, from one so favourably placed for judging, on the subject of the Christians. The course of his life brought him into very close contact with the nascent religion. And we could well have spared a number of letters about the brilliant Greek verses and the brilliant qualities of his friends, if he had substituted for them a few on this subject. He would have been better employed in reporting on it to his master than in corresponding about aqueducts and architects. Like Festus, like Trajan (if the account of the martyrdom of Iguatius which has reached us be genuine), like so many other statesmen who were brought face to face with the apostle of the new movement, he never seems to have guessed at its importance. Like so many other philosophic spirits groping about in the dark for a creed which should satisfy mankind, he little thought that he was "burning" as he laid his finger on this "extravagant superstition." Of course, no one can blame Pliny for a blindness which was general among men of his class. This was precisely one of those cases in which it is given to the vulgar to see further than their betters. Just as the aristocratic guests at the Duchess of Richmond's danced away undisturbed on the eve of Waterloo, while the sound of the cannon was distinctly heard by the beggar in the streets of Brussels, so the real nature of the approaching conflict between the old and new religions was patent to many fullers, weavers, and cobblers, at a time when the most intellectual Romans were ignorant of the very name of Christ. Yet we cannot help wondering that a man like Pliny, who was officially brought into contact with the Christians, should not have asked himself some questions. When before this, in Roman experience, had persons been found peacefully to lay down their lives in large numbers on behalf of their religion? It was plain that a Creed which could for the first time accomplish this

result merited in the highest degree the attention of the statesman. That it assumed the form of a secret guild, obnoxious to the imperial system, and required therefore to be put down—this we can understand. The Pope, if he were invested with supreme power in Europe, would similarly put down Freemasonry to-morrow. But we should like to know the exact reasons which led Pliny, who inquired into the question, to term Christianity a depraved and extravagant superstition? Tacitus uses a similar phrase, but it is not probable that he was doing more than repeat the vulgar judgment, or that he had ever seriously inquired into the matter. Why it was held in horror by the vulgar heathen is plain: for they believed that infanticide and cannibalism were practised at its secret meetings; that, the lights being put out, proceedings took place such as in point of fact do sometimes take place at the revivalist meetings of negro methodists. It is plain that Pliny approached the investigation with a suspicion that guilty practices were carried on by the Christians. First of all he was informed by renegades that the Creed was harmless. It consisted mainly in addressing invocations to Christ as to a God, and binding oneself by an oath to abstain from certain crimes. The words here merit particular attention, “they bound themselves by an oath, not for any criminal purpose, but against theft, robbery, adultery, swindling, breaches of trust . . . afterwards they met together to partake of a repast eaten in common and harmless.” Now the crimes above referred to were precisely those which, as we learn from Livy, were charged upon those who were in the habit of frequenting the Bacchanalia, meetings which, like those of the Christians, were secret, and were held at night. At these meetings it was supposed that poison was used. This guild, of foreign origin, was at last put down by the government. It seems probable that Pliny saw in Christian assemblies a revival of these mysteries. And we take the reply of the renegades to have been in the nature of a reply to specific questions of the Governor. “We bound ourselves by an oath to pursue a virtuous life; *not* to commit adultery, theft,” &c. It is evident that Pliny was not satisfied with this account. Hence, he says, the necessity of arriving at the truth by means of torture. Accordingly, two deaconesses were put to the question. “Even then,” he adds, “I could find out nothing more (and he certainly expected something more) than a perverse and extravagant superstition.” What did these women tell him of a character to influence his judgment of the new Creed so strongly, bearing in mind that he had been able to trace no crimes to its votaries? We are left to conjecture. In the “martyrdom of Ignatius” we are favoured with a conversation between the saint and Trajan,

and Trajan's reasons for passing sentence. "We command that Ignatius, *who affirms that he carries about with him Him that was crucified*, should be devoured by beasts." Trajan's decision is to be deplored : but it must be confessed that the observations of Ignatius were in some places needlessly offensive, and in others of a character to puzzle the Emperor. The early Christians were too much engaged, both in their spoken and written defences, in glorifying the superiority of their own Creed and condemning that of their opponents, to be able to find time to explain to these latter with anything like clearness what was the real meaning of Christianity. Even Paul's defence before Agrippa and Festus must have left the latter entirely in the dark. If these unfortunate deaconesses succeeded in rendering themselves in any way intelligible to Pliny, it is probable that they told him how among other things they believed in the immediate return of Jesus to rule over the world. And it is quite natural that a Roman Governor should have deemed this belief a dangerous superstition.

To return for a moment to this little volume. The numerous translations interspersed through its pages are executed with scholarly care and fidelity ; and the style of the younger Pliny makes him a difficult author to translate. In some few places we might venture to suggest an alteration. For example, not to go further than this very epistle on the subject of the Christians, *supplicium* is rendered "punishment," and *duci jussi* "I ordered them to be punished ;" and this must leave a vague impression on the mind of the English reader. *Supplicium* is the French "supplice," and *duci* is a common euphemism for "to be led to death." Again, Pliny is made to doubt "whether the very profession of Christianity unaccompanied by any criminal act, or whether only the crime itself involved in the profession is a subject of punishment." Here what is virtually the same thing is expressed in two different ways. What Pliny doubted was, whether persons should be punished merely for the profession of Christianity, even if that profession should be found not to involve criminal practices, or for the *flagitia coherrentia nomini*, the criminal practices (or offences) which might be found to be inseparable from it, to be involved in it. Further on, the Christians address "a form of prayer to Christ." It would have been better, in a matter of such great importance, not to leave out the words *secum invicem*, which are, we believe, in all the MSS., and which point to a kind of liturgy, such as we know to have been in use in the second century. However, these are small matters. Messrs. Church and Brodribb's contribution is in every way worthy of the series of which it forms a part, and this is saying a good deal. In the advertising cata-

logues we sometimes see a work labelled as one "without which no gentleman's library can be looked upon as complete." It may be said with truth that no popular library or mechanics' institute will be properly furnished without this series. Here the intelligent working man may possess himself of as good a general idea of the lives and writings of Xenophon and Cicero as remains in the heads of nine out of ten old Cambridge or Oxford graduates. These handy-books to ancient classical literature are at the same time as attractive to the scholar as they ought to be to the English reader. We think then that they are destined to attain a wide and enduring circulation, and we are quite sure that they deserve it.



ART. III.—THE "NATURAL" PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

The Study of Sociology. By HERBERT SPENCER. Third Edition. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

THE idea of a philosophy of history, that is, of general laws underlying historical phenomena in the same way that they underlie astronomical, meteorological, or any other large group of phenomena, is now fairly started in the world; and if such general laws remain as yet undiscovered, their discovery is no longer regarded as impossible. This conception, one of the few in which modern speculation has been entirely unanticipated by that of antiquity, has been brought home to English readers chiefly by the writings of Mr. Mill and Mr. Spencer. Yet the idea itself dates from the last century. For it was natural that the great discoveries of physical science should induce men to apply the same forms of thought, which they had learnt from nature, to their study of history, and to ask whether law, prevalent elsewhere, was absent only there. Could not general laws and causes be predicated also of social facts? Or, if they could not be, how was history anything better than a register of laws and a record of battles? It is the object of this essay to explain what is meant by the "natural" philosophy of history, and to show by a sufficiently suggestive enumeration of instances, how close is the analogy, treated of by Mr. Spencer in his essay on the Social Organism and elsewhere, between the physical and the political world; to try to explain historical phenomena by the processes assumed to prevail in the development of the organic world, in other words, to show that the laws which have been traced in the evolution of organic species may be traced no less

in the evolution of political societies. For, to borrow a remark from Mr. Spencer's latest work, the Study of Sociology is but the study of evolution in its most complex form. It is believed, that thus looked at, new light and interest are thrown upon a subject only too generally regarded as a mere record of facts, or if considered in the light of a science at all, as one utterly isolated, and disconnected with any other. For to a wide theory of history (and without some theory of history no theory of the universe is possible) battles and wars are of no more importance than any other of the fierce fights that on all sides characterize the struggle for existence, and a less significant lesson is often taught by the doings of great men than by the life of an animalcule, or by the games of little children.

I. The Law of Irregular Development.

The first law here considered is necessary for a comprehension of those that follow. It is this: In different periods of the earth's history, different forms of life have co-existed, as they do at present: these forms, whether the "lineal descendants of some few beings who lived long before the first bed of the Silurian system was deposited," as Mr. Darwin holds,* or "the products of different evolutionary divergences taking place now in one direction now in another" from beginnings as numerous and various as the species in which they result, as Dr. Bastian thinks,† represent the different stages of development at any given time attained by organic beings. Now societies, like species, start from simpler forms, and follow more or less similar lines of development; but in consequence of the different times of their commencement, or of the different circumstances and surroundings of their growth, their different degrees of perfection at one and the same time present a varied aspect exactly analogous to that presented at one and the same time by organic beings. That is to say, the co-existence of societies in different stages of development corresponds to the co-existence of species in different stages of development, and in neither case is such a co-existence an objection to a Philosophy of History or a Philosophy of Life. The co-existence of molluscs and of vertebrates, or of African and European communities, is no more incompatible with the theory of development, than they respectively are with another. The most notable misapprehension of the principle of irregular development was the objection made to M. Comte's famous generalization of history. When that philosopher asserted that all human ideas passed successively

* "Origin of Species." Third Edition. 524.

† "Beginnings of Life," vol. ii. 620.

through a theological, a metaphysical, and a positive stage, the contemporaneous existence of some or all those modes of thought was pounced upon as a complete refutation of the theory; "much," says Mr. Mill, "as if the natural succession of the hunting, the nomad, and the agricultural state could be refuted by the fact that there are still hunters and nomads."

Again, when archæologists divided history into a stone, a bronze, and an iron age, it was objected that since the Esquimaux used implements exactly like those of the Neolithic period, we might still be said to be living in an age of stone. But, as Mr. Evans well puts it, these three stages of civilization overlap, intermingle, and shade off into one another, like the three principal colours of the rainbow, and yet their succession is equally well defined with that of the prismatic colours. As well, indeed, might it be objected to classing chalk in the secondary strata, because it is still being formed in the bed of the Atlantic Ocean. So also, if we suppose that commerce and science have long been gradually transforming the military institutions of feudal Europe into more or less purely democratic States, it is no valid objection to show that the course of such evolution has not been equally rapid in different countries. In the last century, when English monarchy had become constitutional, and French despotism was approaching democracy, the polity of Poland was still of that feudal type which characterized our own and most other countries during the Middle Ages; in the words of Voltaire, it was "*la plus fidèle image de l'ancien gouvernement gothique corrigé ou altéré partout ailleurs.*" Thus, though the king nominated to all offices and was the source of all honour, yet the principle of regal election existed as strongly as it once did in the feudal kingdoms. Nor were the privileges of the nobility and the priesthood less mediæval, for not only was the senatorial body exclusively composed of palatines and bishops, but the archbishop presided over the assemblies, and was vicar-general in times of interregna. And whilst the agricultural population were still in a state of serfage, the right of parties to form confederations in the assembly cannot fail to recall the *Hermandads* of Spain, or the right of resistance so fully recognised by both the laws and practice of France and England.

II. *The Law of Differentiation.*

As we follow nature from her lowest to her highest forms, we observe that those functions, which in the simplest organisms are subserved by a single organ, are in the more complex organisms subserved by a plurality of organs. It is in fact this progressive differentiation or specialization of organs, which constitutes the complexity of living things, and forms the best basis for their classification.

Let us compare this law as it operates (1) in Plants, (2) in the Molluscan Sub-kingdom of the Invertebrates, (3) in Societies.

(1). Starting with the simplest and ending with the most complex plants, a regular sequence may be traced with Thallogens at the one end and Exogens at the other, the intermediate links being formed successively by acrogens, endogens, dictyogens and gymnogens. Sea-weeds, fungi, and lichens constitute the class of *thallogens*. They are all flowerless plants, and their structure is of the simplest kind, consisting exclusively of cells; in them we look in vain for any distinction of root, leaf, or stem, or for any wood, spiral vessels or breathing pores. *Acrogens*, comprising the fern families, are likewise flowerless, but in them we already find a distinct stem and distinct leaves; they possess breathing pores, and in their most developed forms are characterized by true spiral vessels. But it is with *exogens* (the structure of which is approached in certain directions by endogens, dictyogens and gymnogens) that the vegetable world attains its highest organization. Functions and organs, unknown in the thallogens and incomplete in the other classes, are now defined and distinct. In the centre is a well-marked pith, which is annually enveloped by a zone of true wood, and these zones are crossed by cells, which connect the pith with the bark, and are known as medullary rays. So that, in the case of plants, differentiation seems to be the fact which marks their advance and the standard by which they may be arranged in the scale of evolution.

(2). The molluscan invertebrates have been divided by Milne-Edwards into molluscoidea and molluscs proper. The former comprise the simpler forms of the polyzoa, the tunicata, and the brachiopods, the latter the more complex ones of lamelli-branchiata, pteropods, gasteropods, and cephalopods. Mr. Rolleston states as follows the leading distinctions between these two divisions: "The Mollusca Proper are distinguished by the great development of their organs of animal life. Their motor organs consist of a foot, which may be of very various shapes," &c. "Their nervous system consists of three pair of ganglia at least." Their organs of vegetative life contrast with those of the molluscoidea, (1) in the greater organization of the digestive system, (2) in the heart having always one or two auricles in correlation with more perfectly developed and specialized respiratory organs. For none of the polyzoa have any organs of special sense except in rudiment; in the adult state, they are almost entirely destitute of organs of motion, and they are always wanting in a prehensile or masticatory apparatus. A single ganglion is all the nervous system that the polyzoa or tunicata possess; and though some of the brachiopods are in this respect more highly developed, yet they lack the pedal ganglia or the three pairs of ganglia which

characterize the molluscs proper. The brachiopods indeed form the connecting link between polyzoa and tunicata on the one hand, and the acephalous molluscs on the other. Of the latter, the class of *Lamellibranchiata* possess in one of its families (the siphonidæ) distinct respiratory organs : but as they have no prehensile organs, salivary glands, or nerve ganglia, they constitute the first and lowest class of the molluscs proper. The next class, the *pteropods*, though their circulatory and respiratory organs are little developed, are distinguished by an incipient head and eyes, as well as by incipient sensory tentacles and auditory vesicles. But the *gasteropods* have a distinct head, and their respiration, performed by gills, is adapted not only for water (as in the sea-snails), but also for the air (as in the well-known land-snail). The class of *cephalopods* is last and highest, of which the dibranchiate family is marked by a complete digestive, circulatory, and respiratory system ; they have also a well developed salivary system, and not only are their organs of sight and hearing highly organized, but traces have even been found in them of an organ of smell. The same process might of course be pursued through the higher forms of life, but enough it is trusted has been said to illustrate the meaning and demonstrate the operation of differentiation.

(3). In Societies. In one of the earliest stages of social life, of which experience or tradition relate, viz., the family stage, no distinction of organs and very little of functions can be found. The head of the family does everything of importance, and in the general fulness of his powers may be traced the germ of that aggregate of functions which, when the smaller family units have coalesced into the larger units of the tribe or city, devolve upon the head of the State. But though no distinction of organs, yet a certain distinction of functions is now observable ; for albeit that the function of the priest is somewhat different from the function of the general, and the function of both from the function of judge, yet it is the mark of those early societies for one organ to subserve all those functions, and as in the tunicata there is no distinction of organs for the different processes of breathing, of moving, or of eating, so in these societies we find no distinction of organs for the different processes of worshipping, of fighting, or of judging. One man, the king, is priest and general and judge, and the progress of civilization is the differentiation of these functions.

Of this progress let us take two instances from Ancient, and two from Modern, History. As has been said above, the early city community was but an extension of the family, and modelled after the same type : and so the Roman king succeeded in the State to all the functions, which the father had held in the household, and a like process of differentiation gradually disintegrated

the power of both. For at first the Roman king, like those of all Aryan nations in a certain stage of development, combined in his own person the duties of priest, of general, and of judge, not only nominating the priests and consulting the oracles, but calling out the citizens to war, and leading them in battle. He had, moreover, full and sole military jurisdiction, and decided private and criminal causes, holding himself unreservedly the sentence of freedom or servitude, of life or death. He also managed the State chest, and could alone treat with foreign powers. It was as if in England to-day the Crown comprised in itself the several functions respectively performed by the Archbishop, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lord Chief Justice, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. But within a few centuries of the time when the senate, which had originally assisted the king, had succeeded in dividing the kingly office and making it annual (for that was the meaning of the substitution of consular for regal government), so far had differentiation been carried, that the ecclesiastical, the military, the judicial, the financial, and the diplomatic state functions were no longer performed by a single organ, but were all in different hands. For whilst the consuls, of the original regal power they had inherited, retained but the leadership of the army, the Pontifex Maximus, and the colleges of priests nominated to ecclesiastical vacancies; and whilst the quæstors decided criminal cases, and the censors managed the treasury, the senate had acquired undisputed supremacy in the direction of foreign affairs.

The next case is that of the Archons at Athens. The earliest Athenian Government consisted of a king, a consulting senate, and a consenting assembly, the kingship being of that trinitarian type in which the offices of judge, general, and ruler are held by one man. But after a time archons were substituted for kings, as consuls had been at Rome, who exercised more or less regal functions, till their number was increased to nine and the royal attributes divided among them. One led the army; another decided cases of homicide and supervised religious observances; another was entrusted with the protection of orphans and widows and the decision of family disputes, whilst the other six exercised minor functions. As Mr. Grote* says: "The archons both judged and administered justice, sharing among themselves those privileges which had once been united in the hands of the king." But from the time of Clisthenes their power was gradually reduced, and specialization was carried still further; for whilst district boards were created for the police of the streets and markets and for the superintendence of weights and mea-

* "Hist. of Greece," ii. 283.

asures, the newly-established strategi encroached on and finally monopolized, military power; until at last the Periclean revolution deprived the archons of their few remaining judicial powers, and they retained henceforth merely the preparatory part of justice and a presidency in the dicasteries, which were otherwise exempt from their control. The Archon Basileus still by his name preserved a trace of the old monarchy, and testified to inquiring minds of the power which that petty officer inherited from the Homeric age.

The history of Venice exemplifies the operation of the same law. From the end of the seventh century, for a period of about 400 years, the Doge of Venice was an officer, in whom full judicial and military powers were united with the supreme executive government. Utshackled by any council, he only took the consent of a general assembly on urgent occasions. But from the eleventh century (1032 A.D.) downwards the constitutional history of Venice is the history of the limitation or differentiation of the ducal powers. For the Great Council, only a few years after their establishment, transferred his sole right of criminal jurisdiction to the Judicial Council of Forty, and, no longer to consult with assistants selected by himself, he was henceforth merely to preside over a senate invested with his functions of taxation and the initiative of peace or war. Subsequent limitations took place, especially about the middle of the thirteenth century, but these it is unnecessary to pursue.

Lastly, every one conversant with our early English history will remember how vague and undefined all State functions then were; how bishops not only prayed and preached, but judged in the law courts and fought in the field, and how very gradual and how far from complete the subsequent separation of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction has been. But the history of our law courts affords the best English instance of differentiation. In the period before the Conquest the old Saxon Witan was a judicial as well as a deliberative body. It was the only superior court of justice in the kingdom, and decided spiritual no less than civil causes. The Conqueror did indeed separate the spiritual and civil jurisdiction, but the King's Court, which superseded the Witan, not only transacted all secular business, whether civil or criminal, but assisted the King in the collection and general management of the revenue. But by Magna Charta Common Pleas branched off from the King's Court, for the adjudication of civil injuries;* and specialization was carried still further by Edward I., who distributed many of the offices of the Chief Justice under distinct courts. Henceforth the great

* "Stephens's Commentaries on Blackstone," Bk. v. c. ii.

officers, who had taken part in the judicial proceedings of the King's Court and who continued to sit there for purposes of deliberation, presided over their own tribunals, the Constable and Marshal, for instance, over a court of chivalry, the High Steward and the barons of Parliament over a tribunal for delinquent Peers, the Steward of the Household over another court, whilst the revenue was delegated to the Court of Exchequer.

The law of Differentiation then may be thus summarized. Adopting Kant's distinction between a monarchical and a republican form of government, that in the former the executive and legislative functions are united, whilst in the latter they are distinct, the transition of the old Greek monarchies, first into oligarchies, then into despotisms, and finally into democracies, and the nearly similar transition in modern times from more or less despotic to more or less democratic types of government, will present itself no longer as a mere fact, but as the unfolding of a law of nature. The accumulation of powers in one hand, so characteristic of early societies, and their distribution among several hands, so characteristic of more advanced ones, is but an additional illustration of that same physical law, in virtue of which thallogens differ from exogens, and the lowest from the highest invertebrates; and just as the embryonic state of complex organisms records the several stages of zoological evolution, so the rude politics of modern savages attest the stages which our own have gone through.

III. *The Law of Rudiments.*

In tracing the operation of Differentiation, we have seen how organs once most important in social life have been left, so to speak, stranded by themselves. Having survived long after they have become useless for the functions they originally subserved, or after those functions were no longer needed, they exist henceforth as rudiments, like the atrophied organs of animals or plants; and just as a letter no longer pronounced refers us to the origin of the word it forms part of, or the passing phase of an embryo recalls the structure and needs of its remote progenitor, so, as in the case of the Archon Basileus, a title or a ceremony may be all that is left of a power that was once significant in history. But whilst in physics an organ that has thus survived its utility often for some time absorbs a quantum of vital force, until falling from disuse to decay and from decay to death, it at last leaves merely a mark commemorative of its former potency; in politics, though the same thing may happen, and an organ surviving both disuse and uselessness may linger on some time, yet should it become actually pernicious, sudden suppression is sure, and the phenomenon next treated of as Reversion.

unusually probable. Of the latter result an allusion to the history of French monarchy will afford the best illustration.

"Toutes les institutions," says M. Guizot,* "toutes les formes sociales commencent dans leur développement par le bien, qu'elles ont à faire. C'est à ce titre, c'est en tant qu'utiles à la société, en tant qu'en harmonie avec ses besoins présents, généraux, qu'elles s'accréditent et grandissent. Telle fut la marche de la royauté sous les règnes de Louis le Gros, de Philippe Auguste, et de Saint Louis."

It was as protector of the poorer classes, as creator of the towns and leveller of the castles that Louis le Gros founded French monarchy in the hearts of the French people, and if Philippe Auguste promoted the material welfare of the nation by the erection of aqueducts, walls and hospitals in the metropolis, he did no less for its moral welfare, when he tried to centralize justice by the subjection of provincial governors to the efficient control of the Court of Paris. St. Louis followed the same direction, more especially by the checks he imposed on judicial combats and the right of private war. In short, French royalty made its way by reason of its meeting the evils of the day better than any other force then did. But if monarchy in the person of St. Louis was founded on Divine Right, in the persons of his later namesakes it had become a diabolical wrong. For if the advantages it conferred on society justified the government of the former, the preponderance of disadvantages condemned the later Bourbons; with them royalty had survived its *raison d'être*, viz., its utility, and having become also positively pernicious, it was forcibly suppressed by the guillotine.

The cases next cited (beginning with the history of that power whose fate is now being watched with so much more curiosity than anxiety by all Europe—viz., the Papacy) illustrate the phenomena of purely rudimentary social organs. No one can deny that in the 12th and 13th centuries the Catholic Church was a beneficial agent in the world, and more effective than any other social force for meeting the wants of that time. It prevented conquests crystallizing into caste, ceorls from sinking into serfs. It desired to decide wars by arbitration and to act as umpire between kings, whilst, in maintaining the equality of all men before God, it subjected lords and vassals to one law. And not only that, but it was founded on a moral basis, only unfortunately less substantial than it was sublime. For a parallelism may always be traced between men's metaphysical and political ideas, and if we attribute to the world of those times the creed so beautifully expressed by Pope:—

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body nature is and God the soul,"

* "Civilisation en France." Lect. xv.

we have but to read for Nature, "Europe," and for God, "Rome," to see how the prevalent theory of the universe was related to the theory of society. Rome was to be the all-pervading, all-sustaining soul of Europe, as God pervaded, sustained and was the soul of Nature. That was the idea on which was based the relationship between the spiritual and temporal powers, between pope and emperor, and in a minor degree between every dignitary of the ecclesiastical and civil hierarchies. At a time when there were few intellectual or æsthetic counterforces, all material forces were to converge to a moral centre, and the free breath of Christianity to leaven the mass of a military barbarism. But the aim of the Church was too lofty and her conception too contentless. It was with her as with the ivy, which can only flourish by killing the tree its tendrils embrace. In the then desert world, she was like the mirage which increases fatigue by an illusive prospect; but if her charms once served to seduce the world, the latter, as it is apt, now compensates itself for the ardour of its devotion by the ardour of its detestation. And so she has become the mere rudiment we see her. For the law of the Conservation of Force is true universally; though continually varying in its modes, it is qualitatively the same, and if subtracted from one object immediately expends itself on another. As Büchner says in *Kraft und Stoff*: "*Kraft kann im Weltall sehr verschiedene Formen annehmen, bleibt aber deswegen im Grunde stets das Nämliche.*" And this law of inorganic nature corresponds to what in organic life has been termed the economy of Nature, in virtue of which a decreased flow of blood to one part of a body is equivalent to an increased flow to another. Either law is equally applicable to the moral world, and so it has happened that the forces, which once fed the Papacy, now flow elsewhere, to art and literature, commerce and science. They have gained all that it has lost: on earthly interests are human energies now spent, and human capacities are the measure of their success.

The fate of the Papacy naturally suggests an allusion to that of the Empire, so long its rival and yet so indissolubly its ally. Of the changes and chances of that Empire, first in its purely Roman period, then in its Romano-Germanic period, and finally in its purely German or rather Austrian period, nothing can be said here; suffice it only to quote from Mr. Bryce a summary of the services it conferred on civilization in the days of its prime: * "It met," he writes, "the needs of successive centuries by civilizing barbarous peoples, by maintaining unity in confusion and disorganization, by controlling brute force through the sanctions

* "Holy Roman Empire," 411.

of a higher power, by being made the keystone of a gigantic feudal arch, and by assuming in its old age the presidency of a European confederation." But though it lived under some form or another for upwards of eighteen centuries, it became from the time of the Peace of Westphalia ever more and more rudimentary; and a formal end was at length put to it by Francis II. in 1806, when it had long ceased to have any reality, when all that remained to it of its former self consisted of a few names and titles, and some forms and ceremonies were the only relics of its former splendour.

The case of the Athenian Areopagus, presenting us with the fate of an ancient House of Lords, is interesting as at least suggestive of a fate that perhaps awaits our own. At first practically the sole council that controlled the king, it remained, after the attacks of the Periclean democratic party, a body as bereft of power as it was clothed with privilege. For if originally it embraced large judicial and administrative functions; if Solon when creating a new senate by its side, entrusted the old one as well with the supervision over the characters and livelihoods of the citizens as over the execution of his laws, the reforms of the Radicals cut away its censorial powers, and left it but a shadow of its old jurisdiction. Henceforth, though religion and Conservatism secured its perpetuity, it continued rudimentary and atrophied, the same in name but not in fact, like a star whose light survives, though space no longer contains its substance.

Aristotle tells us* that in early times the royal power in Greece extended to every state-function, whether civil, domestic, or foreign, but that as time went on some of their powers were surrendered by the kings and others assumed by the people; hence that in many states the kings finally retained only the direction of sacrifices and the leadership beyond the frontier. This was the result of the differentiating process already explained, by means of which once powerful organs are reduced to mere rudiments. Of this the Spartan monarchy offers a good illustration. Originally of powers co-extensive with those of early Roman or Athenian kings, it retained, when Herodotus wrote, but certain honorary privileges. During life the kings enjoyed the right of the first seat at banquets, and on such occasions of the first, and a double, portion. Nor were they forgotten in their death. For ten days everybody mourned; women beat kettledrums, and every one declared that the last king had also been the best. But, when Aristotle lived, the royal office was so entirely rudimentary, that he made it a distinct type of monarchy, even contrasting it with the heroic form from which it was descended.

* "Arist.," Pol. iii. 14. Translation. Bohn Series.

It may, indeed, be said that in his time the Spartan had become a constitutional monarchy, and as such it is suggestive to us moderns.

From an ancient constitutional monarchy, let us revert to one nearer home. It is really only a question of words, whether with Hume we apply the epithet "absolute" or with Hallam the epithet "limited" to the condition of our monarchy under the Plantagenet or Tudor reigns. But undoubtedly there is no comparison between our monarchy as it now is and as it once was. For of political power the Crown has now less part than men of whom Henry VIII. would have said that they could no more discern about government than a blind man could about colours. How "stript of its flowers" has become "the garden" of Elizabeth, how bereft of its "pearls and ornaments her crown and diadem!" The course of suppression has been more or less rapid, since despotism was driven to death by the Stuarts; and the few remnants of its greatness now exist in theory rather than in fact, in presidency rather than in power. It is as rudimentary in our constitution as the bastard-wing is in a bird, and if it is asked what greater anomaly there can be than a bird that cannot fly, it may surely be answered, a king that cannot govern. Not, therefore, that it is of no service to national development: for Nature dislikes leaps, whether in physics or in politics, and constitutional monarchies, like legal fictions, accustom societies to new circumstances while breaking the violence of change. They are to societies what the chrysalis stage is to certain insects, and as a butterfly exchanges not at once its terrestrial for its aerial life, so a nation passes not at once, with safety, from a feudal to a democratic existence.

The French physiologist, M. Flourens, once made a curious experiment on certain hens: he cut away their brains, till those unfortunate birds lost all sensitive or reflective powers. But, strange to say, they did not die, but continued a sleeplike vegetable existence. Immovable, wherever placed, they were fed artificially, and even gained weight. Now, would the comparison be very extravagant between these birds and our Hanoverian kings? Bereft of all active or initiative powers, strong in social weight, and no longer self-supported but carefully preserved,—such are the points of similarity which may be suggested to the fanciful reader.

IV. *The Law of Reversion.*

Political rudiments naturally bring us to political reversion; and if the former answer to what Mr. Tylor calls cases of Survival, the latter corresponds to his cases of Revival. "Survivals," he

says,* "are processes, customs, opinions, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society, different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture, out of which a newer has been evolved." "Sometimes old thoughts and practices will burst out afresh, . . . here survival passes into revival." Now the same analogy exists between political revivals and natural Reversion or Atavism, as has been pointed out between political survivals and natural rudiments. "Rudimentary organs," says Mr. Darwin, "often become wholly suppressed; when this occurs, they are nevertheless liable to occasional reappearance through reversion." And thus it may be said, that the reversion, for instance, of the Cheyenne Indians from a pastoral to a nomad life exemplifies the same law operating in society as that by which pigs have been known to reacquire the bristles and the tusk of the wild boar; and such cases as the production of wild plants from the seeds of the cultivated heart's-ease, or the recovery by tame rabbits of the colour of their wild progenitors, are paralleled in social evolution by only too many instances in which degeneration has prevailed over development and which ever remind and warn the most advanced societies of their original and still latent barbarism.

To mention some instances of reversion. Religion, feudalism, and chivalry do not altogether account for those historical phenomena known as the Crusades. They were rather revivals of those manners and desires which had characterized the nomadic stage, similar to, but much more intense than those minor cases of revival, which we witness on every occasion or pretext for war. [And as it is characteristic of reversion to recur with an intensity and a frequency proportioned to its distance from the original character, the hope of the ultimate cessation of wars, so generally treated as Utopian, is in reality based on a scientific foundation.] For at the time of the Crusades European society was still in a state of solution; and the barbarians, who had well-nigh settled on the ruins of the Roman Empire, needed but the stimulus of fanaticism and the yoke of feudalism to fan into flame their dying nomadism, and to send them roving to the East in much the same way that they had once roved to the West.

The tendency to reversion is moreover the explanation of every reactionary step in politics. It has been well said of Crescentius, Arnold of Brescia, Rienzi and Porcario, that they mistook recollections for hopes and endeavoured to rebuild ruins. The slight success of their attempt to restore the old Roman Re-

* "Primitive Culture," p. 15.

public with its senate, its knights and its magistrates, by the adaptation of old names to new facts, affords a practical warning to those numerous schemes of reform which, however well-intended and specious, are only too often mere revivals. For revivals cannot last : in society as in nature they are but temporary, and their apparent vigour lacks the conditions of perpetuity. Hence in England was the life of revived despotism after the Restoration so brief, and hence may be predicted the futility of the efforts to restore autocracy in France. For just as modern spiritualism is a revival of that magic of our savage ancestors which still survives in savage races, so in England in 1660 and in France frequently since 1792 has reversion taken place to those political habits and feelings which predominated in the Middle Ages, and which still predominate in many parts of the world, and both cases, illustrating as they do the close connexion between a sudden suppression and a speedy reversion, are valuable as enforcing the lesson of moderation in reform and as serving as a danger-post against radical revolutions.

V. *The Law of the Correlation of Growth.*

In natural history Mr. Darwin applies this expression to denote the fact, that no part or organ of a body can be changed or modified without every other part or organ of such body being in some way changed or modified as well ; or, as he well quotes from Goethe, "In order to spend on one side, Nature is forced to economize on the other side." And this law is no less true of political history. No part of a State can acquire new or lose old power but to the detriment or emolument of some other part. And just as in poultry, "a large tuft of feathers on the head is generally accompanied by a diminished comb, and a large beard by diminished wattles," so in politics it may be expected that an improved education should involve a reduced court and a diminished priesthood. But the Correlation of Growth is chiefly to be noted on account of the tendency of so many to speak or write of a constitution as something essentially stable, and forgetting that the flux of things is as true of the moral as of the material world to treat political relations as if they were always the same. A German writer has beautifully said : "Kein Lüftchen weht, keine Welle plätschert an das Ufer, ohne dass die Bewegung durch den Weltraum zuckt." The so called everlasting hills are to some extent altered, nay, lowered by every storm that blows round their tops, every shower that fills their springs, every frost that splits their rocks ; and similarly there is not a new idea born into the world, not a session held in Parliament nor a speech made outside it, but in some way modifies those relations of the sovereign power which so many worthy

people are so solicitous to conserve. And especially is this true, and to be remembered, of that particular form of government known as constitutional monarchy, where the royal powers and privileges being nowhere accurately laid down, but floating, so to speak, illegibly in the air, are peculiarly liable to be encroached upon by the people or to be extended by the nobles. Constitutions in fact can no more be protected from ideas than hills can be saved from denudation by the weather.

VI. *The Law of Natural Selection.*

The organic world presents the aspect of one large battlefield, where every kind flies from or preys on some other kind, and where the individuals of the same kind must perforce compete among themselves. Everywhere is Nature "red in tooth and claw with ravine," and it is useless to cherish the optimism of Leibnitz. The "struggle for existence" is a phrase as firmly established as the "diameter of the sun." But in this struggle any chance variation in colour or organ, at all more suited to the conditions of existence, is favoured by Nature, that is, enables its possessor to transmit and extend itself more widely and more easily over land or sea. And this principle of natural selection applies no less to the races and nations of mankind than to the rest of the organic world. For societies, like species, evolve special organs for special needs, and cities prevail over cities or races over races, in virtue of certain organs which are developed by the contest and insure the victory. Arts and discoveries, political and military institutions, have been and are to competing communities what, for instance, has been its colour to the grouse or its sting to the bee, and so it may be said, that though Nature does evil she does it that good may come, for it is to such internecine competition alone that the animal world owes its variety and beauty and man his increase in power and knowledge.

But in the evolution of institutions circumstances constantly demand that for national capacities to be seized on by what may be called national selection, they should be directed by a single mind. Serviceable habits are often best preserved through the agency of individuals. Such was the function of those individuals who, in bygone days, for having taught men arts or gathered them into cities, or beaten their enemies, were worshipped as gods, or obeyed as kings, or of those who, in more recent times, have been canonized by history for their leadership in the struggle for existence. These individuals are generally known as the world's great men, and, as is well known, it is always objected to the theory of historical causation, that the appearance of great men on the earth is as unaccountable as their influence is incalculable. Are they not, it is asked, like

meteors, whom no science can predict, nor art produce? Voltaire said of Peter the Great:—

"Il y avait à parier un nombre égal à celui de tous les hommes qui ont peuplé de tous les temps la Russie contre l'unité, que ce génie si contraire au génie de sa nation ne serait donné à aucun Russe; et il y avait encore à parier environ seize millions qui faisaient le nombre des Russes d'alors contre un, que ce lot de la nature ne tomberait pas au Czar."

And similar expressions might be used of others. Yet it is no more an objection to a science of history that it cannot predict certain events, or produce certain characters, than it is to the science of medicine that it cannot predict an epidemic, or to that of physiology that it cannot produce a man. For difficulty of prediction or production marks all but the more exact sciences, and is it not just the diminution of this difficulty which attests the growth of the sciences, and the degrees of it which enable us to classify them in order? Moreover, great men are as much the product of national selection as the society they serve. As easy were it to make bricks without straw as great men without national materials. For eliminate from historical celebrities their differences of character and of administrative capacity, and the common property of all resolves itself into military talent. That is to say, they have lived in times when common dangers and common needs most assimilate a society to a single body under a single head. This head they have been, the sensorium, so to speak, of the social body, but evolved from and nourished by it, in the same way as a flower is evolved from the same sources that feed its root and stem. Had not the habits which they utilized been widely spread, no victories had been gained nor arts extended. They are indeed but the highest expression and the best production of the same mental groundwork, which they inherit with the weakest of their followers and the vilest of their disciples. And it is these latter that are the real workers. For small and unseen are the means which Nature prefers for the attainment of her ends, and but slowly is this truth impressed on human thought. For if it is long before man detects a consciousness and will in Nature akin to his own, it is with reluctance that at a still later day he discovers that her ways are not as his ways, nor her designs as his designs. Hence the dislike with which the slow changes still operative in Nature were accepted for the convulsions and cataclysms of the old geology: hence also the slow conquest of the evolutionary biology over the former hypothesis of special creation: and hence lastly the dictum of early sociology that the history of the world was the history of its great men. But just as the science of geology has given up its sudden upheavals and depressions, so must the science of history

give up the causative importance of individuals. "Ce sont," says M. Michelet, "les petits qui ont fait les grandes choses du monde;" and if (as he adds) it is the imperceptible rhizopod that has built the gigantic masses of the Apeunines and the Cordilleras, it is no less to the unnoticed and unhistoric millions of mankind, to their aspirations, their wants, and their creeds, that we must ascribe the prime movements of those mighty events which are regarded as the epochs of history.

In Conclusion.

Political progress may be said to consist in an ever-increasing differentiation of political labour and in a constantly better economized expenditure of political force. The laws of Selection, of Reversion, and of Rudiments are those which attend its growth; and when we reflect on the tendency of force to withdraw from useless organs, leaving them to die for want of nutriment, and immediately to flow to organs where it is needed, and likewise on the tendency of decaying organs to draw back to themselves some political force, thereby checking or stopping development, it will be seen that we have herein principles which enable us to unravel the past, and in some degree also to forecast and fore mould the future. For since any society at any given time is composed of three kinds of organs, viz., those that are incipient, those that are complete, and those that are rudimentary, it may safely be predicted that the last will die and the first increase, in spite of all efforts to preserve the one or to promote the other.

It has been attempted in this essay to point out some of the analogies which connect the study of sociology with that of all other forms of organic life. For in the infancy of the sciences analogies are all-important, inasmuch as they suggest hypotheses and hypotheses lead to laws; and as this has been the course of most branches of knowledge, so probably is it destined to be that of the science of sociology. Many, indeed, are the wrong guesses, many the false lights, which allure us on the road to truth, yet the only way to attain truth is to discard error, and the only way to discard error is to know what error is. "La raison n'a pas raison qu'après avoir eu tort," says Victor Hugo.

And should, moreover, the analogies here suggested appear to any one not only fanciful but false, it is believed that they at least serve to keep before the mind the intimate relationship that exists between man and the rest of Nature. For the progress of knowledge since the 16th century, as on the one hand it has shaded off many of the distinctions which once separated the social classes, so on the other has it brought human life into much closer connexion with the lower world: and if Catholicism

in its ignorance once made man the aristocrat of the universe, democratizing science has since taught him not only his equality but also his fraternity with ants and apes. If astronomy has shown him that his world is "but a sandgrain in the continent of Being;" if physiology and anatomy have disclosed the startling similarity of his brain and body to those of the whole vertebrate kingdom; if embryology attests the lowliness of his origin, and archæology the feebleness of his infancy; if geology points to him as but a neophyte on an eternal globe, the application to the development of man in particular of the laws that govern development in general will afford us yet another link between man and Nature, and another thread by which the mind may grasp the complex phenomena of the universe.

ART. IV.—OUR POSITION IN INDIA.

1. *Copy of a Paper entitled "Observations on some Questions of Indian Finance."* By SIR JOHN STRACHEY, K.C.S.I.
2. *Copies of Correspondence with respect to the Proposed Break of Gauge on the Main Line of Railway to Peshawar.*
3. *Copies of Correspondence on the Question of the Gauge of the Punjab Northern and Indus Valley Railway.*
4. *Return of Cases in which the Expenditure on Public Works in India has been considerably in excess of the original Estimates.*
5. *The "Times," from June, 1874, to March, 1875.*
6. *The "Pall Mall Gazette," from June, 1874, to March, 1875.*

IT is becoming more and more apparent that our position in India is beset with serious difficulties, and that upon the manner in which these may be treated our power to hold the country is likely to depend.

"The idea, which Burke struggled so vigorously to impress upon the world of his day, that India was a country with at least as elaborate a social system as our own, including a hierarchy of classes, each possessing cherished and long established privileges—sovereigns, noblemen, gentlemen, priests, and professional men—is even now, perhaps, insufficiently realized."*

* "Times," 19th January.

To secure for India a steady and persistent plan of administration must, in the face of constant administrative changes, be a task of difficulty which would, however, be materially diminished were the capacity of the officials in India assisted and directed by an enlightened public opinion at home; but the discreditable indifference to Indian affairs which prevails generally in England renders public opinion at home a very rotten reed indeed on which to rely. "For the mass of Englishmen India is little more than a name." Even of those Englishmen capable of appreciating English political history and progress, "not one in a thousand has a thought to cast to the East." Miss Carpenter, in her laudable endeavours to fasten on the conscience of the nation a sense of our duties towards India, is "flogging a dead horse." So long as the *Times* can without exaggeration make such statements as these, our own laudation of our "governing faculty" may fairly be questioned. And in Parliament the treatment of India has been little better. The few able and independent men willing to devote their attention to Indian matters have done so under great drawbacks, and have, whenever maladministration was even suggested, been generally met by flat official contradiction. Such was remarkably the case in regard to the Indian Public Works Department, the very unsatisfactory state of which was over and over again denied, until the new minister for India, Lord Salisbury, published the extraordinary official correspondence which we reviewed last October.

Evidence given before the Commons' Select Committee on Indian Finance was calculated to throw grave doubts on some portions of the Indian administration, and it was probably to meet these doubts that the India Office published the paper drawn up by Sir John Strachey referred to at the head of this article. As was to be expected from the writer's ability and long experience, the paper is of much value, but, like most official productions, it often deals too lightly with error acknowledged only to be explained away. It is, however, unnecessary here to dwell on the "insufficiency of the official view of the difficulties of Indian Government," our object being to place before our readers some of the most serious of those difficulties, and some of the means calculated, as we believe, fairly to meet them. Sir J. Strachey admits that "a good deal of money has been needlessly or wastefully expended;" that Indian railways have been "constructed on a most uselessly expensive scale, and have been, and still are maintained under an extravagant and mischievous system;" that by borrowing immense sums of money for the construction of barracks, jails, and similar works, and also of works expected to yield, though they have not yielded, a direct return upon the outlay incurred, "not only was

the public debt largely increased, but a general extravagance of feeling was fostered ;" that as late as Lord Mayo's arrival in India, "the finances were managed in a very imperfect manner;" and that "the feelings of the people at large towards the British Government are less loyal and less satisfactory than they were in former times." This is very much what has been stated by persons who attribute these errors, wholly or in part, to causes other and less excusable than those assigned by Sir J. Strachey, who scarcely strengthens his own case either by the suggestion that the object of those who do not think with him is "to pick holes in the proceedings of the Government," or by somewhat extravagant laudation of the fine service to which he belongs.

It augurs well for Indian administration that its requirements are now regularly discussed by the leading English newspapers. Based on correct information, the opinions and criticisms of an able public press must be invaluable to India, and may, if anything can, rouse betimes the apathy and indifference of the English public. The exceeding impatience with which the House of Commons listens, when it listens at all, to Indian matters, will not, it may be hoped, much longer discredit our administration of an enormous Empire in the government of which its inhabitants have no voice. Lord Salisbury did good service in lately stating:—"Manchester is about the only place in the kingdom where I can find an assembly who will listen to anything that is to be said about India with any interest, excepting those who from official duty are connected with it." Lord Salisbury's predecessor in office, the Duke of Argyll, is shown by his published minutes to have deprecated "the extremely uninformed state of the public mind on all the essential conditions of most Indian problems," and the effect of the influences which, in support of purely English interests, are brought "to bear on public men and on members of Parliament," in the absence of any one "to represent with equal pressure the interests of the Indian taxpayers." The East Indian Association, which numbers many members of proven ability and long Indian experience, ought to be able to render some service to India ; not, however, by such action as their protest against the exclusion of Natives from the higher grades of the Civil Engineering Service, which the India Office met by a simple reference to patent facts showing no such exclusion to exist. If, avoiding such mistakes, and eschewing useless dissertations on economic laws and axioms disputed by nobody, this body would, in support of any of the many important measures needed, press upon the India Office specific recommendations, based on trustworthy evidence, the mere discussion of such proposals would benefit India.

Lord Salisbury is reported to have said at Manchester that of whatever good India has received at England's hands, the greater part is due to the pressure of Manchester public opinion; and that of the things of importance done in India, few have not been due to suggestions given from Manchester. This statement has, doubtless, surprised those, and they are many, who hold to the belief that Manchester interests have not unfrequently been urged with very little real regard for those of India. It has been fairly remarked, in connexion with the recent demand of the Manchester manufacturers for the repeal of the duty on cotton goods imported into India, that

"When in the early part of the year (1874) the public was called upon to subscribe in aid of the sufferers from the famine, Manchester, it will be recollected, refused to contribute, alleging that the relief of these sufferers was the business of the Indian Government; but if it is to perform this business, it must have funds, and it comes with a specially bad grace from Manchester to ask it to give up an income of 800,000*l.* per annum." (*Standard*, Nov. 6th.)

And it may be further suggested that the Manchester claim to be considered India's chief benefactor must be very seriously compromised by the system of supplying goods of merely "apparent goodness;" to say nothing of the probable loss of the Indian market, and the grave doubt as to how far the practice involves a violation of the eighth commandment.

Sir J. Strachey takes a favourable view of the financial prospects of India, *provided* proper attention be paid to the questions connected with the public debt, railways, and works of irrigation—"the most dangerous and doubtful part of our financial system." The normal condition of the revenue under this financial system Lord Salisbury lately thus described to a deputation from the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce:—"In years past we have spent a great deal more than we have received, and have had to raise the balance on loan." There has, in reality, almost always been a considerable deficit, but by an arbitrary classification of expenditure, by excluding a large portion of it as "extraordinary," and by *then* striking a balance, a surplus has been shown, fictitious of course, though had it been real, it could scarcely have been considered quite satisfactory, bearing in mind Lord Salisbury's explanation that while this surplus hardly ever exceeded one and a half millions sterling, there were fluctuations of as much as two millions in the amount derived from a source—opium—which, in 1872-3, yielded more than nine millions sterling, but which we believe to be, owing to the great changes in progress in China, dangerously uncertain; and yet were any considerable portion of the opium revenue suddenly and seriously threatened, the

Government would be brought face to face with an enormous difficulty, and would, in discussing the means of meeting it, have first of all to dispose of the assertion, attributed to Lord Mayo, and since his death constantly reiterated, that Indian taxation has reached its safe limits. The grounds held to establish the correctness of this sweeping assertion have never, we believe, been made public. We are of those who impugn its correctness. We entirely concur with Sir J. Strachey in thinking that the unpopularity of the income-tax was greatly exaggerated, and that the tax ought to have been at least maintained at a low rate as a permanent part of the financial system. Its abandonment we believe to have been an unwise concession to clamour, loud enough doubtless, for it came from the classes who could make themselves heard, and who had the means of enlisting advocacy some of which would ill bear analysis; this clamour was, however, about the last to be really dangerous, but when to it was thrown into the scale the advocacy of government servants, whose denunciations of the tax remained no secret, its repeal was insured, and thus was frustrated a measure certain on the first emergency to be found necessary, although the circumstances under which the tax was repealed must considerably aggravate the difficulty of reimposing it. It is well known that the Native governments recognised and acted on the principle thus unfortunately abandoned by us. One of these ancient taxes is described by Sir J. Strachey; it is called the *Pandhrée* tax, and reaches traders and artisans, but not the agricultural classes already contributing to the State in another form. We do not advocate the special imposition of the *Pandhrée*, or any other similar tax, if a better can be found, but we do maintain that it is very like aiming at the impossible to endeavour to find a revenue without offending either economic laws on the one hand or Native prejudices on the other. Very many ancient taxes, which were in conformity with Native habits, were long ago abolished because they offended against economic laws, or against something else considered all-important, not by the Natives, but by ourselves, and now it is declared that new taxes are impossible because they excite alarm, and offend Native prejudices. In this dilemma, to disregard, at any rate to some extent, European ideas and economic laws, were surely better than an insufficient revenue, or serious discontent. In truth, many of the old taxes ought never to have been, as they were, abolished on arguments ignoring one side of the question, but should, as they easily could, have been somewhat altered and readjusted; and this even now would, we believe, be far better than some of the experimental taxation that has been going on—the Bombay tax, for instance, which was levied only for one year, and then,

Sir J. Strachey states, given up as being *in the opinion of those who had imposed it* objectionable, oppressive, and on financial grounds unnecessary. The history of this tax, imposed by local legislation, appears to show that decentralization, as it is called, can scarcely be too carefully carried out and watched.

It has become very much the fashion to describe India as an exceedingly poor country, though by what comparison a judgment has been, or is to be formed is never explained. If the resources of India are really insufficient to meet the requirements of her Government well and economically administered, then may be admitted the existence of poverty constituting a very serious question. But we believe in nothing of the kind; we hold that overwhelming proof to the contrary is forthcoming. In the first place, no government supplied to India can fairly be termed economical which imposes an enormous drain on the resources of the country, and yet neglects the means of redressing the balance. This has been very much the condition of India, and Sir George Campbell, who can speak with the authority of long and varied Indian experience, service in the highest posts, unflagging industry, and great ability, has done well in pressing it, and other matters of importance to India, on the English public, and in pointing out, as he lately did at the Society of Arts, in proof of the absolute necessity of enabling India to increase her productions, the impossibility of her otherwise continuing to feed her own rapidly increasing population, to pay heavily for British manufactures, and to sustain an annual drain of nearly *fourteen millions sterling* received in England for services performed. Yet under even these exhausting conditions, there has been, as Sir J. Strachey allows, a great increase in the wealth of the country, evidenced by "the immense growth of trade, and the increase not only in the values, but in the quantities of exports of the great staples of Indian production." The mineral resources of India are of increasing value. Should the interesting experiment now going on in the province of Bengal prove successful, and show that iron smelting on a large scale can be made remunerative, the value of the ore, of which there is an abundance, will be greatly increased. Gold, too, is believed to have been found, in the Wynad range of mountains in Madras, in quantities well repaying the cost of extraction. We look for early authoritative information on these points, and on another of probably greater importance—the supposed discovery of an immense seam of good workable coal, announced by Lord Salisbury in September last.

We believe that our relations with the Native feudatory States require financial readjustment. This was comparatively unimportant when the extension of direct British rule was considered desi-

nable, but the case is now altered, and it seems but reasonable that the Native States which we have determined to maintain, and which we protect from within and from without, should bear a fair share of the expense of the protection which alone insures their continued existence. It was lately stated in an Indian newspaper, the *Madras Mail*, that while the portion of British India directly administered by the British Government yields an annual revenue of 50,000,000*l.*, derived from 184,000,000 inhabitants, the remaining portion yields to its Native rulers annually 15,000,000*l.*, derived from 48,000,000 inhabitants. This statement may be open to some correction, but we are under a strong impression that the subject demands attention, and that the Indian finances are fairly entitled to considerable relief in this direction.

In India, Imperial interests overrule, and properly overrule, all others. In the last resort the Government of India rests with the Imperial Parliament. From every point of view England is responsible for the government of India, and if, as we believe to be the case, England cannot afford to give up India, the extension of an Imperial guarantee to India's public debt must be matter as much of self-interest as of obvious duty. Some time ago Lord Salisbury gave expression, if we mistake not, to much the same opinion; he has pointed out how some thirteen millions sterling have been thrown away on Indian railways, and he may well endeavour to redress similar error regarding the public debt. As regards the guaranteed railways, too, matters may yet be mended by their purchase by the State. To the judicious exercise of this power of purchase, Sir J. Strachey attaches, rightly as we think, the greatest importance. Lord Salisbury has, however, pledged himself to take no action in the matter until the House of Commons shall have had an opportunity of considering it. We hope that there may be no unnecessary delay in discussing a measure likely to effect a considerable permanent reduction in the Indian public expenditure.

We distrust altogether the feasibility of obtaining any permanent financial relief by reducing the military charges. Everything seems to point to the impossibility of avoiding an increase under this head. According to last year's financial statement of the Government of India, the military force consisted of 6086 officers, 60,227 British soldiers, 123,474 Native troops, and 394 field guns, costing altogether about fourteen and a half millions sterling, or one and a half millions less than the amount expended for the same purpose ten years previously. This force has to garrison 831,963 square miles of British territory, containing 184,000,000 inhabitants, and has to deal, if

necessary, with Native States covering an area of 565,000 square miles and containing 48,000,000 inhabitants. In several of these Native States large armies are allowed to exist; Scindia has an army of 22,000 men, and Holcar has one of 28,000, besides artillery in either case. More than 300,000 fighting men, with many guns more or less serviceable, are to be found in the Native States. With each of the border States of Burmah and Nepaul, we have twice come into conflict; and on the north-west frontier, on which there have already been twenty-five expeditions, are to be found fanatical and warlike populations producing at least 300,000 fighting men, of whom 60,000 may, it has been calculated, be found together in arms against us. The foregoing figures are taken from the *Calcutta Observer*, and are, we believe, substantially correct. Since the mutiny of 1857, the European force in India has been considerably increased, but excessive reduction and ill-considered changes have left the Native army numerically weak and without proper organization. To place the Native army on an efficient footing, increased expenditure will, we believe, be found necessary.

A new element of difficulty in Indian financial arrangements has been created by the late famine proceedings, the interest in which now lies more in the future than in the past. Mistakes have doubtless been committed; some already have been, and more will probably yet have to be acknowledged; they may or may not have been unavoidable with the knowledge available at the time, but they can now be turned to good account, if by the light of the experience thus gained, we are enabled to determine satisfactorily how future famines can be avoided, or met consistently with continued solvency. We now know what a lavish expenditure of money and energetic action can effect. According to the *Times* (28th Nov.), "a few, a very few natives, just kept alive before the pinch of deficient food was felt, may possibly have met death prematurely, but the number that thus succumbed was less than the number that go to their graves every winter in the city of London, under the combined effect of cold and hunger." Whether many efforts of this sort could be sustained may well be doubted. The question of expense is, doubtless, the weak point in the relief of the Behar famine. If the following statement, which appeared in the *Pull Maut Gazette*, in a letter dated 22nd January last, apparently from a correspondent in India, is generally reliable, the expenditure in Behar has indeed been excessive:—

"In every respect but that of the area affected, the conditions with which the Government of the North-West provinces had to deal were practically identical with those which had to be dealt with in the adjacent districts of Behar. The prices of food were not sensibly

higher, and the population were no better prepared to face a scarcity in the one case than in the other. The work of relief was performed with the same efficiency in both cases. But while in the one case it was found possible to pay for that work out of local funds, in the other it was found impossible to pay for it without adding some six millions sterling to the public debt."

If there has been an extravagant expenditure in Behar, it is greatly due to causes beyond the control of the Indian Government. As the *Pall Mall Gazette* long ago (August) pointed out, with English public opinion echoing, "in the spirit, if not in the letter, the threat of the London newspaper which early in the day declared that the Indian Government would be held answerable for every single life which might be lost," and with special correspondents at work on sensational "pictures of emaciation, starvation, and death," there could "be no lack of influences to stimulate excitement," and it would have been strange indeed had there been no undue excitement in India. It may fairly be doubted whether the treatment of the Behar famine has not been such as to render Indian officials less likely in future to view calmly and dispassionately the first symptoms of probable scarcity. It ought not to be forgotten that while the famine has borne heavily on India, in the shape of the large loan raised on the unaided security of the Indian revenues, it has cost us nothing excepting the fund collected at the Mansion House, which "cannot be regarded as a national offering either in its amount, or the number of persons joining in it." High praise may well be accorded to the zeal and energy with which the relief of the Behar famine was carried out in India, but Lord Salisbury surely overstated the case when he declared at Manchester that the pages of history do not contain a more brilliant instance of the exhibition of "those splendid qualifications of courage, of calmness, of resource, and of discernment, which have justly enabled Englishmen to claim for themselves the title of an Imperial race," than that recorded by the famine in Bengal.

It seems, from Lord Salisbury's reply to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in January last, that the *coup de grâce* has at length been given to the extravagant expenditure hitherto permitted on Indian irrigation works, undertaken on the assertion that they must yield an early and ample pecuniary return to the State, but constructed only to leave the State burdened with a heavy unproductive expenditure, and the cultivator, who was to be enriched, no better off than before. A Minister seldom narrates such a tale of administrative failure, and mistakes that might have been avoided, as Lord Salisbury lately narrated at Manchester. Well might the *Times* remark (25th January), "The governing faculty is very dimly to be discerned

in the failures thus enumerated." Under the most vigorous rule must occur failures by the light of which others are avoided, but here failure succeeded failure, and fresh projects, each more costly than the last, continued to be brought forward until the system collapsed, owing, as it appears, quite as much to the publicity given to it as to anything else. And now at last will be determined the question* that ought first of all to have been thoroughly examined and settled—the levy of a compulsory water-rate. Lord Salisbury has been told that such a levy must involve a breach of faith on the part of the British Government. This may or may not be the case. A similar assertion has been in other matters often put forward and, to the great detriment of the public service, accepted, when it ought to have been swept aside like a cobweb. It has been a dangerous weapon in the hands of men of limited capacity. It is satisfactory to find that Lord Salisbury has declined here to rely on the assertion. Whatever may be the result of inquiry, the orders finally issued will not, we trust, be in any degree based on the assumption that Indian cultivators, when it is clearly shown to them that their crops are rendered more certain and valuable by irrigation, refuse to avail themselves of it. To say that this is the rule in India, is to say that which is opposed to all probability, and to the long experience of very many public servants acquired in all parts of the country. To us the belief is irresistible that the non-use of water, where it can clearly be profitably used, must be due, generally, to inefficient administration, and not to the idiosyncrasy of the natives of India who, were it otherwise, would be, as regards the simplest requirements of cultivation, considerably below savages in the scale of intelligence.

Whatever may be the value of Indian works of irrigation properly carried out, yet greater importance attaches, we believe, to the thorough development of a suitable railway system. Lord Salisbury has now announced his conversion to this opinion, and has expressed a belief that there are, in connexion with railways, "no such financial difficulties to fear as have attended us in the matter of irrigation." It may be so, but the railway policy has its dangers also. Lord Salisbury, while rendering justice to those by whom the great work of Indian railways was initiated, has pointed out some serious mistakes which were at the outset committed, and the avoidance of any repetition of these errors may fairly be expected. But there are other and not less important matters which demand constant watchfulness. There is a large and influential party interested in pressing the retention, on many of the lines still to be made, of the costly broad gauge, and there are already ominous signs of departure from the wise and economical change insisted on by Lord Mayo, and

approved by the Duke of Argyll. In 1869 Lord Lawrence arrived at the conclusion that the Indian revenues could contribute annually for railways two millions sterling, and that money might be borrowed for further railway construction, provided always that the total annual charge on account of railways, whether belonging to guaranteed companies or to the State, should never exceed the above named sum. Lord Mayo's Government were of the same opinion, and clearly saw that to adhere to the old costly system of construction must be to deprive the country of many railroads required. The Government, therefore, recommended the abandonment of the broad gauge, and the adoption, for all future railways, of a narrow gauge found, after careful inquiry, to be ample for all purposes. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier of Magdala, however, advocated, on military grounds, the retention of the broad gauge on the Punjab and Indus valley lines, and this question was referred to the Secretary of State, who left the final decision in the hands of the Government of India, and they in January, 1871, overruled the Commander-in-Chief's objections. This would have settled the matter had not pressure been brought to bear on the English Government. The decision was questioned in the House of Commons, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, yielded so far as to promise that it should be reconsidered; meanwhile the Government of India had by Lord Mayo's death passed into Lord Northbrook's hands, and he adopted Lord Napier's views. The Duke of Argyll, however, supported by a majority of his Council, decided that no sufficient reason had been shown for reversing orders long before issued, after the fullest discussion in India and in England. The India Office despatches exhaustively demonstrated the weakness of the grounds on which the reversal was asked for, and in February, 1874, the Duke of Argyll finally declined to destroy "the careful and well-considered scheme of the late Lord Mayo's Government." A few days later Mr. Gladstone's Ministry fell, and with the Ministry went the integrity of Lord Mayo's well-considered scheme, for on the 25th June following, the new Minister for India reversed his predecessor's order, on the ground of the great strategic and political dangers growing in importance and pressed by Lords Northbrook and Napier. This decision, by isolating the remaining narrow gauge lines, destroyed the integrity of Lord Mayo's scheme, which provided a complete and extensive narrow gauge system, invaluable under certain conditions of serious internal disturbance, when rapidity of movement may be of paramount importance, and break of gauge, therefore, exceptionally dangerous. Whether this isolation of the Central India narrow gauge lines, and of any other such lines hereafter constructed, is a loss, strategically

and politically, which more than counterbalances anything to be gained on, or beyond the north-west frontier, by the construction of the Punjab and Indus valley lines on the broad gauge, is a question which time may determine. The Duke of Argyll in April, 1873, remarked: "Want of steadiness and continuity in its policy is one of the evils of our Government in India, an evil incident to personal government, where the persons who administer it are frequently changing." The ample correspondence laid before Parliament shows, we think, that when the Duke of Argyll's orders were reversed nothing had materially changed excepting the Minister.

The narrow gauge has already been abandoned on one of the Central India railways—the line through Scindia's territory. This additional complication ought, we think, to have been prevented. Lord Salisbury has stated that Scindia insisted on a broad gauge railway, or on no railway at all. But in a matter clearly of Imperial interest, and having a direct bearing on the security and general well-being of the Empire, every Native feudatory should surely be required to conform to the policy laid down by the Government of India. It seems probable that in this case Scindia has been made the mouthpiece of other interests. When the railway question was re-opened, and was a second time before the Government of India in 1873, two of Lord Northbrook's ablest advisers, Sir R. Temple and Mr. Ellis, who had been members of the Government during Lord Mayo's lifetime, pointed out that the discussion affected in reality much more than the one railway then proposed to be constructed on the old costly system; that this proposal was but the thin end of the wedge; and that to concede so much was to imperil the whole policy of narrow gauge railways in India. The correctness of this opinion has not long remained open to any doubt.

Little has as yet been done to supply feeders to the main lines of railway, every mile of which constructed on a needlessly expensive scale means so many miles of feeders the less. Sir G. Campbell pointed out, at Edinburgh, in October last, the value in many localities of light railways as feeders, and explained the great difficulties in the way of constructing and maintaining metalled roads in some parts of India, where feeders to the existing railways are much required. In the extension of an economical narrow gauge system, and in the early construction of the feeders required for the old as well as for the new lines, appears to lie the satisfactory realization of Lord Salisbury's belief that to an enormous extent "the financial future of India depends upon the due development of her railways." There are, however, many besides the *Times* (25th January) who desire to be assured "that railways will be prosecuted more successfully

than waterworks." Lord Salisbury has lived to reject a belief in the efficacy of irrigation at any price—a belief which was, he has stated, created by "the enthusiastic representations of some gentlemen of great ability," and was ten years ago "universal and boundless." May we hope that he will now be deaf to enthusiastic and all other representations having for their object the perpetuation, in any degree or shape, of the costly railway errors already committed.

The difficulty of feeding the rapidly increasing population of India would, of course, be greatly lessened could measures be carried out for insuring emigration on an extensive scale to some of those hot climates in which large tracts of country require only labour to become most productive. As yet the action of the Government of India appears to have been confined to affording protection to the emigrants. Even here, however, there is not unfrequently great difficulty, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether the Government can be reasonably expected to assume any further responsibility.

The expenditure on barracks, jails, and municipal improvements has during many years past been notoriously extravagant. Sir J. Strachey has explained that it was, not long ago, considered "a wise policy to borrow money for every sort of permanent, or quasi-permanent improvement that India required, and which could not be at once provided out of her annual income," and that thus "not only was the public debt largely increased, but a general extravagance of feeling was fostered." The history of the expenditure on barracks and municipal improvements during the last thirty years would, we believe, show extravagance and waste greater in amount, and not less objectionable in principle, than that described in the official papers lately published in connexion with the proposal to appoint a Minister of Public Works. Municipal expenditure was in former years very imperfectly controlled, and large amounts too easily raised were often wasted and squandered. The official papers just referred to throw some light on the dissatisfaction with which the Natives are said to have regarded municipal expenditure incurred on works of such obvious utility that any reasonable objection to them seems scarcely possible. A case in point is that of the water supply of the three presidency towns. Calcutta has been supplied at a cost of more than half a million sterling. In Bombay the unnecessarily large expenditure was at the time a public scandal. The history of the Madras supply is contained in the official papers before us, and these papers show that while in Bombay one thousand, and in Calcutta two thousand gallons of water are supplied for one rupee, the quantity obtainable in Madras for the same sum is eighty thousand gallons.

Very much has been done, and well done, during late years in India, in the Department of Public Instruction, but a great mistake has, we believe, been made in sacrificing primary education to the requirements of the universities and higher schools, from which well educated young men are issuing in numbers undesirably great. Nearly eleven hundred candidates were to appear at the matriculation examination of the Bombay University in December last. We are far from intending to disparage in any way the higher education now so easily obtainable. We hold, on the contrary, that our true policy is to make the utmost possible use of the intellectual classes, and to enable a fair proportion of them to look forward with certainty to positions in the public service gradually increasing in importance. We believe, too, that the higher education of the country should be thrown more and more into Native hands. But for all these purposes the supply is already in excess of the demand, and is steadily increasing, while the uneducated condition of the masses, described by Sir J. Strachey as "the root of the greatest political danger which we run in India," has been too little cared for. We differ from Sir J. Strachey only in believing that our greatest political danger will have to be faced *during* the process of educating the people. To reduce this danger to a minimum we would reverse the existing state of things, and assign the first place to primary education, recognising at the same time the fact that education is not confined to reading and writing, and that something quite different is required from a very large portion of those whose condition has to be improved. No greater boon could be granted to men who are, as all admit, capable of attaining a high degree of perfection as skilled artisans, than that of throwing industrial schools open to them, and thus turning their education into useful and material channels.

Sir G. Campbell, at the Social Science Congress, expressed his belief that "the most successful men in the long run are always those who get on best with the Natives." He might with truth have added that the great majority of Europeans who succeed in India, and especially those who attain to high official distinction, are indebted to Natives for assistance, the value of which is too seldom acknowledged in India, and cannot be appreciated in England where it is not understood. We unhesitatingly endorse Sir G. Campbell's statement that in dealing with educated Natives, Englishmen now find themselves in a novel position, the requirements of which they hesitate to recognise and fulfil. In September last, there appeared in the *Times* a letter from a "Bengalee villager," replying to one in which the Natives of India had been mentioned in very disparaging terms. The Bengalee villager was evidently a well educated native of India,

and his letter, described by the *Times* as "powerful and ingenious," attracted attention. It was in truth a remarkable production, and was noticed by the *Pall Mall Gazette* in terms to which we specially refer because we believe them to express correctly enough the feelings of a vast number of Englishmen employed in India, and because we are convinced that the indulgence of these feelings can bring little but evil to the Natives and to ourselves.

"Any one who will compare the two letters of the Canal Engineer and the Bengalee villager, will be able with little difficulty to understand some of the reasons why educated Englishmen and educated Bengalees do not like, and do not associate with each other. There is a real gulf between them, and the better they come to know each other the more they will feel it. The good points of the Englishman we all know, but he is a harsh, blunt, unsympathetic conqueror, and if he had been more plastic and sympathetic, he would probably never have done what he has."

The requirements of our position in India were well appreciated and described by one of the best administrators the Indian services have produced, the late Sir Henry Lawrence, when he deprecated "our arrogation to ourselves, even when we are notorious imbeciles, of all authority and all emolument;" and when he added—"unless we treat Natives, and especially Native soldiers, as having much the same feelings, the same ambition, and the same perception of ability and imbecility as ourselves, we shall never be safe." The *Times* Calcutta correspondent lately gave an account of a remarkable Hindoo who had worked his way from a very humble position to a seat on the Bench of the High Court of Judicature in Bengal, and had become the honoured friend of many Englishmen of the highest social and intellectual position. It cannot reasonably be supposed that India does not contain thousands and thousands able to walk in the footsteps of this Hindoo, the late Mr. Justice Mitter, *provided* the opportunity be fairly given to them.

In connexion with education, we notice a report, well founded we trust, that it is intended to extend to its previous limit the age of admission to the Indian Civil Service, the present limitation having had the effect of excluding the most valuable class of men from the Universities at one time sent to India. And equally required is a special College for the preliminary training of the candidates selected for the Indian Civil Service.

Sir J. Strachey thinks that discontent exists in India very generally, and in a greater degree than formerly, and that "the feelings of the people at large towards the British Government are less loyal and less satisfactory than they were in former times." He attributes this unsatisfactory change to certain

causes to which we need refer but briefly, as we believe generally in their existence and in their operation. We desire rather to describe several causes which are not named by Sir J. Strachey, but which we believe to have done more mischief than almost any of those named by him. The outcry against excessive taxation has emanated, we believe, from a small but noisy class whose interests and feelings do not represent those of the people of India; these latter may, however, be made to believe that they are oppressively taxed, and a good deal has been done towards creating this belief. As Sir J. Strachey has well observed; "the endless talk and discussion about taxation which has been going on for years past in India, has produced a greater and more mischievous effect than anything that has been really done." It would be well if nothing worse than this could be with truth said of the administration of justice. A thorough knowledge of the past operation of the Indian judicial system would rudely shake the English belief that its "integrity and the justice of our rule have not obtained in India the appreciation they deserve." When we say that the judicial administration has been below the surface a seething mass of corruption, and that in hatred of our Courts of Justice all castes and creeds have laid aside their differences and joined, we are merely describing in other terms that to which Sir J. Strachey has borne testimony in stating that the Native judicial agency was only a few years ago found by Lord Lawrence to be so bad that "no even tolerably honest administration of justice was under such conditions possible." And while the underpaid Native subordinates had remained in this state, what had been that of the highly paid superior European agency? Too often just that calculated to intensify the evil. In the judicial branch were placed many of those who had failed in other branches of the public service; glaring inefficiency was no bar to high, sometimes to the highest judicial office; incompetency when fully brought to light was seldom adequately dealt with; the difficulties in the way of exposing such incompetency were enormous; and under this system, ill-paid Native subordinates wielded and abused the power vested in the incompetent European superiors, were shielded by those superiors from responsibility, and thus preyed upon, and tyrannized over the people, especially the poorer classes. Much of this has been at last remedied, and much is being gradually removed, but much must, we believe, remain until qualified Natives shall be employed in *every* grade of the judicial branch of the service. When the highest judicial prizes shall be within Native reach; when a fair proportion of these prizes shall be allotted to Natives only, and when every Native subordinate shall know that he can be excluded from competition for them

only through his own misconduct or incapacity ; then, and not till then, as we believe, will it be possible to say with truth that the best and most obvious means of improving the administration of justice have not been neglected. We do not, in fact, see how British institutions can have a fair trial in any branch of the Indian administration in which Native opinion and intelligence are not *properly* represented. That improved judicial agency is not, however, the only thing required, may be inferred from a letter of the 21st September last from the *Times'* Calcutta correspondent, in which there appeared a transcript of one from an able Bombay Civil servant, Mr. Shaw Stewart, showing the oppressively ruinous effect of some of the judicial procedure on the important class of small landholders, who thus suffering are little likely to recognise "the justice of our rule."

"Want of steadiness and continuity in its policy is one of the evils of our Government in India, an evil incident to personal government, where the persons who administer it are frequently changing." The force of this remark, made by the Indian Minister, the Duke of Argyll, in April, 1873, can be thoroughly appreciated only by those having a fair knowledge of the extent to which our policy and procedure in some of the most important matters—in such matters, for instance, as the treatment of the Native States, and the enormous number of claims to exemption from payment of land revenue—have been vacillating and inconsistent. It is difficult to exaggerate the bad effect of such uncertainty on a people quite unable to comprehend the system of government under which it can be honestly possible, and driven, therefore, to a belief that to improper influences alone are attributable changes of policy, and reversals of orders, intelligible to them on no other grounds. Not very many years have elapsed since the existence of this belief had attained proportions, and had caused scandal, which engaged the attention of the Home and Indian authorities, and it was then, if we mistake not, shown that want of consistency in the acts and orders of the Government had tended to confirm the people generally, and the Natives employed in, and connected with the public service particularly, in a strong belief in the efficacy of intrigue. We have no desire to interpret too literally Lord Salisbury's expression of confidence that there can be no "break of gauge" in the government of India. We believe, with the *Times*, that "when a series of powerful minds are applied to the consideration of Indian problems, a diversity of results must ensue." All that we contend for is that no arrangement sanctioned, expressly or by implication, by the Government should be disturbed except in the case of absolute necessity, and that then the existence and nature of such necessity should be explained so clearly and

publicly as to leave to the people no reasonable grounds for doubting either the real intentions or the good faith of the Government.

On the subject of local taxation and its effect upon the people there is much difference of opinion among able Indian officials. Our own strong impression is that local taxation has nowhere been oppressive, but has been not unfrequently injudicious. Its growth of late years, regarding which evidence was given before the Commons Select Committee, has been, Sir J. Strachey asserts, "the subject of extreme exaggeration and misrepresentation;" he, however, admits that "it demands serious notice," and his figures certainly support this conclusion, for they show local taxation to have increased in British India, during the six years from 1865-6 to 1870, *by one-half*; and to have, in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, during the same period, *nearly trebled*.

It was stated before the Commons Select Committee by a high authority, the former Chief Commissioner of Oudh, Sir C. Wingfield, that the Government, in imposing certain local rates in that province, had broken faith with the landholders. Sir J. Strachey endeavours, unsuccessfully as we think, to show that this assertion is not borne out by the facts of the case, which briefly stated are these: Sir C. Wingfield, when making the revenue settlement of Oudh, proposed that local rates, or cesses, should not be kept separate from the land revenue, when fixing the amount payable by the landholder, but that both cesses and land revenue should be included in one demand, the Government afterwards setting aside from the lump sum thus demanded any amount deemed necessary for local purposes. This proposal was made because "the levy of any cesses in addition to the Government demand proper, is viewed with great suspicion by the people who regard them as exactions to which no limit can be assigned." The Government sanctioned the proposal, but after a time additional cesses were imposed, and the imposition was maintained to be justifiable on the ground that local cesses differ entirely in their nature from land revenue, and that although the land revenue had been fixed at a certain amount not to be increased during the term (thirty years) of the settlement, nothing of the sort had been done with respect to cesses. To us it appears that the one object of Sir C. Wingfield's proposal was to prevent any further demand on account of cesses during the term of the settlement, and that the language of his proposal admits of no other reasonable interpretation. We have only space for this brief description of the salient features of a case discussed by Sir J. Strachey in connexion with the general subject of local cesses, and the circumstances attending their im-

position and augmentation in many other parts of India. The whole of the facts and arguments brought forward by Sir J. Strachey convince us that the original revenue settlements, or agreements, were made when there existed no idea whatever of any additional imposition of cesses, or of any contingency under which such imposition would become desirable; that no provision was, therefore, made for any such imposition; and that the terms of the written engagements were clearly not those which would have been employed had the imposition of additional cesses been contemplated. It can well be that the imposition of some of these cesses, and the manner in which it has been sought to justify the imposition, have caused discontent and distrust. Greater caution in India, and more careful scrutiny at home can alone prevent such undesirable complications in connexion with engagements which pledge the Government to revenue arrangements for long periods, and should obviously be binding, in letter and in spirit, on both parties to the transaction.

Although the tone of the Native Press was always more or less unhealthy, the Government paid little attention to the matter until 1857, when an extremely stringent penal law, from the operation of which the English Press in India was not excluded, was passed. In explanation of this measure the Government of India stated:—

“The quarter of a century which has passed since the Press law of 1835 was enacted, has made a remarkable change not only in the number of Native newspapers published, but also in the effect, direct and indirect, upon Natives of matter published in the English papers. When the subject interests their passions, they make little or no distinction between sentiments affecting them published by independent Englishmen in English papers, and the sentiments of the English governors of their country. Where their fears are excited or their feelings offended by such publication, the hatred thereby excited turns upon the English Government.”

The new law, however, remained a dead letter, although the tone of the Native Press did not improve; indeed, so far as we know, the Government never made any attempt to improve it; mischievous misstatement has become rather the rule than the exception; and public attention has lately been directed to an able paper on the subject written by an Indian Civil servant, and published in a Calcutta periodical. The licence of expression allowed to the Native Press has been practically almost unlimited, and equal toleration has been accorded to writings characterized by bitter animosity to everything English. We cannot but believe that this must, in the absence of any attempt to counteract the impressions conveyed, do in the long run serious mischief. *Omne ignotum pro magifico* applies with as much force to

demerits as to merits, and nowhere more than in India should this be borne in mind. It would clearly be unwise to close the channel of communication which the Native Press affords, for to do so would be to open other channels quite as effective, but beyond the cognizance and control of the Government, and, therefore, more dangerous than a Press which at least renders the matter disseminated as accessible to the Government as to the people. But to leave the Native Press in its present condition seems equally undesirable. Whether its improvement may best be effected by a censorship, or by the establishment of semi-official journals, or by other means, well deserves early and serious consideration. It is absurd to suppose that the millions of India can be enlightened by some fireside process, and that free discussion in India will not require at least the checks and safeguards found necessary elsewhere. The transition state in India must be a very troublesome one, requiring careful watching and judicious treatment, and during this period a Native Press, even tolerably well conducted, ought to be of enormous value and assistance.

We have hitherto referred only to causes of discontent which we believe to be preventable. How much must remain which the best efforts and the wisest measures can but very gradually remove, was shown, at the International Congress of Orientalists, by Dr. Forbes Watson, who well described the former condition of India, and the radical, though inevitable, change which has taken place under our Government. He pointed to "the old public works sown broadcast over the country, the countless religious endowments, and the practice of charity as proved by the great extent and universal recognition of the many claims which the Hindoo family organization and the rules of caste impose upon the possession of wealth;" and he then gave the following description of the change which has been effected:—

"The motives inspiring all these actions are no longer operative to the same extent. The two mainsprings of high action in old India—religion and a career of arms—are now either discouraged or repressed, while at the same time the principal effect of the Europeanized education has been to sap the old feeling of family ties and caste obligations which, although indissolubly connected with certain customs which appear to be an almost insurmountable bar to any deeper social progress, nevertheless, in practice frequently exercise a beneficial influence, both by the restraints and by the obligations which they impose. At present there is no vent for these feelings which were formerly cultivated or rendered active by religious motives or high ambition. Add to this, that in old times in India landed property was nearly always more or less associated with an office of some kind, even though the office were hereditary, and that public action of all kinds was connected in the minds of the people with the possession of some office."

We refer to the subject of religious toleration mainly to explain our belief that views recently enunciated by a member of the present Cabinet, Mr. G. H. Hardy, would, if pushed to that which appears to be their logical sequence, speedily render India untenable. Mr. Hardy is reported to have spoken at Manchester, in December last, at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as follows:—“Instead of setting up the light of the Gospel in that land, we as a nation, or rather the East India Company, deliberately hid it under a bushel. He could not conceive anything more calculated to hinder the spread of Christianity throughout the world than the course of folly, as he believed it to have been, of those who first went to India.” The course here suggested was to those who first went to India simply impossible. Our hold is now firm, and much interference might be practicable, but even now the end would not be far to seek. The East India Company wisely insisted that their agents should not interfere, whether to destroy religions which we hold to be false, or to propagate that religion which we believe to be the only true one. This is the “traditional policy” so often, yet so groundlessly, held up to condemnation as “the product of the irreligion and laxity of morals of a former generation.” It was, in reality, the offspring of common sense and obvious necessity. Common sense, which is inseparable from all true Christianity, all real humanity, and all sound policy, taught the East India Company that the first duty of every Government is rigidly to abstain from, and firmly to repress everything clearly calculated to render the fulfilment of any duty impossible. This policy was proclaimed afresh by the Government of India on the 16th May, 1857, and was re-affirmed by the Home Government on the 8th July following. And it is because, and only because, this policy has been scrupulously adhered to, that Christian missionaries have been able quietly to exercise their calling, and that their presence has not been a bar to the administration of the country.

We have before us the enormous task of guiding the revolution of the whole moral, social, and religious life of the people of India, whose existing religious beliefs and most cherished institutions the state of things incidental to our rule tends infallibly to destroy. We have unavoidably incurred no little odium in giving to India, in a degree previously unknown, peace, order, and mutual toleration, and under these influences, supplemented by education, heathenism may well gradually give way to a purer creed; but, as the *Times* has well pointed out, “perhaps we have some more lessons to learn ourselves before we can expect the whole of a highly civilized population to accept our basis of faith. We are ourselves passing through changes, if not con-

vulsions, of religious thought which may be even more obvious to keen observers among such a people as the Hindoos than to ourselves." Only lately one of our leading newspapers gave a frightful list of atrocities committed in one English district, revealing "a seething mass of wickedness beneath and around all those indications of moral and material progress upon which we are wont to plume ourselves." And Mr. Justice Mellor, in trying one of these cases, remarked, "that we needed missionaries to the heathen at home, as well as to the heathen abroad."

In 1857 an Under-Secretary of State told his constituents that the toleration extended to the religions of India "had the effect of retarding the ascendancy of the British name," and entreated them not to "abuse that precious word, toleration, by applying it, or admitting it to be applicable, to the religion or the religious liberties" of India, as toleration could, and should be extended only to all sects and denominations of Christians who believe in the one mediation. It were idle to inquire by what process of reasoning an intelligent man can persuade himself that our Government in India could abandon toleration and live. "Trample on the religion of the heathens" says the enthusiast; but first let him, or any man out of Bedlam, try the experiment of treading on red-hot ploughshares, for trampling on the faith of two hundred millions of people is not more feasible, and the ordeal is not made more easy by the hideousness and perversity of much of the religion.

We would place before Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and before all who condemn "the traditional policy," the admirable advice which, under the well-known signature of "A Hertfordshire Incumbent," appeared in the *Times* of the 13th October, 1857:—

"The practical rule of doing as we would be done by—not as others would do by us, which is a very different thing—will, I suspect, be a much safer guide in the government of India than any theories about the special duties of Christian rulers. . . . With such a policy, the conversion of the Hindoo may proceed slowly, but it will at any rate be sure, and its progress will not weaken the bond of confidence between the governors and the governed, which must be maintained if it is to proceed at all."

More open to question probably than any other portion of our Indian policy is our treatment of the Native States, the unsatisfactory administration of which is due in a great measure to our own hesitating and inconsistent proceedings. It is well that the condition of the Baroda Government has at last fairly obtained notoriety. The case is but one (a very bad one, certainly) of many calculated to discredit the system under which Native rule, upheld on the theory that its maintenance is conducive to the interests of the people of India, can practically be, as the Baroda

Government is proved to have during a series of years been so scandalously oppressive that the people left to themselves would have long ago applied the corrective of revolt, which against British authority they feel to be of impossible success.

The majority of Englishmen are probably unaware of the extent of the Native States still existing in British India. According to the *Madras Mail*, the portion of India directly under British administration contains 830,000 square miles and 184,000,000 inhabitants, while that remaining under Native rule contains 56,000 square miles and 48,000,000 inhabitants. The revenue annually raised throughout India amounts to about sixty-five millions sterling, of which fifteen millions are received by the Native Chiefs.

Up to 1857, the policy generally carried out was based on the belief that neither the security of British rule, nor the progressive improvement of the Native population, was consistent with the retention in the midst of British territory of numerous Native Governments requiring constant watching; keeping up armies which, considerable in the aggregate, and more or less disciplined, might in certain contingencies become exceedingly dangerous; offering to the natives of India place and power without the conditions and restrictions imposed on every agent of the British Government; and often carried on so shamefully as to render the interference of the Paramount power unavoidable. This policy had not, however, always been consistently followed; sometimes modified, sometimes kept in abeyance, its enforcement had depended very much on the character of the Indian Government for the time being, until at last it was publicly proclaimed and steadily acted on by Lord Dalhousie, who died shortly after the annexation of Oudh had been carried out. Then came the mutiny. *Post hoc quod propter hoc*. The English Government of the day adopted the opinions of Lord Dalhousie's opponents, and condemned the policy of annexation as publicly as Lord Dalhousie had proclaimed it.

The new policy has now had a trial during more than fifteen years, and it may fairly be inquired whether its results are satisfactory. Unless the *Times* is misinformed to an extent which is not probable; unless the *Times*' special agent in India has been equally unfortunate; and unless the condition of the Baroda State is quite exceptional, the question cannot be answered in the affirmative; and it must be admitted that in abandoning Lord Dalhousie's policy, the other extreme has been reached, and the welfare of the people has become a consideration second to that of the maintenance of Native rule. The *Times*, referring on the 2nd September last to the events in progress at Baroda, said:—

"The relations of the English Government in India to the Native States which are allowed to subsist in a feudatory or protected condition is very peculiar, and involves many political difficulties. . . . The sovereigns of the one hundred and fifty-three feudatory States of India are, with a very few exceptions, incapable of profiting by the political culture of the Indian Government. . . . The most abominable mismanagement has recently been rampant. . . . Since Lord Canning's famous proclamation, and the rejection of Lord Dalhousie's annexation policy by the English people, the Native Princes of India, to whom we allow the privilege of calling themselves independent, and for whom we guarantee security against rebellion at home and invasion from abroad, have acted on the persuasion that their conduct as Rulers, or as individuals, cannot possibly affect their political position."

The *Times*' correspondent, on the 21st September last, wrote from Calcutta:—

"It cannot be denied that some of our Residents or Political Agents at Native Courts, act as if their sole duty was to receive and forward the subsidies, to guard the interests of Englishmen, and to see that nothing overt or covert is attempted hostile to British interests. There are Residents and Agents vastly superior to all this; but there have been others who acted as if they believed that their duty was not to move a finger, even in the case of the grossest maladministration, or the most reckless waste of public money, so long as the narrower interests of England were not endangered. . . . This certainly is carrying on non-interference policy to a limit which must before long bring a certain reaction. . . . The same fact is patent in the case of Travancore, which rose in an unprecedented manner to eminence and prosperity under one man, Sir Mhadowa-Row, and which, since his forced retirement, is, I am told, running a headlong downward course to ruin. . . . Unfortunately our assertion of right leads, in few cases, to a practical result. We have proof of this in the cases of Tonk and Baroda, and still stronger proof in that of Travancore. . . . I believe I am not going too far when I say that there are in India rulers who have even writers, and in some cases not merely Native ones, in their pay, bolstering up injustice and wrong-doing, fearfully detrimental to the peace and security of the Empire."

It is not within the scope of this article to enter at length on the affairs of the Baroda State, but we write advisedly when we declare that its condition during the last thirty-five years has generally been shameful, and that during this period the names of highly-placed British officers have been most undesirably bandied about in India, in connexion with intrigue and malpractices which have culminated in the attempt to poison the British Resident at the Guicowar's Court; and in a trial which will, should it miscarry, leave a very general impression on the Native mind that the Guicowar has been persecuted, while he will not be considered less of a martyr because he has paid ten

thousand guineas to one English lawyer. And even a conviction may be liable to great misconstruction, unless the evidence obtained by the Government of India is very exceptional in its nature. The retaining fee of Serjeant Ballantine has shown that money is not wanting for the defence, and the circumstances of the case clearly point to expenditure without stint or scruple. A considerable portion, probably the least worthy, but not the least active and influential, of the Guicowar's subjects must desire to shield him, and the desire is likely to be shared by a large corresponding class outside.

The opinion has been expressed (*Times*, Jan. 15th) that the Guicowar's trial is likely, by laying bare intrigue, to remove difficulties now existing, and to strengthen the hands of the Indian Government in dealing with Native Courts. We do not share this opinion. We are satisfied that the greatest difficulties hitherto have been those of our own creation, and that their removal has always been in our own hands. The impossible method of dealing with the Native States which has been attempted is not more embarrassing to the British Government than unfair to the Native Chiefs. The corruption and other evils of the Baroda State have been notorious during the greater portion of half a century. In 1870, death relieved Baroda of a Ruler regarding whom the *Times* writes (Feb. 24th): "The follies, the cruelties, and the incredible abominations that are attributed to the last Guicowar, the brother and predecessor of Mulhar Rao, can only be paralleled in the worst pages of Suetonius." Mulhar Rao was then in a prison, from which we took him, and placed him on a throne for which his antecedents showed him to be unfit. We allowed him some years of misrule, and then appointed a Commission to inquire into his dealings with his subjects. The Report of the Commission was most unfavourable, but the action of the Government of India amounted to no more than a threat of removal at the expiration of a long probationary period, which had barely commenced when a *prima facie* case of attempting to murder the British Resident at his Court was made out against the Guicowar, and on this charge he is now publicly arraigned, the trial being really governed by the principles which regulate criminal proceedings against any and every British subject. Surely in all this there is little of ambiguity, and as little of difficulty which the Government of India might not have readily removed long ago. And least of all does there appear anything to show that the hands of the Government of India require to be strengthened, unless it can be proved that the power now exercised to punish, could not with equal ease, and at a much earlier period, have been put forth to prevent.

We question both the justice and the expediency of allowing a Native Feudatory, who has grievously misgoverned, to remain for a long further period on what has been termed "probation." Even the most enthusiastic believers in Native Government have never, we believe, maintained "the right divine" of the Native Rulers. By those who have advocated, and by those who have condemned annexation, it has equally been allowed that the welfare of the people should be the first consideration. But surely it is only in direct violation of this principle that the Guicowar could be, or that any Ruler similarly circumstanced can be, allowed to continue to govern for a long specified period on probation, possible only by making the people the *corpus vile* for the experiment. If, as stated by the *Times* (October), Native Rulers are maintained in the hope that through them the British Government may "gain in time not merely the submission of the people of India, but a greater degree of confidence and sympathy than we often command," we fail altogether to perceive how a *Guicowar on probation* is likely to contribute to anything but the complete frustration of this hope. Human nature in India does not differ in essentials from human nature elsewhere, and those who suffer will never believe that their welfare is really desired by those who clearly can relieve their suffering, but abstain from doing so. To expect at present from a Native Government, left free to follow its own impulses, administration which we can always countenance, or even tolerate, is to expect an impossibility. In many, probably in most, of the Native States, the vices of the Ruler are regarded by a large portion of the richest and most influential of his subjects "as just those characteristics which if they do not most become a Prince, are most excusable in him." With this class, such a Ruler is by no means unpopular. His poorer subjects may curse him, but the British Government allows them to do no more. The sufferings of these classes contribute to large sums lavished on temples, and on Brahmins who extol the munificence of the pious Ruler, whose reckless expenditure is usually accompanied by unscrupulous prodigality to the dominant classes—above all, to the priests.

"So long as we sustain the Native States of India, we must, of course, respect their internal independence" (*Times*, Sept. 2nd). Here lies the whole question. We have determined to maintain the Native States, and we have determined that their internal administration shall be independent, that is to say, shall not be interfered with, so long, and only so long, as it may be carried on in a certain manner. When not thus carried on, the British Government claims to interfere, just as it has now interfered at Baroda. In point of fact, the internal indepen-

dence of the Native States within British India never has been, and never can be recognised by us. So much is certain. The difficulty has been to determine when, and how, interference should be exercised. This difficulty has hitherto been evaded rather than met. There has been no uniform or consistent practice, and there can be none without a radical change in the system under which the action of the Government is left to depend, to a most undesirable and unnecessary extent, on the idiosyncrasy of the Resident, or other British representative at the Native Court. That which is permitted or approved by one British agent may be discountenanced by the next, and another may interfere so little, and may care so little to conceal his indisposition to interfere, that complaints cease to be made, and the external tranquillity which passive endurance does not disturb, is at a distance erroneously accepted as proof of satisfactory government. Later on, however, a change of Agents is followed by reaction in the right direction certainly, but productive, nevertheless, of intense agitation and intrigue from one end of the territory to the other. Those who under the *laissez aller* system were masters, now endeavour at any cost to prevent complaints reaching the British agent, but their efforts are probably quite unsuccessful, for the previous sufferers are not disposed to moderation. If the Native Ruler is wise, he bends to the storm, leaves matters in the Agent's hands, receives from him at a later period an intimation of the profound dissatisfaction of the Government of India with the past, and of their expectations as regards the future, and things go on smoothly to the end of the chapter. But it may be that the Native Ruler is unwise enough to resist the Agent's interference. In that case there commences a struggle in some respects very similar to that described as having long continued between the Guicowar and the Resident, Col. Phayre, and equally certain to be sooner or later terminated by decisive action on the part of the Government of India. It must also be borne in mind that the influences of the Native Courts have a tendency to "orientalize" the ideas of British agents vested with enormous power, the beneficial exercise of which, though nominally insured by very minute control on the part of the Government, has in reality depended too much on individual character and discretion. The influences to which the representatives of Governments at foreign Courts are exposed, are powerful in India, but do not seem to be peculiar to the East, for Occidental ideas are equally amenable to them if the following extract (translation) from a leading German newspaper, taken from the *Times* of October last, correctly describes the opinion of one who ought to be a very competent judge:—

"From what the Chancellor frankly said a short time ago in Parliament, we may gather that he is desirous to give the representatives of this country a strongly marked national character and policy. It was injudicious, he explained, to leave Ambassadors too long abroad, especially at the same place. A prolonged stay abroad always had the effect of alienating them from home politics, and making them too well and too intimately connected with the Court to which they were accredited. The Prince might have added that representatives who have long sojourned in foreign countries are apt to overrate their own importance, and to assume a position and dignity which is not theirs."

As the preservation of the Native States must be rendered most difficult, or impossible, by the presence in the minds of their Rulers of serious illusions on the subject of their independence, our method of dealing with these States should clearly be one calculated to dispel, and in no degree whatever to create or strengthen, such illusions. The hazy definitions and sonorous phrases so much in use in the Political Department may have their value in Europe, though even in Europe they are rapidly going out of fashion; but in India, and especially in dealing with those placed as the Native Feudatories are placed, they are productive of almost unmitigated evil. In common fairness to these Chiefs, the limits within which they may exercise uncontrolled power in their own territories should be defined with the utmost possible clearness and precision, and the definition should receive the fullest publicity. No room should be left for doubt regarding the matters in which the British representative has instructions invariably to interfere, and to insist on prompt compliance. By such means the policy and intentions of the British Government would be freed from the distrust with which they are very generally regarded; neither the Government of India nor the Native Feudatory would remain, as they now are, dependent on the discretion, which may at any time become caprice or indiscretion, of the British representative; a change of Government agency would cease to be viewed as the momentous event which under the existing system it often is, and always may be; and the conditions attaching to the existence of each Native State being matter of publicity, and being known alike to the Ruler and to his subjects, the probability of the satisfactory fulfilment of those conditions would be greatly strengthened. "We have no wish to extinguish any Native rights or dignities so long as they are exercised for the good of the country, and in conformity with the obligations which our position imposes" (*Times*, October). A proclamation in these terms, accompanied by a complete and precise definition of the obligations, would be to the Native Feudatories a *Magna Charta* more intelligible, and, therefore, more acceptable than the proclamation issued in Her

Majesty's name during the scare of the partial insurrection which followed the mutiny of 1857.

Recent proceedings at Gwalior ought to carry with them a lesson. The alleged apprehension of Nana Sahib was followed by a statement that Scindia had captured him "with his own hand," and that the miscreant's career had been closed "by the loyalty to the Queen of one of his own race"—with much more to the same effect; and then came the suggestion that Scindia would be glad to win from the British Government certain "immunities," one of them being the relinquishment to him of the strong fortress of Gwalior, which British troops were obliged to storm during the mutiny, and which garrisoned by British troops would then have been, as it now is, impregnable. To incur the possibility of its again becoming a rebel stronghold would be an act of political insanity unlikely to be committed. It is now, however, certain that Nana Sahib was not captured at all. The proceedings have wholly collapsed, and their good faith has been questioned. It has been suggested that the man arrested was put forward as a feeler by Nana Sahib himself, Scindia being privy to the transaction; also that Scindia did really arrest Nana Sahib, but being unable to obtain a pledge that his life would be spared, substituted and gave up another man. These are both possibilities. Whether they are more than unfounded rumours should be set at rest by an authoritative statement of the facts of the case. Even had, however, the man captured been Nana Sahib, it would have been, we think, a mistake to treat his apprehension by Scindia's order as an act of extraordinary merit, entitling Scindia to "special favour and consideration" at the hands of the Government of India. The atrocities of which Nana Sahib is believed to be guilty are so great and so exceptional that the apprehension of their presumed author should surely be held up as an obvious public duty. To proclaim that the British Government considers a Native Chief, especially a Native Chief of Scindia's importance, entitled to special reward for performing an act the intentional avoidance of which merits public execration, can scarcely tend to elevate either the character or the position of the Native Rulers. We believe that few things are less calculated to give Native Government a fair chance than the "special favour and consideration" system under which each Native Ruler is led to believe that special action is required to secure advantages not otherwise obtainable from the Paramount authority. Such grants must generally be made by the Government in reliance on the opinion of the British representative at the Native Court, who thus virtually exercises the power of granting or withholding reward. Constant intrigue is the result; the grant of special favour in one quarter is in others

very often felt and resented as an injustice; and each Native Ruler with some special object to gain is encouraged to preserve an attitude of expectant subserviency which is by no means identical with loyalty. We fail to understand how Native Government can really exist until the limits within which its independent exercise is guaranteed shall have been clearly, precisely, and publicly defined. This done, the relations between the Government of India and the Native States would be clear. The requirements on the one side, and the obligations on the other, would no longer be uncertain and dependent on ever varying circumstances. Something like certainty that within the published limits they could do as they pleased would be created in the minds of the Native Chiefs, who would thus be encouraged to the honest exercise of independent authority, and Native Government would have at least a fair trial. It must, of course, under any arrangement be occasionally necessary to deal exceptionally with extraordinary circumstances of rare occurrence, such as those created by the events of 1857-8-9, and others which may perhaps ere long occur in connexion with the proclaimed (13th January, 1875) promise of the Government of India to re-establish Native government at Baroda. Some of the proceedings of the Government in 1858-9 have not left on the Native mind a keen sense of their discriminating justice. Neither the Punjab soldiers, nor the natives of the Punjab who led them, received any special acknowledgment of services which were indeed special. It was very generally thought that while conduct more than suspicious had been passed over, there were cases in which doubtful conduct had fared quite as well as conduct unquestionably loyal, and it was matter of surprise that more than one fief left with its holder had not been transferred to hands of approved loyalty.

There have been of late several occurrences in the Mahratta States of Central India, pointing to political activity which requires at least careful watching. The unfounded statement that Nana Sahib had been arrested by Scindia caused considerable excitement, which had not subsided when attention was drawn to a meeting between Scindia and Holcar, carried out with much ostentation, and described as a public reconciliation. The *Times*, in noticing the remarkable appearance of this meeting, said :—

“There never was a time till now in the history of the Mahratta power that Scindia did not look with an evil eye on the prosperity of Holcar, and Holcar did not rejoice in the adversity of Scindia. . . . Indian history leaves us the lesson that we won empire by the divisions of our foes. If Scindia and Holcar had been loyally united in their efforts to roll back the stream of English conquest, we should now

probably occupy a different position in Hindostan ; their jealousies and treacheries were more fatal to the supremacy of their race than the victories of England at Assaye, Laswarree, and Argaum. These historical lessons the educated natives of India must perceive quite as well as we do."

There are those who maintain that the Native Feudatories are gradually receiving the conviction that their dynastic interests are bound up with the supremacy of British authority. The conviction is one to be cultivated by all legitimate means, but too much care cannot be taken to avoid the dangerous error of substituting in any degree this or any other political guesswork for the military force required to meet successfully any contingency at all likely to arise. Scindia and Holcar are said to have recently contemplated the establishment of "Camps of Exercise" in their territories. This illusion, if it was entertained, has doubtless been dispelled, but it ought not to, and under a better system would not have been there.

On the 25th July, 1873, Mr. Bourke moved in the House of Commons for a Royal Commission "to inquire into the mode in which European officers are supplied to the Native army of India," and, in doing so, dwelt on the paramount importance of the efficiency of that army to the security of our Indian Empire, and pointed out "that though good government is the best guarantee for peace, yet good government in India is in itself impossible unless there is behind it an adequate amount of physical force, and that this physical force must in great measure depend upon the Native army." The motion was withdrawn on the statement that the Indian Viceroy had strongly deprecated the appointment of such a commission.

In December, 1874, the English public were startled by a letter from the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, describing an extraordinary amount of inefficiency and disorganization in the Native army. The description, evidently based on careful and extended inquiry in well-informed quarters, amounted, briefly stated, to this: that although the material of the present Bengal Native army is good, the organization is radically defective; that the system under which the Native army of India is now officered is bad in almost every respect; and that the formation of the Indian Staff Corps is proved to have been an error which must be remedied before the Native army can be placed on an efficient footing. The following passage describes the manner in which the Native army was dealt with after the mutiny:—

"At the close of three years peace was again established; a new Native army garrisoned Bengal, ill-organized, but in the quality of its

material, in loyalty, zeal, and knowledge of war, superior to any that had yet appeared in India. At this time the work of organization was simple enough; the officers of the old Indian army in particular presented no difficulty at all, provided only that they had been let alone. Their regiments, it is true, had disappeared; but the officers remained, bearing (with the exception of such changes as always result from a long campaign) the same relative positions towards each other, and in the army at large, as before the mutiny. If they had simply been retained in their *cadres*, their old funds for promoting the retirement of senior officers been permitted to continue, and promotion allowed to proceed as though the old Native army was still in existence, the present deadlock would never have occurred."

How this error was committed can, we think, be easily explained.

The mutiny found the authorities wrapped in that self-confidence which had for months and for years blinded them to every one of the constantly recurring symptoms of the approach of the storm that at last found them unprepared and almost helpless. It must ever remain matter of reasonable doubt whether had this fatal delusion not existed, and had the very first symptoms of overt mutiny been met by measures sufficiently severe—met as mutiny had been years before met by Rollo Gillespie, and again by Lord Combermere—the course of events would not have been greatly changed for the better. For a very long period prior to 1857 the Indian military administration had been weak, sometimes very weak. The chief military control had been vested in men some of whom were unequal to the vigorous administration of even a perfect system, and were of course much less capable of reforming a system that was very defective. The inefficiency, physical and intellectual, of many of the officers filling the higher posts had long been matter of scandalous notoriety. The state of the Bengal Native army had steadily deteriorated. The old system had not been preserved intact; undue preponderance had been gradually obtained by one caste, and the prejudices of that caste had been more and more pampered. The Government, instead of sternly enforcing obedience to orders, had constantly met mutinous discontent and mutiny by increasing the pay of the Sepoys, who, though made richer, were satisfied only for the moment, as each concession wrung from the Government inspired them with a keener sense of their own importance. While the discipline of a large army had been thus neglected, the means of enforcing discipline had been unduly weakened—and then came the crash, which found the European force so diminished, in disregard of strong remonstrance from India, that the armed masses of Natives could not for a considerable time be opposed by English soldiers in numbers sufficient to inflict any real check.

When the news of the mutiny reached England, speculation ran wild in assigning causes for that which hundreds of intelligent observers in India had long considered an eventual certainty. There was much waste of ability and valuable time in attempting, not to deal with the system to which alone the calamitous result was due, but to determine the precise act, omission, or error which had produced the explosion sooner or later under such a system inevitable. The outbreak was first attributed to Mahomedan intrigue; then to the issue of greased cartridges, which had outraged the Sepoys' religious feelings; and later on, annexation was very generally accepted as the cause of a mutiny in reality the direct and natural result of inefficient military administration. The disastrous error of denuding the country of European troops, instead of sending the reinforcements asked for by Lord Dalhousie, aggravated the evil, and British authority was for a time extinguished throughout large portions of the Bengal Presidency. That matters were not even worse was due to the very measures of Lord Dalhousie and some of his predecessors in the government of India, which have been insufficiently appreciated and unjustly condemned. The mutinous outbreak would in all human probability have been followed by general insurrection, successful to the seaboard, had the Punjab, Oudh, and Nagpore remained unannexed, and had the Mahratta army that fought at Maharajpore remained intact.

The reorganization of the Native army was considered under very unfavourable circumstances. Englishmen were then, as now, for the most part exceedingly uninformed on Indian affairs. By some, to whom the fullest information was accessible, the difficulties to be faced were much exaggerated, and otherwise treated as a party question. This conduct was in one remarkable instance held up to condemnation, in no measured terms, by the *Times*, as showing "how the subjection of all a man's faculties to party spirit prevents him from rising to the level of patriotic feeling." Lord Dalhousie could no more explain and defend his own measures, and had been succeeded in India by a Governor-General of a very different stamp, albeit endowed with many high qualities. Because under the old system the mutiny had taken place, therefore, that system was condemned as worthless, in complete disregard of the fact that to the abuse, and not to the use of the system was the mutiny due. On its old lines the Native army could have been easily and efficiently reorganized. The modifications required could have been without difficulty introduced. Nothing of this sort was attempted; the old system was altogether discarded; the number of European officers with each regiment was enormously reduced; the school of instruction at home, at which most of the

line officers had received an excellent education and training, was abolished; regimental promotion disappeared, and no substitute whatever was provided; the whole regimental system was in fact destroyed, and everything required to replace such wholesale destruction and change was supposed to have been obtained by the creation of a Staff Corps on principles never before heard of. The Bombay Native army, too, was, although it had not mutinied, forthwith placed upon the new footing. How these things took place will perhaps never be thoroughly known. Whatever may have been the facts held to prove that such sweeping changes were necessary, they have never been made public. The declared intention was to make the new Native army less dangerous and costly than, but at least as efficient as, the old one. It is now beyond doubt that these conditions have not been fulfilled. The experience of the last fifteen years has satisfied very many, besides those who from the first required no additional proof, that the old system, although in need of considerable modification, was in the main sound, and that a better one is very unlikely to be found. That in Bengal the system could not have had fair play was surely a reasonable inference deducible from the fact that the Bombay Native army, consisting to a great extent of the relations of the men who composed the army of Bengal, not only did not mutiny, but fought well in several cases against their mutinous Bengal brethren. Madras Native troops were also satisfactorily employed against the mutineers.

Much stress has been laid on the importance of segregating at least some of the races—notably the Seikhs—of which the Native army is, and must be composed. One great advantage of such an arrangement has been well stated (*Pall Mall Gazette*, Jan.), to be “that where men of one Native race are sent to govern men of another, either the governed will resent subjection, or the distinctions between the two races will be gradually weakened. The former means mischievous discontent towards the paramount government; the latter means the destruction of that mutual opposition of class interests and sentiments so important to the peaceful maintenance of our government, and the certainty of our having to deal with discontent far more dangerous, because more homogeneous, than any yet encountered.” The principle advocated has been carried out in the Punjab Civil Administration. Mr. Lepel Griffin, lately Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, has explained that in 1874 there was not “a single Bengalee employed in it on judicial or executive duties,” and that these appointments were almost invariably given to natives of the province. The formation of distinctive forces in the Native army has been recommended by Lord Lawrence, Lord Sand-

hurst, Sir N. Chamberlain, the late Sir H. Edwardes, and other high authorities. It was long ago pointed out to the Government that alienation from the service had been the not unnatural result of the prolonged employment of Native soldiers at enormous distances from their homes, where "in the tedious monotony of cantonment life they sickened of exile and became ripe for mischief." Other strong reasons in favour of the system of provincial army divisions have been brought forward. It has been pointed out that one such division will usually act as a counterpoise to another, and that the men of any one division would be very unlikely to take any step certain to threaten with immediate destruction their own hearths and homes.

Were, however, the army composed of divisions representing the different nationalities, there appear to be good and sufficient reasons for preserving in each regiment the admixture of castes and creeds formerly insisted on as likely always to militate against secret combination, and under ordinary circumstances to prevent it. It has been urged that the mutiny proved this system to be worthless, but it must be borne in mind that the system had been gradually weakened in Bengal, that even in its integrity it was recommended and relied on only as an auxiliary to discipline properly maintained, and that in Bombay, where it had been carefully preserved, the army did not mutiny. Indeed, in Bombay, symptoms of disaffection shown by high caste Hindostan men were, we believe, in more than one case neutralized by the attitude of the other classes in the regiment. In Madras, again, each regiment was really the home of the Sepoys whose families constituted *impedimenta* often complained of, but valuable, nevertheless, as hostages for the soldier's fidelity.

"In a Native army more than in any other a competent body of officers is the primary element of efficiency, and even of existence" (*Times*, 22nd Dec.). This principle recognised under the old, has been abandoned under the new system. The number of English officers has been dangerously diminished, while no steps have been taken to improve the quality of the Native officers. Mr. Bourke, when moving for the Select Committee to which we have already referred, adduced satisfactory proof that the new system of officering the Indian Native army would not bear the strain of war; he showed, on the authority of the Commander-in-Chief in India, that the system, although but slightly tested in the Abyssinian war, had even under that test completely broken down:—

"Eleven officers were posted to each regiment instead of seven, and the Madras army was largely indented upon for subalterns to make up that complement. Lord Sandhurst had been obliged to represent that the three Presidencies had been simply drained to supply Lord

Napier's wants, some British regiments having been emptied of their officers in a manner almost unexampled, and most injurious to the interests of the service. Lord Sandhurst added that had the war lasted, all future demands for officers, which from the nature of the service would have been considerable, must have been supplied from England, Indian resources having come to an end; while if in the service now proceeding in the Hazara district, thirty or forty officers were put *hors de combat*—a likely enough contingency, whether from sickness or wounds, he should not know where to find men to replace them."

How the plan of officering the whole Native army on the irregular system was after the mutiny adopted, may well be matter of surprise. The irregular regiments previously existing were few in number, and although each had but three or four officers, those three or four were carefully selected, while the men of the regiment were considerably above the stamp of the ordinary Native soldier. It was contrary to all experience to suppose that the mass of the Native troops would be effective without a full complement of European officers, of whom on the old system each regiment had about twenty-five, many of them being usually absent on staff employ and on leave; but for active service not fewer than fifteen were generally available. But the change effected, and the mischief done, by no means ended here. While fewer European officers were held to be sufficient, those few were to be appointed in a manner rendering almost impossible the existence of any *esprit de corps*, or real tie between them and the Native soldiers. What the new system has in practice been, may be understood from the following description given by the *Times*' correspondent:—

"Officers became liable to be, and in fact were, shifted perpetually from one corps to another. It became impossible, under such conditions, that officers should be interested in any particular regiment, or men become attached to those who commanded them. Lord Napier was the first Chief who recognised the evils of this system, but unhappily, in his haste to apply a remedy, he only succeeded in aggravating them. He has attempted to return at one spring back to the regimental system of promotion, without first attempting to restore something like order in the grading of officers, the previous *régime* having thrown all ranks into the wildest confusion. The result has been that officers who under the previous system were entitled to look for promotion and commands, find themselves passed over by junior men. . . . It is not too much to say that nothing more utterly destructive of the efficiency and zeal of an army can be conceived than this pitiless supercession, because nothing so completely takes the heart out of a man."

The old Indian army supplied some of the best administrators ever given to the country. The services of Munro, Malcolm,

Lawrence, Durand, Lake, Nicholson, and others, may well be set forth in support of the system which produced such men. Under that system each officer employed in the civil branch had on first arrival, at an early age, in India, joined a Native regiment, and there during many years acquired habits of discipline, and a knowledge of the people, especially valuable in his after career. All these men had been brought up for the Indian service, and each of them knew that he had in his regiment a home upon which he could always fall back, and of which he could never during good behaviour be deprived. These arrangements have been under the new system necessarily modified, but not, we believe, for the better.

Improvement in the class of Native officers, under the old system desirable, has now become more so than ever. In the old Bengal Native army promotion had come to be treated so much as a right acquired by length of service, that the Native officers were too often better fitted for superannuation than for active employment. It has been asserted that they had no influence over their men, but we believe that this was far from being the case, and that had the Native officers generally been thoroughly loyal, no serious mutiny would have taken place. But the Native officers had served in the ranks, and had exercised authority after promotion, only under the lax system which had positively bred mutiny. Under any such system, and with discipline and other military requirements neglected as they were during a long period before 1857, no safeguard against mutiny can, we are convinced, be obtainable, whatever may be the class from which Native officers are drawn, and whatever may be the number of European officers allotted to each Native regiment. Opinions differ greatly regarding the best method of obtaining a better class of Native officers. Want of space obliges us to limit our notice of this important question to the expression of a strong conviction that no measures can be even fairly successful, unless they offer to the whole military class much greater inducements to faithful service than any yet existing. To such extent as the Native soldiery can be brought to feel that their position and prospects are little, if at all, likely to be improved by a change of government, to that extent will they cease to desire any such change. It is of vital importance that while rendering the Native army efficient, we should guard against its becoming dangerous. We have briefly referred to some of the conditions of organization which appear more or less necessary to guard against improper combination. Such considerations it would be in the last degree imprudent to overlook, but after all, our main, perhaps our only well-founded hope of obtaining a Native army reasonably certain to stand by us in the hour of real need—that is, whenever foreign complications and

pressure may render domestic tranquillity of vital importance—must, we believe, rest on our power to make the soldier feel that his interests are identical with our own. Among the few who have as yet recognised this, among the fewer still who have as yet urged it, foremost stood one whose death deprived India of an administrator of rare breadth of view and moral courage, one who while he realized the natural and legitimate aspirations of the people whom he ruled, could also realize that which so few of us are capable of realizing—our own deficiencies. Sir Henry Lawrence more than twenty years ago wrote to the Governor-General:—

“The Native army wants reform even more than the Native civil branch. Is it not too much to expect from human nature that men should under all circumstances be faithful in an army wherein the highest attainable rank is that of a Subedar major or Rissaldar?”

Years later he wrote to Lord Canning:—

“We measure too much by English rules, and expect, contrary to experience, that the energetic and aspiring among immense military masses should like our dead level, and our arrogation to ourselves, even when we are notorious imbeciles, of all authority and all emolument. Unless we treat Natives, and especially Native soldiers, as having much the same feelings, the same ambition, and the same perception of ability and imbecility as ourselves, we shall never be safe.”

“The army is to India what the navy is to England—not a weapon held in reserve for exceptional use, but the primary condition of our security and our supremacy. . . . It is obvious that upon this (the Native) part of our force our military power ultimately rests. Our British troops, according to the well-known usage, are indeed the steel point of the lance, but they are no more, and the point without the shaft is useless.”—*Times*, Dec. 22nd.

It is to be hoped that this truth may guide those who administer the Government of India to the conclusion that while extravagant expenditure on the Native army should be discouraged, it must be better to err on the side of extravagance than on that of a false economy not improbably costing an empire. Of the many questions which press upon the Government of India, that of the Native army may, we should suppose, fairly claim the earliest consideration, for reorganization can scarcely be satisfactorily effected in the absence of general tranquillity, the continuance of which very much longer seems more than doubtful. The result of our policy in Afghanistan is necessarily most uncertain. Whether Lord Lawrence's decision that “the relations of the British Government are with the actual rulers of Afghanistan,” can be indefinitely adhered to, whether we can continue to hold aloof, let the internal condition

of the country become what it may; whether, in short, anxiety to avoid anything like the mistake committed in 1838 may not be carried too far—all these are questions of great doubt and difficulty. Meanwhile, however, a precautionary measure of importance—to place a British agent of suitable rank in Central Asia—is said to be contemplated, if indeed it has not been already carried out.

We have now exhausted not our subject, but our space. The most ardent hope that the British public may be roused to a better sense of duty and interest in connexion with India, can find but scant encouragement in present appearances. Lord Salisbury, when before the Commons Select Committee on Indian Finance, expressed a strong opinion that financial justice to India can best be secured by the constant watchfulness of the House of Commons. The power is doubtless there, but its exercise is wanting. Individual efforts on behalf of India have been persistently made, but have rarely received from the body of the House either assistance or encouragement. The *Times* is constrained to admit that the remission of the Indian Budget to an August afternoon sitting must be accepted—however discreditable the fact may be—as the deliberate act of the Assembly exercising supreme control over the whole Indian Administration. And Lord Salisbury has publicly stated that Indian affairs are discussed with more real attention and interest in Manchester than anywhere else in the kingdom. Even in matters of importance affecting English interests only, the action of Parliament is sometimes undesirably slow. The German Government has obtained with ease and celerity a complete marriage law for the whole nation—Protestant Prussia as well as Catholic Bavaria—while England remains without one, although its want has been severely felt, and the necessity of providing it long ago almost universally admitted. The Indian Minister, however, is, unlike most of his colleagues, comparatively unfettered by Parliamentary action or inaction. To him and to the Viceroy are confided enormous powers which can be swiftly and effectively used. India is, indeed, at present very much in the hands of these two high officers. Lord Salisbury, who is generally credited with a large amount of ability, courage, and determination to uphold the real interests of India, has apparently every prospect of a long tenure of office affording him the opportunity of dealing thoroughly with the important questions to which we have referred—the reorganization of the Native army; the treatment of the Native feudatory States; the system of taxation; the railway and irrigation systems; education; and the claims of the Natives of India to a full share in the administration of their own country.

If, under his auspices, even the foundations of a satisfactory solution of these questions can be thoroughly laid, the consolidation of the Indian Empire will have been effected to an extent which may fairly rank with the best work of any preceding administration.

ART. V.—RECENT POLITICAL MEMOIRS.

1. *The Greville Memoirs—A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.* By the late CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Esq., Clerk of the Council to those Sovereigns. Edited by HENRY REEVE, Registrar of the Privy Council. In three volumes. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1874.
2. *Recollections and Suggestions, 1813–1873.* By JOHN EARL RUSSELL. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1875.
3. *The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham.* Written by Himself. In three volumes. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons. 1871.

OUR readers are no doubt familiar with the "Essays on the Administrations from 1783 to 1830," by the late Sir George Cornwall Lewis: to our mind the most valuable of the works left to posterity by that lamented scholar and statesman. They exhibit in full strength their writer's characteristics, knowledge, not only extensive but accurate, and a fairness and impartiality which cannot be called otherwise than judicial. It will be remembered that, in one of these essays, Sir George shows the superiority of the modern, over the ancient history of civilized nations, inasmuch as it is founded exclusively on contemporary materials, and derived from the written accounts of persons who lived at the time of the events which they narrate. But these contemporary materials, he proceeds to show, are not all of the same character, they differ in value and authenticity, according as they emanate from mere spectators or from actors in the events.

"A contemporary writer (he proceeds) cannot be mistaken about patent occurrences, such as a battle or pestilence, a famine, a change of Government. His accounts will be free from the obscurity and fluctuations of tradition, but they may be erroneous as to the springs of action, and the causes of events, they may mistake the motives and characters of public men, they may adopt current popular prejudices

and ignorant misrepresentations. Hence the superiority of history composed by the actors in the events narrated. Contemporary memoirs by persons who make, as well as write history, may sometimes be apologies for the conduct of the author, sometimes they may be warped by the bias of the party to which he belonged, yet they have this great merit, that where they err, it is not through ignorance of the facts, and the author was able, if he were willing, to state the events as they really happened. Journals entered *day by day* have this advantage over other memoirs, that they exhibit faithfully the impressions of the moment, and are written without knowledge of the ultimate result. They are, therefore, more trustworthy than any narrative composed after the whole series of events has been worked out, at a time when the narrator is tempted to suppress, or has learnt to forget the proof of his own want of foresight.*

The three works now before us afford an excellent illustration of this estimate of the relative value of the different contemporary materials of history.

Mr. Greville was a witness and close observer of all the great political events between 1820 and his death in 1865; and in the greatest of them all—the struggles and intrigues which preceded the passing of the first Reform Act—he took, if not a prominent, an active and useful part. Alike by the accidents of birth, connexion, and official position, he was in the way of seeing much, and hearing more of the proceedings and councils of Courts and Cabinets; he writes, therefore, partly as a spectator of, and partly as an actor in events. By birth a scion of the house of Warwick, and grandson of that Duke of Portland who, as matter of political and party convenience (not from any fitness in himself), filled so many high offices in the reign of George III., Mr. Greville, before he was twenty, became private secretary to a Cabinet Minister, and sinecures not being then abolished, was soon after provided for with that of the Secretaryship of Jamaica, and with the Reversion of the Clerkship of the Council. That office fell into his possession in 1821, and from that year till 1859, Mr. Greville discharged its duties. It is said that during the intervals of that long period in which the late Earl of Derby was Premier, Mr. Greville never attended the Councils, but allowed his duties to be discharged by his deputy. Some one complaining to Lord Derby of this seeming want of respect of the Clerk of the Council, received the characteristic reply, "What does it matter whether the door be opened by the footman or the under footman?" Very early in life Mr. Greville commenced keeping this Journal

* "Essays," &c., pp. 157-8.

"because (as he says) having frequent opportunities of mixing in the society of celebrated men, some particulars about them might be interesting hereafter." He has left on record his own standard by which to judge his work, to which it perfectly comes up.

"A journal to be good, true, and interesting should be written without the slightest reference to publication, but without any fear of it; it should be the transcript of a mind that can bear transcribing."*

So far as these diaries are records, not of Mr. Greville's own acts, but of what he heard, and of the prevailing impressions and opinions of the day, he no doubt often errs as to the springs of other men's actions, and the causes of events; he mistakes the characters and motives of public men, and adopts current popular prejudices and ignorant misrepresentations; but his journals exhibit faithfully his impressions at the moment, and there is great weight in an observation made to Mr. Greville by one described as an "acute observer," and quoted by Mr. Reeve in his preface—viz., "that the *nuances* in political society are so delicate and numerous, the details so nice and varying, that unless caught at the moment, they escape, and it is impossible to collect them again."† That portion (the most valuable) of the book, which records Mr. Greville's own political acts, is really what it professes to be, a contemporary record of facts and opinions—"written without knowledge of the ultimate result"—not altered or made to square with subsequent experience. It is, therefore, more trustworthy than narratives composed after the whole series of events have been worked out, such as the other books referred to at the head of this paper, the "Recollections of Earl Russell," and the "Life and Times of Lord Brougham." Both of these being written in the decline of the writer's life, when his impressions even of the greatest events in which he had taken part, must needs be lessened, confused, or even effaced, and written also in Lord Brougham's case towards the conclusion of a career exhibiting many inconsistencies, and therefore under the temptation to suppress or distort facts in order to give himself a greater appearance of consistency than would have been possible had he strictly adhered to truth. Mr. Greville's diaries again afford an excellent illustration of another critical remark of Sir George Lewis:—

"That in such journals written without any expectation of publicity, weaknesses and minor defects of the writer will be disclosed, many transient feelings or thoughts will appear which his deliberate judgment would have rejected, but where there is a genuine ability

* Preface, p. vii.

† Ibid., p. viii.

and true integrity, these qualities will be more apparent from their evidence being undesigned.”*

These “Diaries” certainly disclose a vein of vanity and superciliousness in the writer’s character which strengthens the probability that the opinion of Mr. Greville attributed to Mr. Disraeli, was really expressed by him—viz., “I think Greville the vainest man in the world, and I have read Cicero and known Bulwer Lytton.” But not only the vanity and the superciliousness; and even cynicism, of the writer crops up everywhere throughout the book, but there is also equally evident a lamentable want of regard for other people’s feelings. This the more appears when we consider that the writer long before his death intended, or at least contemplated, the publication of his Memoirs. “He himself (says Mr. Reeve) had frequently revised them with great care; he had studiously omitted and erased passages relating to private persons or affairs, which could only serve to gratify the love of idle gossip and scandal.”† And of his own conduct as editor, Mr. Reeve says, “The only omissions I have thought it right to make are passages and expressions relating to persons and occurrences in private life, in which I have sought to publish nothing which could give pain or annoyance to persons still alive.”‡ On reading these passages, we are at a loss to determine which is the most extraordinary, Mr. Greville’s idea of “passages which can only serve to gratify the love of idle gossip and scandal,” or Mr. Reeve’s idea of “passages and expressions calculated to give pain or annoyance to persons still alive.” None but lovers of idle gossip and scandal can be gratified by such passages as those relating to the associates and the pecuniary straits of the Duke of York,§ and the quarrels of Lord Lyndhurst and his first wife with the Duke of Cumberland; and the coarse terms in which Mr. Greville speaks of the Fitzclarence family, his account of some of the weaknesses of William IV., and of his quarrels with the Duchess of Kent,|| and the singular story about the Duchess seeking to obtain for her own use a part of the allowance intended to be made by the King to the heiress presumptive,¶ are expressions and passages which will undoubtedly give pain and annoyance to many persons still living. Of course, it is impossible to give anything like a summary or analysis of a book which is necessarily in its essence desultory, and which narrates the events of sixteen years; we can only refer to some of those passages which strike us as most characteristic, to some portions rela-

* “Essays,” &c., p. 158. † Preface, p. vi. ‡ Ibid., p. ix.
 § Vol. i. pp. 7-22. || Vol. iii. pp. 366-70. ¶ Ibid., pp. 399-400

ting to Mr. Greville's own political acts, and to some of his narratives of public events and judgments on public men, which appear to be novel or important. One characteristic of these volumes is that in a collection of the daily stories and gossip of political and fashionable life, we find very little that we have heard or read before; very few old stories do we find retold, and of these one is a new, and evidently the correct, version. Every one has heard of Lord Thurlow's reason for making one man a judge rather than another, because the first was only intemperate, while the other was corrupt. "Not," added the eminently dyslogistic Chancellor, "but what there was a d—d deal of corruption in —'s intemperance." The following is Mr. Greville's version:—

"Dined with the Chancellor. Lord Holland told some stories of Thurlow, whom they say he mimics exactly. 'When Lord Mansfield died, I hesitated a long time between Kenyon and Buller. Kenyon was very intemperate, but Buller was so d—d corrupt, and I thought upon the whole that intemperance was a less fault in a judge than corruption, not but that there was a d—d deal of corruption in Kenyon's intemperance.'"

Here for the first time, so far as we know, the names are given of the rival candidates for the Chief Justiceship of England, and quite a new meaning is given to the word intemperance. In the ordinary version of the story, it would appear that Thurlow used it in its usual sense—*i.e.*, drunkenness; but the reference to Kenyon, shows that he used it in the original sense, to denote a violent or ungoverned temper. Kenyon's savage temper was notorious; his penuriousness—if no better motive—saved him from drunkenness.

Another legal anecdote recorded by Mr. Greville, we have heard among the oral traditions of Lincoln's Inn, though it has not, we think, before appeared in print:—

"A ridiculous thing happened the other day in the Vice-Chancellor's Court. Sugden had taken a brief on each side of a case without knowing it. Horne, who opened on one side and was to be followed by another, was to be answered by Sugden, but he having got hold of the wrong brief, spoke the same way as Horne. The Vice-Chancellor said coolly, 'Mr. Sugden is with you?' 'Sir,' said Horne, 'his argument is with us, but he is engaged on the other side.' Finding himself in a scrape, he said, it was true he held a brief for the other party, but for no client would he ever argue against what he knew to be a clear rule of law. However the Court decided against them all."†

* Vol. i. p. 278.

† Ibid., p. 273.

We have heard, as one of the traditions of the Equity Bar, that Sir Samuel Romilly once fell into a similar mistake, and argued against the party for whom he was retained. Discovering his error, he said: "My lord, I have stated what appears to me to be the argument on the other side;" and then proceeded to reply to his own argument, which he did with such power, that he won the decree for his client. Before quitting the notices of great lawyers scattered over these pages, we cannot refrain from quoting George IV.'s remark to Lord Eldon, for the authenticity of which Mr. Greville does not vouch; but which has all the internal evidence of truth:—"My lord, I know your conscience always interferes, except where your interest is concerned."* Nor the following account of the same noble and learned lord's appearance at a dinner given by the Duke of Wellington to the leading Tory Peers, at which it was resolved to oppose the Reform Bill:—

"Dudley, who was there, told me it was Tragedy first and Farce afterwards, for Eldon and Kenyon who had dined with the Duke of Cumberland came in after dinner. Chairs were placed for them on each side of the Duke, and after he had explained to them what they had been discussing, and what had been agreed on, Kenyon made a long speech on the first reading of the Bill, in which it was soon apparent that he was very drunk, for he talked exceeding nonsense, wandered from one topic to another, and repeated the same things over and over again. When he had done, Eldon made a speech on the second reading, and appeared to be equally drunk; only Lord Bathurst told me, Kenyon in his drunkenness talked nonsense, but Eldon sense. Dudley said it was not that they were as drunk as lords and gentlemen sometimes are, but they were drunk like porters."†

We do not remember seeing before the following *bon mot* of Lord Plunket's:—

"Lord Wellesley's aide-de-camp, Keppel, wrote a book of his travels, and called it his 'Personal Narrative.' Lord Wellesley was quizzing it, and said, 'Personal narrative? What is a personal narrative?' Lord Plunket, what would you say a personal narrative meant?' Plunket answered, 'My lord, you know we lawyers always understand personal as contradistinguished from *real*.'"

Mr. Greville was throughout his long life a great card player and racing man; the following confessions of a votary of both these pursuits are well worth the serious attention of a generation in which more than at any previous time they, especially the latter, have attained a higher pitch, and become more widely spread among all classes:—

* Vol. i. p. 25.

† Vol. ii. p. 198.

"I have been at Otlands for the Ascot party (writes Mr. Greville, then in his twenty-third year). On the course I did nothing; ever since the Derby ill-fortune has pursued me, and I cannot win anywhere. Play is a detestable occupation; it absorbs all our thoughts, and renders us unfit for anything else in life. It is hurtful to the mind, and destroys the better feelings; it incapacitates us for study and application of any sort; it makes us thoughtful and nervous, and our cheerfulness depends upon the uncertain event of our nightly occupation. How any one can play who is not in want of money, I cannot comprehend; surely his mind must be strangely framed who requires the stimulus of gambling to heighten his pleasures; some indeed may have become attached to gaming from habit, and may not wish to throw off the habit from the difficulty of finding fresh employment for the mind, at an advanced period of life. Some may be unfitted by nature, or taste, for society, and for such gaming may have a powerful attraction. The mind is excited, at the gaming-table all men are equal; no superiority of birth, accomplishments, or ability avails here; great noblemen, merchants, orators, jockies, statesmen, and idlers are thrown together in levelling confusion; the only pre-eminence is that of success, the only superiority that of temper. But why does a man play who is blessed, with fortune, endowed with understanding, and adorned with accomplishments which might ensure his success in any pursuit which taste or fancy might incite him to follow? It is contrary to reason, but we see such instances every day. The passion for play is not artificial, it must have existed in certain minds from the beginning; at least some must have been so constituted that they yield at once to the attraction, and enter with avidity into a pursuit in which other men can never take the least interest."*

This is a sound judgment strongly expressed; nevertheless, Mr. Greville to the end of his life remained another illustration of the trite saying—"*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.*" In a great political crisis, as we shall see, his devotion to racing interfered with the active and useful part he took on that occasion, and towards the conclusion of the third volume we find the following narration of his own experience. After stating that he had read "*Mackintosh's Life*," which made him feel disgusted with his racing *métier*, he proceeds:—

"The most galling of all conditions is that of him whose conscience and consciousness whisper to him perpetual reproaches, who reflects on what he might have been, and who feels and sees what he is. When such a man as Mackintosh, fraught with all learning, whose mind if not kindled into a steady blaze, is perpetually throwing out sparks and coruscations of exceeding brightness, is stung with these self-upbraidings, what must be the reflections of those the utmost reach of whose industry is far below the value of his most self-accused idleness, who have no self-consolation, are plunged in entire darkness,

and have not only to lament the years of omission, but those of commission, not only the opportunities neglected, but the positive mischief done by the debasement of the faculties, the deterioration of the understanding, the impairing of the power of exertion, consequent upon a long devotion to low, despicable, unprofitable habits and pursuits.*

We turn now to the passages of these "Memoirs" relating to what in common parlance is called the trial of Queen Caroline, and will contrast the opinions and impressions, as to that occurrence, of Mr. Greville, written at the time, with the recollections of Lord Brougham, written nearly forty years afterwards, and by comparison test the accuracy of both. Under date 4th June, 1820, Mr. Greville writes—"The Queen is coming to England, and Brougham is gone to meet her. Nobody knows what advice he means to give her, but everybody believes that it is his intention that she should come."† Lord Campbell speaks of this journey of Brougham's to meet the Queen "as a mystery which never has been, and never will be, cleared up."‡ We shall presently see that in this prediction the noble and learned lord was mistaken. No doubt that Mr. Greville accurately recorded the general belief, but in point of fact "everybody," as is frequently the case, knew nothing about the matter, and their belief was erroneous. On this subject of the advice given by Lord Brougham to her Majesty, the late H. Crabb Robinson records in his Diary the following curious anecdote:—

"At Florence, 1831, I saw the Marchioness Sacrati; though she might not be an exceptional witness, where she had a motive to misrepresent, yet I should not disbelieve what she said this evening. She said, 'M. Broggam, to answer the purposes of his ambition, forced the Queen to come to England. The Queen told me so, and Lady Hamilton confirmed it. I said to her when I first saw her (in England), I said, 'Why are you here?' She said, 'My lawyer made me come. I saw him at St. Omer, and I asked him whether I should go to England;' he said, 'If you are conscious of your innocence, you *must* go, if you are aware of weakness keep away.'"

This is a record of a very careful diarist of a statement professing to be based on the authority of the Queen herself, and which, if true, would prove that the general belief of 1820 was correct. The witness, however, is speaking eleven years after the occurrence of the facts which she is narrating. On the other hand, Lord Brougham, writing of the same facts forty years after their occurrence, has left on record this explicit statement:—

* Vol. iii. pp. 294-5.

† Vol. i. p. 27.

‡ "Lives of Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham," p. 98.

§ H. Crabb Robinson's "Diary," vol. ii. pp. 503-4.

"The Queen came to St. Omer where I went to meet her, accompanied by Lord Hutchinson and my brother William. I was the bearer of a proposition, that she should have all the rights of a Queen Consort, especially as regarded money and patronage, on her consenting to live abroad. Lord Hutchinson was the bearer of an intimation, that on her coming to England, all negotiation must cease. I found her surrounded by Italians, and resolved to come to England. I advised her against this step, as it must put a stop to all negotiation; for example, upon the rights to use a royal title, or even to be presented at foreign courts as Queen. My impression was that she had been alarmed at the result of the Milan inquiry, of which were purposely spread most exaggerated rumours, and those who had urged her coming over had succeeded in persuading her that her safety would be best consulted by the popular feeling which her arrival was certain to excite. A long discussion with her had no effect in diverting her from her purpose, which I believe to have been fixed upon before she set out on her journey, and she left St. Omer very suddenly after refusing to let Lord Hutchinson be presented to her."*

This is a direct contradiction of the statement of the Italian lady, professing to be founded on that of the Queen herself. Which of the two, then, was right? The letters between the Queen and Lord Hutchinson and between the Queen and Lord Brougham himself, which are published in his "*Life and Times*," completely substantiate the accuracy of his statement. To return to Mr. Greville, he foresaw the "Queen's business," as the King and his Ministers with affected unconcern, called it, would in all probability raise such a tempest as they would find it beyond their power to appease, and proceeds until he grew weary of the subject, to record the chief events and opinions of the time. On the 16th June he writes:—

"The speech which Canning made on the occasion of the King's message has been violently attacked by all parties, and is said to have given as great dissatisfaction to the Queen as to the King. It is not easy to discover what the Queen could have objected to in this speech, for it was highly favourable and flattering to her."†

Let us compare this with Lord Brougham's estimate of the same speech. The message was brought down to both Houses on June 6th, and Lord Brougham, writing of this speech, records:—

"Canning in answering me, while he supported the Ministers, acted most honourably and bore such testimony to the virtues and high bearing of the Princess, whose honour, and I may almost say life, was assailed by a husband whose whole life and conduct in the marriage state had been a barefaced violation of his vows, that Minis-

* "*Life and Times*," vol. ii. pp. 356-7.

† Greville, vol. i. p. 29.

ters were forced to give way, and an adjournment was agreed to, without a division.”*

Yet a few pages after he writes of the same speech :—

“The speech was shabby enough, as was his subsequent one on Wilberforce’s motion, his plain object being to avoid a breach with the King, and to aid by all means a result which might save his honour towards the Queen, and not make his resignation of office necessary.”†

At the very advanced age at which Lord Brougham wrote his Autobiography, and from the hasty manner in which it was composed,† his memory and his record of events of forty years past were naturally confused ; hence we find him within a few pages styling Canning’s conduct on this occasion “straightforward, manly, and in every respect creditable to him,” and shortly afterwards “shabby enough.”

Both the contemporary and the *ex post facto* accounts agree however in this, that Canning tried to please both King and Queen, and with the result usual in such cases, failed to please either.

There have been many sneers at Mr. Greville as being a mere credulous collector of gossip, and at the inaccuracy of his reports of the stories and conversations he heard. We on the other hand think he seems to have carefully sifted the reports he heard, and recorded conversations with surprising accuracy. Another incident connected with the Queen’s trial supplies us with a test on both these points. It will be seen that in this matter Mr. Greville’s accuracy is remarkable. He has therefore a right to claim our belief in other matters. Writing on the 25th June, 1820, of the message from the House of Commons to the Queen, and her reply, he says :—“Brougham declined advising her as to her answer ; he told her she must be guided by her own feelings, and was herself the only person capable of judging what she had best do.”§ This is his contemporary record of what he believed to be the fact. Thirteen years after he hears Lord Brougham’s version of the transaction :—

“The Chancellor talked over some of the passages of the Queen’s trial, to which he loves to revert. When the deputation from the House of Commons went up with the Address to the Queen, entreating her to come to terms (Banks, Wortley, Acland, and Wilberforce), she had got all her counsel assembled, and before receiving the deputation from the Commons, she asked their advice. Brougham said that she was disposed to acquiesce, but wanted them to advise her to

* “Life and Times,” vol. ii. p. 367.

† Vide Editor’s Preface, vol. i.

† Ibid., p. 379.

§ Greville, vol. i. p. 31.

do so, and that her intention was if they had, to act on that advice, but to save her popularity by throwing the odium on them, and devoting them to popular execration. He therefore resolved, and his brethren likewise, to give no advice at all, and when she turned to him and said, 'What do you think I ought to do?' he replied, in a sort of speech, which he gave very comically, 'Your Majesty is undoubtedly the best judge of the answer you ought to give, and I am certain your own feelings will point out to you the proper course.' 'Well, but what is your opinion?' 'Madame, I have certainly a strong opinion on the subject, but I think there cannot be a shadow of doubt what your Majesty ought to do, and there can be no doubt your Majesty's admirable sense will suggest to you what that opinion is.' 'Humph,' said she, and flung from him, turning to Denman, 'and Mr. Solicitor, what is your opinion?' 'Madame, I concur entirely in that which has been expressed by the Attorney-General, and so they all repeated. She was furious and being left to herself she resolved not to agree.'*

This was an after-dinner story, but nevertheless the true history of the event. Writing nearly forty years after the date at which Mr. Greville recorded the story, Lord Brougham says:—

"When the Address of the House of Commons went up, Wilberforce (the mover) and Wortley (afterwards Lord Wharncliffe), the seconder, presented it, and her counsel were all in attendance. We had resolved to give no advice whatever, but to leave her the entire option of agreeing or refusing. This was on every account the necessary course to take, because if she had been acting under our advice, it would have entirely destroyed the effect of her resolution, and we felt quite certain that if we advised her to comply with the desire of the Commons and to leave the country, we should have been proclaimed by her violent and secret advisers, as the cause of her going, and it would have been affirmed that she was herself desirous of remaining and meeting the charges. Indeed I doubt if we should have escaped the fury of the multitude. She anxiously pressed us to give our opinion, one after another, until we all declined, stating that it was for her to decide, and not us, who were only her legal advisers. When we had retired in order that she might come to a determination, she called us in and announced that she had resolved to refuse, and said that she had from the beginning no doubt or hesitation, though she desired to have our opinion."†

Mr. Greville records a conversation in which "the Duke of York told him a great deal about the Queen and Brougham, but he was so unintelligible that part I could not make out, and part I do not remember." The Duke accused Brougham of acting a double part, and on the authority of a man whose name he did not mention, alleged that Brougham had written to the

* Greville, vol. iii. pp. 36-7.

† "Life and Times," vol. ii. pp. 376-7.

Queen to come over to England. The man asserted, "I saw the letter." The Duke continued, "If Lord Liverpool and Lord Londonderry had thought proper to publish what had been done on the part of Brougham, he would have been covered with infamy."* The letters we have before referred to published by Lord Brougham in his "Life and Times," show that for this charge against him of double-dealing there was not the slightest foundation in fact.

The most valuable portion of Mr. Greville's Memoirs is that which relates to the passing of the first Reform Act, as to which, and particularly the negotiations between the Whig Cabinet and the "Waverers," particulars are given by Mr. Greville, which have not before been made public; and to these we will now proceed to call attention. We have carefully tested Mr. Greville's statements by those of Lord Brougham, one of the leading actors in the scene, and find Mr. Greville to be most accurate, even in matters of detail. From Mr. Greville's statements it appears that Lord Lyndhurst who, to quote Lord Brougham's judgment of "his excellent friend," "was not gifted with very great tenacity of political opinions,"† was at first uncertain what course to take on the Reform Bill, in opposing which he afterwards took such an active and mischievous part. At the dinner we have before referred to as remarkable for Lords Eldon and Kenyon having exceeded, to quote the Baron of Bradwardine's phrase, "the bounds of a just and modest hilarity,"

"Lyndhurst was not present though invited. He dined at Holland House. It is pretty clear, however, that he will vote for the second reading, for his wife is determined he shall. I saw her yesterday and she is full of pique and resentment against the Duke and the Opposition, half real and half pretended, and chatters away about Lyndhurst not being their cat's-paw, and that if they choose to abandon him, they must not expect him to sacrifice himself for them. The pretexts she takes are that they would not go to the House of Lords on Tuesday and support him against Brougham, on the Bankruptcy Bill, and that the Duke of Wellington wrote to her, and *desired* her to influence her husband, in the matter of Reform. The first is a joke, the second there might be a little in, for vanity is always uppermost, but they have both some matter of interest which they will pursue in whatever way they best can."‡

Later on, after having taken a leading part in the defeat of the first Bill, Lord Lyndhurst again seems to have hesitated.

* Greville, vol. i. p. 57.

† "Life and Times," vol. iii. p. 435. Lord Campbell says there was a disposition on Lord Grey's part to continue Lyndhurst as Chancellor. This appears to have been the case.—Vide Greville, vol. ii. p. 64.

‡ Greville, vol. ii. p. 198.

Mr. Greville, in narrating one of his many interviews with Lord Wharncliffe, the Leader of the "Waverers," writes :—

"Wharncliffe had seen Lyndhurst, who appeared very undecided and (Wharncliffe was apprehensive) rather leaning towards the Duke, but I endeavoured to persuade him that Lyndhurst was quite sure to adopt upon consideration, the line which appeared most conducive to his own interest and importance, that he had always a hankering after being well with Lord Grey and the Whigs, and I well remembered when the late Government was broken up, he had expressed himself in very unmeasured terms about the Duke's blunders and the impossibility of his ever again being Prime Minister; that with him consistency, character, and high feelings of honour and patriotism were secondary considerations, that he relied upon his great talents and his capacity to render himself necessary to an Administration, and that it was not probable he would like to throw himself (even to please the Duke) into opposition to the earnest desire which the great mass of the community felt, to have the question settled."*

Mr. Greville was no doubt right in his estimate of the motives on which Lord Lyndhurst acted, though they led him to take the exactly opposite course to that which Mr. Greville anticipated. He opposed the second Bill as rabidly as he had opposed the first; and to the errors of policy he committed in conducting that opposition, was due the triumph of the popular demand for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Mr. Greville's own opinion on the Reform question, was that to be expected from his clear, unenthusiastic, and somewhat cynical intellect, biassed by social and educational prejudice. With great foresight he writes :—

"The truth is I am by no means *sure* now, that it is safe or prudent to oppose the second reading, and though I think it very doubtful if any practicable alteration will be made in Committee, it will be better to take that chance and the chance of an accommodation and compromise between the two parties and the two Houses, than to attack it in front. It is clear that Government is resolved to carry the bill, and equally clear that no means they can adopt would be unpopular. If its passing clearly appears to be inevitable, why the sooner it is done the better, for at least an immense object will be gained in putting an end to agitation and restoring the country to good humour, and it is desirable that the House of Lords should stand as well with the people as it can. It is better, as Burke says, 'to do early and from foresight, that which we may be obliged to do from necessity at last.' I am not more delighted with Reform, than I ever have been, but it is the part of prudence to take into consideration the present and the future, and not to harp upon the past."†

* Greville, vol. ii. p. 235.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 192.

Further on he writes, in reference to the Whig Leaders :—

“ When I see men, and those in very great numbers, of the highest birth, of immense fortunes, of undoubted integrity and acknowledged talents, zealously and conscientiously supporting this measure, I am lost in astonishment and even doubt; for I can't help asking myself whether it is possible that such men would be the advocates of measures fraught with all the perils we ascribe to these, whether we are not in reality mistaken and labouring under groundless alarm, generated by habitual prejudices and erroneous calculations.”

This would have been the conclusion to which his intellect would have guided him, had it been unbiassed by other considerations; but the habitual prejudices to which he refers obtained supremacy in his mind, and his final judgment on the matter is thus expressed :—

“ I believe these measures full of danger, but that the mannner in which they have been introduced, discussed, defended, and supported is more dangerous still. The total unsettlement of men's minds, the bringing into contempt all the institutions which have been hitherto venerated, the aggrandisement of the power of the people, the embodying and recognition of popular authority, the use and abuse of the King's name, the truckling to the Press, are things so subversive of Government, so prejudicial to order and tranquillity, so encouraging to sedition and disaffection, that I do not see the probability of the country settling down into that calm and undisturbed state in which it was before this question was mooted, and without which there can be no happiness or security in the country.”*

But the King and his Ministers made a shrewder forecast of the future. The King “ distinctly told Lord Brougham that he was quite sure the shock of the change was much overrated, and that when once the Bill was passed, things would slide into an easy and quiet posture as before.”†

Mr. Greville, holding these alarmist views, availed himself of his official and social position to endeavour to bring about a settlement of the dispute. In the autumn of 1831 he entered into communication with the Duke of Richmond, although he considered him to be “ unfit for settling the affairs of Europe and making new Constitutions.”‡ He told him, “ that nothing would do but a compromise between the parties; the Duke assented, and expressed a desire to see Lord Wharncliffe” on the subject. It then appeared that a negotiation had been already

* Greville, vol. ii. pp. 207-8.

† Account of conference with the King, “ Life and Times,” vol. iii. pp. 145-437.

‡ Greville, vol. ii. pp. 183-211.

opened by Lord Palmerston, not, as we may well imagine, a very ardent, or indeed sincere supporter of the Bill. In the end, Lords Grey and Wharncliffe had a meeting at which a general basis for a compromise was agreed on,* which Mr. Greville thought was a triumphant justification of the course which the Opposition had adopted.† It is curious, looking at the course the *Times* has ever since pursued on liberal questions, to find Mr. Barnes, its editor, on this negotiation being opened to him, thus described: "His rage and fury exceeded all bounds; he swore Brougham and Grey (particularly the former) were the greatest of villains."‡ Mr. Greville's delight at the proposed compromise was soon checked by a report brought to him from the Duke of Richmond by Lord George Bentinck, "that the concessions were not only to be all one way, but that the altered Bill would be in fact more objectionable than the last, inasmuch as it is more democratic in its tendency."§

The negotiation between Lords Wharncliffe and Grey went on "languidly." The Duke of Wellington wrote to Wharncliffe, "declining altogether to be a party to any negotiation." Sir R. Peel also wrote, to whom it does not appear, a letter described as "stiff, dry, and reserved," just like the man, in whom "great talents are so counteracted and almost made mischievous by the effects of his cold calculating character."|| On the 30th November a final interview took place between the leader of the Whigs and the leader of the Waverers, at which Lord Grey said, "the terms proposed by Lord Wharncliffe were inadmissible, so with many expressions of civility and mutual esteem they parted."¶ Mr. Greville tried to persuade Lord Wharncliffe that an "arrangement on this basis is not less probable than it was." On 3rd December Mr. Greville notes his impression:—

"The Tory party is broken up, for Wharncliffe and Harrowby will vote for the second reading, the Bishops will generally go with them, and probably a sufficient number of Peers. If Lord Grey can see a reasonable chance of carrying the bill without making Peers, there can be little doubt that he will put off that resource until the last moment."***

Save in one point Mr. Greville's anticipations were fulfilled; sufficient temporal peers followed Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe to carry the second reading, and Lord Brougham thus writes of Earl Grey:—

* Greville, vol. ii. p. 212.

† Ibid., p. 213.

‡ Ibid., p. 214.

§ Ibid., p. 215.

|| Ibid., p. 218.

¶ Ibid., p. 221. One great point insisted on by the Tories was that Cheltenham and Brighton (particularly) should have no members.

** Ibid., p. 222.

"It was said that Grey was becoming lukewarm and wavering. There never was a charge so utterly unfounded. From the close intercourse I had with him, I can testify that from the moment he made up his mind to the inevitable necessity, he never doubted or hesitated, except as to the time for acting. Disregarding all the clamours raised against him, he adhered to his own course, and to his determination to create no Peers before the second reading."*

The point on which Mr. Greville erred was on the conduct of the bishops. Their lordships, true to their anti-popular instincts, voted against the Bill; to do them justice, we must note in passing that the people are indebted to the Spiritual Peers for their support of one great measure of reform—the Act repealing the Navigation Laws, which was carried in the Lords by a majority of ten votes. Three archbishops and eleven bishops voted in the majority, six bishops in the minority.†

To return to the history of the Reform negotiations. We find Mr. Greville records, on the 4th December, an interview with Lady Harrowby, who informed him—

"John Russell had been with her, all moderation and candour, and evidently for the purpose of keeping alive the amiable relations which have been begun by Wharncliffe's negotiation. When Lady Harrowby said it was over, he replied, 'For the present;' said how glad he should be of a compromise, hinted that Sandon might be instrumental, that he might move an amendment in the House of Commons, abused Macaulay's violent speech,‡ in fact all was mild and *doucereux*—all which proves that they *do* wish to compromise if they could manage it conveniently."§

Parliament opened on the 6th December, the Reform Bill was re-introduced in the Commons; but previously a meeting, at the instance of the King, and as the result of an intriguing interview between his Majesty and the Marquis of Chandos, took place between Lords Grey, Brougham, and Althorp, on the part of the Cabinet, and Lords Harrowby, Wharncliffe, and Chandos on the part of the Tories:—

"There was an abundant interchange of civilities, but nothing concluded, the Ministers declining every proposition that Lord Harrowby made to them, though Lord Grey owned that they did not ask for anything which involved an abandonment of the principle of the Bill. They are then not a bit nearer an accommodation than they were before."||

Writing after the debate on the introduction of the Bill, Mr.

* "Life and Times," vol. iii. p. 179.

† "Earl Russell's Recollections and Suggestions," p. 255.

‡ Apparently Macaulay's speech on 10th Oct. 1831, on Lord Ebrington's motion, regretting the rejection by the Lords of the first Bill.

§ Greville, vol. ii. p. 223.

|| Ibid., p. 225.

Greville notes* "that a great change is apparent since the last Bill. A softened and subdued state of temper and feeling was evinced." Lord Russell's speech is characterized as "very feeble," which probably was owing to the fact that the noble lord framed that speech on the model of that in which he introduced the first Bill, of which he records—

"Sir R. Peel observed sarcastically that I had said many ingenious arguments were urged in favour of the Ballot, but that I had not stated any ingenious arguments in favour of my proposition of that night. This was substantially true. It seemed to me that the arguments in favour of Reform had made their impression—a very deep impression—upon the country, but that those arguments had become trite and familiar, and that the great novelty of my speech must consist in a clear and intelligible statement of the nature of the propositions I had to make."†

The proposition which in March, 1831, created feelings of astonishment mingled with joy or consternation, was familiar to the House in December, and no doubt caused the speech to fall flat and seem feeble in comparison with its predecessors. Sir R. Peel's speech is described as "able and bitter, though perhaps not very judicious." And Mr. Greville continues:—

"Peel is now aware, as everybody else is, of the enormous fault that was committed in not throwing out the first Bill at once, before the Press had time to operate, and raise the country to the pitch of madness it did. On what trifles turn the destinies of nations! W. Banks told me last night that Peel owed this to him, said that he had earnestly desired to do so, but had been turned from his purpose by Granville Somerset! And why? He (in the expectation of a dissolution) must have voted against him, he said, in order to save his own popularity in his own county."‡

In the beginning of 1832 Mr. Greville resumed his efforts to bring about a compromise. He was encouraged by the belief that there was a Moderate party in the Cabinet, consisting of Lansdowne, Richmond, Palmerston, Melbourne, and Stanley. In this he was correct, as is shown by Lord Brougham's "Life." Mr. Greville further states, and we should say truly, that Palmerston and Melbourne, particularly the latter, were both heartily ashamed of the part they have taken about Reform.§ With regard to Stanley and the part he took on the question, it is curious to note the discrepancies between Lords Brougham and Russell. According to the former, Stanley was quite Reformer enough naturally to take to the Reform Bill, having on that subject nothing to unsay, but he helped it very little, being so fully engaged in his own, the Irish Department.|| On the other

* Greville, vol. ii p. 227. † "Recollections and Suggestions," p. 71.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 227.

§ Ibid., p. 230.

|| "Life and Times," vol. iii. p. 376.

hand, Lord Russell, who, being Stanley's colleague in the Commons, had better means of knowing, says :—

“ Lord Stanley, by his animated appeals to the Liberal majority, by his readiness in answering the sophism of his opponents, by the precision and boldness of his language, by his display of all the great qualities of a parliamentary orator and an able statesman, successfully vindicated the authority of the Government, and satisfied their supporters in the House of Commons.”*

Relying on the moderate section of the Cabinet, and in order to fulfil their desire that the Waverers should early declare their intention to support the second reading, Mr. Greville endeavoured to insure the making of such a declaration, and he induced Lord Wharnccliffe to obtain an audience with the King in order to convince him that the necessity for the creation of Peers was by no means so urgent as the Ministers would have had him believe.† The Waverers, however, were again thrown into a state of despondency by the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, who was “ impracticably obstinate,” and declared “ he was resolved to do his utmost to throw out the bill without regard to consequences.”‡ The Waverers well deserve their name, for even their leader, Lord Wharnccliffe, “ owned that he had not pledged himself to the King to support the Bill lest it should give umbrage to the Tories.”§ Lord Harrowby was “ equally undecided.” “ They keep ” (writes Mr. Greville) “ doubting and fearing who will or will not join them, but do not stir a step.” “ The besotted and predestinated Tories will follow the Duke, the Duke will oppose all Reform, because he said he would.”|| At length Lord Wharnccliffe wrote to many Peers in order to ascertain who would join him in supporting the second reading; but this effort seems to have been frustrated by the Duke of Wellington, who replied in a letter “ written evidently in a very ill humour, and such a galimatias as I never read—angry, ill-expressed, and confused, and from which it was difficult to extract anything intelligible but this, that he would neither propose anything himself, nor take this measure, nor try and amend it.” Peel's letter, though arriving at the same conclusion, was written in a different style.¶ In February the Waverers “ had not above eight Bishops and eight Peers sure,”¶ and of one of these, Archbishop Howley, Lord Grey expressed his opinion “ that he was such a poor miserable creature that there was no dependence to be placed upon him, that he would be frightened, and vote any way his fear directed.”¶ Lord John Russell was anxious that the Waverers should make known their inten-

* “ Recollections and Suggestions,” p. 92.

† Greville, vol. ii. pp. 231-3-4. ‡ Ibid., pp. 234-5. § Ibid., p. 237.

|| Ibid., p. 238.

¶ Ibid., pp. 238-9, 242-3-8-9, 50-51.

tions, in order to avoid making Peers, but he did "not deny that he wished Peers to be made, not now, but after the Reform Bill had passed"*—anticipating with statesmanlike foresight the difficulties afterwards, and ~~at~~ this day experienced in carrying Liberal measures through the House of Lords. In February Mr. Greville narrates at greater length than the limits of our space permits us to transcribe a long and interesting conference with Lord Palmerston, one noteworthy feature in which is thus recorded: "We then talked of the Metropolitan members, to which I said undoubtedly they, the 'Waverers,' wished to strike them off, but *they knew very well the Government desired it equally*."† The result of this conference was that Mr. Greville was to get from Lord Harrowby specifically what he would require, then Lord Palmerston would give him in return what concessions the Government would probably be disposed to make, and that then the Foreign Secretary and the Clerk of the Council should try and blend them into some feasible compromise. Shortly afterwards a formal interview between Lords Grey, Harrowby, and Wharncliffe took place, at which a minute was drawn up. We have not space enough to transcribe it, but "nothing was agreed on, all left *dans le vague*," but a disposition to mutual confidence was evinced, and Mr. Greville correctly judged that the result would be no Peers would be made.‡ Meanwhile the Bill was going on successfully in the House of Commons notwithstanding the unabated rancour with which Peel and Croker opposed it. At one time the King "is much alarmed, and could not endure the thought of the measure,"§ at another he is "more reconciled," which means, writes Mr. Greville, that "they have got the foolish old man in town, and can talk him over more readily."||. Efforts are made to get the Archbishop to declare himself, which it was thought would clinch the matter of the second reading, but he was "on and off; there is no moving him."

"Curious," writes Mr. Greville, "that a Dr. Howley the other day, Canon of Christchurch, should have in his hands the virtual decision of one of the most momentous matters that ever occupied public attention."¶

While the Waverers and Mr. Greville were trying conciliatory measures—

"Peel in the other House is doing what he can to inflame and divide, and repress any spirit of conciliation. Nothing is sure in his policy, but that it revolves around himself as the centre, and is influenced by some view which he takes of his own future advantage, probably the future rallying of the Conservative party."**

* Greville, pp. 238-9, 242-3-8-9, 50-51.

† Ibid., p. 257. ‡ Ibid., pp. 259-60. § Ibid., p. 252. || Ibid., p. 263.

¶ Ibid., p. 264. ** Ibid., p. 259-60-63.

* Probably this estimate of Peel's motives, though not flattering, is correct. Meanwhile Lord Harrowby's intended declaration of the course the Waverers meant to take was prevented by Lord Kenyon, put up for the purpose by the Duke of Wellington. Another complication arises while "Lord Grey is negotiating with Harrowby for the express purpose of making Peers. Durham, his colleague and son-in-law, is, or has been going about with a paper for signature by Peers, being a requisition to Lord Grey to make Peers."* It is interesting on this much disputed question of making Peers to note that Lord Holland had the same statesmanlike foresight as Lord Russell.

"The present House of Lords," he said, "never could go on with a Reformed Parliament, it being opposed to all the wants and wishes of the people, hating the abolition of tithes, the Press, and the French Revolution, and that in order to make it harmonize with the Reformed Parliament, it must be amended by an infusion of a more liberal cast."†

Those of our readers who are electors of Metropolitan constituencies will be surprised at reading the following:—

"Wharnccliffe gave me an account of the conversation the other day between him and Harrowby on the one side, and Lords Grey and Lansdowne on the other. Lord Grey referred to the stir that had been made about the Metropolitan Members, and then asked would they agree to this—to give Members to Marylebone and throw over the rest? To this Harrowby would not agree, greatly to Wharnccliffe's annoyance, who would have agreed, and I think he would have been in the right. It would have been well to have nailed Lord Grey to this, and if Harrowby had not had a headache I think he would have done so; with regard to the 10% clause Wharnccliffe thinks they will not object to a modification. . . . The capture of Vandamme was the consequence of a bellyache, and the Metropolitan representation depended on a headache. If the truth could be ascertained, perhaps many of the greatest events in history turn upon aches of one sort or another. Montaigne might have written an essay on it."‡

At length, on the 27th March, the Bill reached the Lords. Lords Harrowby and Wharnccliffe declared their intention to support
* the second reading—the Bishop of London (Blomfield, *solus inter pares*) spoke to the same effect, "short but strong in his language." Then Lord Grey—

"Temperate and very general, harping a little too much on that confounded word *efficiency*, and announcing that he would give his

* Greville, pp. 263, 265. See the very able letter of Lord Durham urging the creation of Peers, given by Lord Brougham, "Life and Times," vol. iii. p. 158.

† Greville, vol. ii. p. 266.

‡ Ibid., pp. 268-9.

best consideration to any amendments. Then the Duke, in a very handsome speech, acknowledging that he was not against all reform, though against this Bill, because he did not think, if it passed, that it would be possible to carry on the government of the country, but promising that if the Bill went into Committee, he would give his constant attendance, and do all in his power to make it as safe a measure as possible."

Although the result was on the whole satisfactory, nobody was satisfied; Lord Grey complained that Lord Harrowby was too stiff; Lord Harrowby complained that Lord Grey was always beating about the bush of compromise, but never would commit himself finally to concession; Lord Melbourne complained that what was done, was done in such an ungracious manner that he hated the man (Harrowby) who did it. The Duke of Richmond was now ready to make any number of Peers if necessary. The Tories were obstinate, sulky, and indisposed to agree to anything reasonable. Unity of object and the completeness of the Whig party gave the Ministers strength, nevertheless the Ministers or some of them had their moments of weakness.

"Charles Wood (now Lord Halifax, then Lord Grey's private secretary) told me" (writes Mr. Greville) "on 1st April, that they were well disposed to a compromise on two special points; one the exclusion of town voters from the right of voting for counties; the other the Metropolitan Members. On the first he proposed that no man voting for a town in right of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ houses should have a vote for the county, in right of any freehold in the town; that would be halfway between Wharnccliffe's plan and the present. The second, that Marylebone should return two members, and Middlesex two more, very like Grey's proposition which Harrowby rejected; but I suggested keeping the whole, and varying the qualification, to which he thought no objection would lie."*

On the same day Mr. Greville records a remarkable conversation with Lord Melbourne. It shows how little of sincerity there was in his Liberalism, and is damaging to his memory. Mr. Greville's accuracy has been savagely attacked, especially in several particulars relating to Lord Melbourne by one who had intimate relations with the deceased Minister. It is noteworthy, therefore, that no contradiction is even attempted of the passage now transcribed:—

"Melbourne said, he *really believed there was no strong feeling in the country for the measure*. We talked of the violence of the Tories and their notion that they could get rid of the whole thing. I said, the notion was absurd now, but that I fully agreed with him about the general feeling. Why then, said he, might it not be thrown out? a

* Greville, vol. ii. pp. 274-5-6.

consummation I really believe he would rejoice at, if it could be done. I said, because there was a great party which would not let it, which would agitate again, and, that the country wished ardently to have it settled, that if it could be disposed of for good and all, it would be a good thing indeed—but that this was now become impossible. I asked him if his colleagues were impressed, as he was, with this truth, and he said, No. I told him he ought to do everything possible to enforce it, and to make them and induce them to concede, to which he replied—‘What difficulty can they have in swallowing the rest after they have given up the rotten boroughs? That is in fact the essential part of the Bill, and the truth is I do not see how the Government is to be carried on without them. Some means may be found—a remedy may possibly present itself, and it may work in practice better than we know of, but I am not aware of any, and I do not see how any Government can be carried on where these are swept away.’ This was, if not his exact words, the exact sense; and a pretty avowal for a man to make at the eleventh hour, who has been a party concerned in this Bill during the other ten.”*

The Bill as brought from the Commons proposed to enact by its first clause that fifty-six Boroughs should be disfranchised, the names of which were set out in Schedule A. The Tories were anxious that this clause should be omitted; the Whigs thought if it were a suspicion would arise that there was an intention of altering the Schedule. Mr. Greville records interviews he had on this subject with Mr. C. Wood and the Duke of Richmond on behalf of the Ministry, and with Lord Harrowby, on the part of the Waverers; at one of these Lord Harrowby made these wise observations in this choice vernacular: “He would not be dragged through the mire by these scoundrels (the Ministry!) It was an insolence that was not to be borne; let them make their Peers if they would, not hell itself should make him vote for fifty-six, he would vote for sixty-six, or any number but that.”† In the end, as every one remembers, the Bill was, on the 14th of April, read a second time by a majority of nine. The following description of an extinct Episcopal Fire-brand is worth noting:—

● “Philpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, made a grand speech against the Bill, full of fire and venom, very able. It would be an injury to compare this man with Laud, he more resembles Gardiner; had he lived in those days, he would have been just such another, boiling with ambition, an ardent temperament and great talents. He has a desperate and a dreadful countenance, and looks like the man he is. He adopted a tone and a style, inconsistent with his Lawn Sleeves, and unusual on the Episcopal Bench. He is carried away by his ambition and alarm, and terrifies his brethren who feel all the danger in these times of such a colleague.”‡

* Greville, p. 277.

† Ibid., p. 281.

‡ Ibid., pp. 287-9.

At this juncture Mr. Greville went to Newmarket on one of his racing expeditions, and was absent at the time of Lord Lyndhurst's successful motion in Committee, to postpone the disfranchising clauses until after the enfranchising clauses had been agreed to. "It is a long time (he writes on the 22nd April) since the days of Charles the Second, that this place (Newmarket) has been the theatre of a political negotiation, and considering the importance of the subject, the actors are amusing, Richmond, Graham, Wharncliffe, and myself."* His love of racing terminated Mr. Greville's connexion with the secret history of this eventful period, and his diary tells us nothing new of the final triumph of the Whigs and Reform, to which the obstinacy of the Duke of Wellington, and the policy, as mistaken in judgment as sinister and malignant in intention, of Lord Lyndhurst, contributed no little. We must make one other extract from Mr. Greville: "It is perfectly true that the Royal carriages were all ready the morning of the decision of the Second Reading, to take the King to the House of Lords, to prorogue Parliament; and on Tuesday the Peers would have appeared in the Gazette."† This is evidently inaccurate; in a previous entry Mr. Greville states that at the meeting between Lords Grey, Harrowby, Lansdowne, and Wharncliffe, Lord Grey expressed himself satisfied that there would be a majority for the Second Reading, and that no Peers would be made before that had taken place.‡ Lord Brougham expressly states the Royal consent to the creation was not obtained until the 18th May.§ Writing of this memorable crisis, Lord Brougham says—

"Since 1832, I have often asked myself this question, whether if no secession had taken place, and the Peers persisted in opposing the Bill, we should have had recourse to the perilous creation. Above thirty years have rolled over my head since the crisis of 1832. I speak as calmly on this as I now do upon any political matter whatsoever, and I cannot answer the question in the affirmative. The list I had prepared of eighty new creations, when I went with Lord Grey to Windsor in May, 1832, was framed upon the principle of making the least possible permanent addition to the House. When I supported Grey in pressing the measure upon the King, I felt strongly the necessity of the case, circumstanced as we then were, but so greatly did I feel the dreadful consequences of the act, that I am persuaded I should, when it came to the point, have preferred running the risk of the confusion which would have attended the loss of the Bill.||

* Greville, p. 291.

† Ibid., p. 291.

‡ Ibid., p. 268.

§ "Life and Times," vol. iii. pp. 179 200-201.

|| Ibid., vol. iii. pp. 206-7.

Lord Brougham adds that Lord Grey expressed to him "his entire concurrence with what I have here stated, and he distinctly told me that I had very much understated his repugnance, and that when the time came he never would have consented to take the step."* We have no doubt that writing years after the exciting times of the Reform agitation were over, and after he had become an opponent of the Whigs, Lord Brougham persuaded himself into this belief, and Lord Grey in his old age forgot the spirit which animated him in 1832. No one can read Lord Brougham's narrative, supported as it is by the letters he quotes, and by Mr. Greville's contemporary record of the feelings of the Ministers, and doubt that had it not been for the secession of the Tory Peers, the creation would have been made. Would its consequences have been so dreadful as they presented themselves to the senile imaginations of Lords Grey and Brougham? On this point we have the benefit of Lord Russell's judgment, in which we thoroughly concur.

"It may be a question whether the measure in which the vote of the House of Lords was nullified by the compulsory absence of a great many of the majority was not more perilous for their authority than the creation of Peers which the Cabinet of Lord Grey proposed. Whether twelve or a hundred be the number requisite to enable the Peers to give their votes in conformity with public opinion, it seems to me that a House of Lords, sympathizing with the people at large, and acting in concurrence with the enlightened state of the prevailing wish, represents far better the dignity of the House and its share in legislation, than a majority got together by the long supremacy of some one party in the State, eager to show its ill-will by rejecting Bills of small importance, and skulking in Clubs and country houses in face of a measure which has attracted the ardent sympathy of public opinion. Yet such was the state in which the House of Lords was left, by the forbearance and regard for Royal scruples, of Lord Grey and his colleagues."†

Before parting with Mr. Greville we must refer to some of his judgments of public men; these, as the Editor admits, may in "some cases be thought harsh and severe,"‡ "and some of them were subsequently mitigated by himself." We have quoted those on Lord Lyndhurst and Bishop Philpotts, from which we see no reason to dissent. Of the Duke of Wellington he wrote in 1830 a most unfavourable sketch, which want of space prevents our inserting at length. In this he said, "Through the whole course of his political conduct selfish considerations have

* "Life and Times," vol. iii. pp. 206-7.

† "Recollections and Suggestions," pp. 109-110.

‡ Greville, vol. i. preface, p. 9.

never been out of sight." Afterwards he corrected this by saying, "It would be very wrong to impute selfishness in the ordinary sense of the term; he courted power, but he was perfectly disinterested, a great patriot, if ever there was one."* His final judgment of the Duke as a politician seems to us just. Writing of him in October, 1831, he says:—

"He is a great man in little things, but a little man in great matters; I mean in civil affairs, in those mighty questions which embrace enormous and various interests, and to comprehend which great knowledge of human nature, great sagacity, coolness and impartiality are required—he is not fit to govern or direct. His mind has not been sufficiently disciplined nor saturated with knowledge and matured by reflection and communication with other minds to enable him to be a safe and efficient leader in such times as these."

This was revised in 1838, when Mr. Greville wrote—

"In reading over these remarks upon the Duke of Wellington and comparing them with the opinions I now entertain of his present conduct, and the nature and quality of his mind, I am compelled to ask myself whether I did not then do him an injustice. On the whole I think not. He is not, nor ever was, a little man in anything great or small; but I am satisfied he has made great political blunders, though with the best and most patriotic intentions, and that his conduct throughout the Reform contest was one of the greatest and most unfortunate of them."†

Of Lord Brougham Mr. Greville as early as 1828 formed this very accurate judgment—

"Brougham is a living and very remarkable instance of the inefficacy of the most splendid talents, unless they are accompanied with other qualities which scarcely admit of definition, but which would serve the same purpose that ballast does for a ship. Brougham has prospered to a certain degree; he has a great reputation, and he makes a considerable income at the Bar, but as an advocate he is left behind by men of far inferior capacity, whose names are hardly known beyond the precincts of their Courts, or the boundary of their Circuits. As a Statesman he is not considered eligible for the highest offices, and however he may be admired or feared, as an orator or debater he neither commands respect by his character, nor inspires respect by his genius, and in this contrast between his pretensions and his situation more humble abilities may find room for consolation, and cease to contemplate with envy his immense superiority."‡

The character of Lord Brougham, written in 1869 by his old colleague, Lord Russell, agrees with that formed forty years before by Mr. Greville.

* Greville, vol. ii. pp. 81-84.

† Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 204-5

‡ Ibid., vol. i. p. 119.

"Lord Brougham was a man of extraordinary powers of mind. It must be said also that with many aberrations those powers of mind were generally directed to great and worthy objects. His faults were a recklessness of judgment, which hurried him beyond all the bounds of prudence, an omnivorous appetite for praise, a perpetual interference with matters with which he had no direct concern, and above all a disregard of truth. I remember Lord Dudley saying to me, What a character Brougham would have made for the pen of Lord Clarendon. 'Lord Appleby (supposing he had got his Peerage) was a man who, if the solidity of his judgment had been equal to the pregnancy of his wit, would not have been surpassed in this or any other time.' This was the truth; Lord Brougham's best powers of mind were neutralized by a want of judgment, which prevented any party from placing entire confidence in him, and by a frequent forgetfulness of what he himself had done or said but a short time before."*

We have referred to several disparaging remarks by Mr. Greville on Sir Robert Peel:† but his deliberate judgment on that statesman seems to us fair.

"He speaks with great energy, great dexterity; his language is powerful and easy, he reasons well, he hits hard, and replies with remarkable promptitude and effect, but he is at an immense distance below the great models of eloquence, Pitt, Fox, and Canning; his voice is not melodious, and it is a little monotonous; his action is very ungraceful, his person and manner are vulgar, and he has certain tricks in his motions which exhibit that vulgarity in a manner almost offensive, and which is only redeemed by the real power of his speeches. His great merit consists in his judgment, tact, and discretion, his facility, promptitude, thorough knowledge of the Assembly he addresses, familiarity with the details of every sort of Parliamentary business, and the great command he has over himself. He never was a great favourite of mine, but I am satisfied that he is the fittest man to be Minister, and I therefore wish to see him return to power."‡

Of another statesman, the late Lord Derby, Mr. Greville records the following estimate by one of his colleagues, Sir James Graham, in which it will be seen he concurs:—

"With great talents, extraordinary readiness in debate, high principles, unblemished honour: he never had looked upon, he (Sir J. Graham) thought he never would look upon politics, and political life with the seriousness which belonged to the subject. He followed politics as an amusement, as a means of excitement, as another would gaming, or any other very excitable occupation. He plunged into the *mêlée* for the sake of the sport which he found it made there, but always actuated by honourable and consistent feelings and principles, and though making it a matter of diversion and amusement, never sacrificing any-

* "Recollections and Suggestions," pp. 136 139.

† Vide Greville, vol. iii. p. 189.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 64, 65.

thing that honour, or conscience prescribed. I (continues Mr. Greville) said that this description of him (which I had no doubt was true) only proved what I already thought—that with all his talents, he never would be a great man. He said he always must be very considerable. His powers, integrity, birth and fortune, could not fail to raise him to eminence. All this I admitted, that nothing could prevent his being very considerable—very important as a public man, but I argued that one who was animated by motives so personal, and so wanting in gravity, to whom public care was a subsidiary, and not a primary object, never could achieve permanent and genuine greatness.”*

No words, we think, could more accurately describe the position which Lord Derby attained in his life, and will retain in the judgment of posterity. Surely there must have floated over the prophetic souls of Sir James Graham and Mr. Greville a prevision of the memorable “dishing of the Whigs.” We learn also on the authority

“of Sir J. Graham, that in 1835, Stanley had a great admiration for Peel, without any tincture of jealousy, and that he was quite ready to serve under him, though he (Graham) could not help doubting whether it would be possible for two such men, so different in character, to go on well together in the same Cabinet.”†

Here again Sir James showed his foresight. The relations between Peel and Stanley as colleagues, are thus described by Lord Dalling:—

“Reckless in his language, aristocratic in his tendencies, rather courting than avoiding contention and strife; above all haughty and domineering in character, though gay and playful in manner, it was impossible that he (Lord Derby) should move in comfort under the shadow of a ~~leader~~, circumspect, sprung from the middle classes and having a certain sympathy with their thoughts and feelings, inclined to conciliate opponents, and accustomed to receive from his followers implicit obedience. But what was worse than all was the eternal habit of quizzing, or to use the modern word, chaffing, which the inconsiderate noble indulged in, and which the somewhat prim and stately Commoner could not endure. If private stories are to be believed the Premier indeed had determined at a shooting party at which the dignified calm of his countenance had been unwillingly ruffled by a volley of bad jokes, which he could neither tolerate nor resent, to take the first opportunity of shaking himself free from a colleague whose familiarity had become insupportable to him.”‡

Our readers will contrast these opinions as to Lord Derby with that of Earl Russell we have before quoted. His testimony is important, because that of one who was first a colleague, after-

* Greville, vol. iii. p. 250.

† Ibid., pp. 250-1.

‡ “Life of Lord Palmerston,” vol. iii. pp. 183-4.

wards an opponent of Lord Derby. In another part of his *Recollections*, Lord Russell characterizes Lord Derby as "a man noble by character as well as by rank, always ready to sacrifice office for the sake of maintaining his opinions, and forming those opinions, if with the fallibility of human judgment, yet with an integrity that must in all future times command respect."* This was written at the time of Lord Derby's death, under the influence of the emotions naturally felt by Lord Russell on the loss of his old friend. He forgot the throwing over Protection in 1852 and Reform Bills of 1866 and 1867.

We must here part company with Mr. Greville, and devote what little space is left us to Earl Russell's "*Recollections and Suggestions*." Of any work of a man whose character and career will, as Mr. Disraeli says, be always amongst the most cherished possessions of Parliament, we would add of the whole country, we would desire to speak with respect, but truth compels us to say the noble Lord's *Recollections* tell us hardly anything that we did not know before; his suggestions are few in number, and almost, if not altogether, valueless. To his political career, we may possibly recur on a subsequent occasion, but for the present we confine ourselves to noticing the most interesting passages in this volume.

Referring to the expulsion of Lord Palmerston from the Russell Cabinet in 1851, Lord Russell writes:—

"Baron Stockmar, whose memoirs have been published, seems to have acquiesced in the opinion that my conduct on that occasion was dilatory, and undecided; my own judgment upon it is, that it was hasty and precipitate. I ought to have seen Lord Palmerston, and I think I could, without difficulty, have induced him to make a proper submission to her Majesty's wishes, and agree to act in conformity with conditions to which he had already given his assent."†

The following frank confession is noteworthy:—

"Mr. Tierney used to say as the fruit of his experience, that it was very difficult for a member of the House of Commons to attain high office; but that it was still more difficult to leave high office with credit on sufficient grounds. The latter is, in fact, the more difficult operation of the two. I cannot say that in breaking up my own Administration, or in leaving Lord Aberdeen's Administration, or in leaving office in 1865,‡ I have been satisfied with the reasons which determined

* "*Recollections and Suggestions*," p. 222.

† *Recollections, &c.*, p. 258.

‡ *Sic* in original, but evidently meant for 1855, when the noble Earl left the first Palmerston Ministry.

me to give up the high position in which I had been placed by my Sovereign.”*

Elsewhere referring to the same subject, the noble Earl says :—

“I had, in fact, committed a much greater error in consenting to serve under Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister. I had served under Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne before I became Prime Minister, and I served under Lord Palmerston after I had been Prime Minister. In no one of these cases did I find any difficulty in allying subordination with due counsel and co-operation. But as it is proverbially said, ‘Where there is a will there is a way,’ so in political affairs the converse is true, ‘Where there is no will there is no way.’”†

Is this to be taken as a confession that the writer having, as regarded Lord Aberdeen, no will to ally subordination with due counsel and co-operation, found no way to do so, or are we to understand that it was Lord Aberdeen in whom the will to co-operate was wanting? We are further told that “Lord Aberdeen always told me that after being Prime Minister for a short time, he meant to make way for me and give up the post. But, however, the moment never came for executing his intentions.”‡ Lord Russell’s account of the origin of the Crimean war will be read with interest.

“Lord Aberdeen earnestly desired to preserve peace between Russia and Turkey. I had pointed out a way in which this might be done. The Austrian Government had framed a note of conciliation, which the Emperor of Russia had accepted as a settlement of all difficulties. I proposed to Lord Clarendon that the Turkish Government should be told that if they would accept this note, *totidem verbis*, we could arrange a peace between Turkey and Russia, but that if Turkey refused the note, we could not befriend her any further. Lord Aberdeen, although he saw very clearly that by this means peace would be insured, declined to use his authority to enforce the condition. Lord Clarendon recommended the Austrian note, but not in such a manner as to oblige Turkey to accept it *totidem verbis*. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe failed in persuading the Turkish Ministers to accept the Austrian note. Alterations were made with a view to make it more palatable to the Oriental taste; but the Emperor of Russia in his turn was peremptory; in his turn he was unreasonable. He declared the alterations were made by the Padishah, a name he was wont to apply to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; he refused the amended note and war was the consequence. Had I been Prime Minister at the time I should have insisted on the acceptance of the Austrian note. I may add, that had war then been averted, the Reform Bill of 1854, to which

* “Recollections and Suggestions,” p. 258.

† *Ibid.*, p. 279.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

Sir James Graham had most willingly, and Lord Palmerston most reluctantly assented, would in all probability have passed through Parliament, recommended by Lord Aberdeen and his Cabinet. The franchise would have been given to 5*l*.^{*} householders; several boroughs which now return Members would have been disfranchised. The gang who many years after skulked in the Cave of Adullam, would never have existed, and the Reform Act would have been completed by its original promoters. Thus has the course of history been changed by my weakness. Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.”†

It is to be wished that Lord Russell had enlightened us on the question: who selected Lord Aberdeen for Premier? The prevailing belief at the time was that the selection was made by Prince Albert; if so the mischievous error of the Crimean war is due to the irregular interference of the Prince, a fact which we would commend to those who indulge in extravagant eulogies on his memory. When in 1859 the same irresponsible influence was exerted to make Lord Granville Premier, Lord Russell, taught by his experience in the Aberdeen Cabinet, wisely and properly refused to serve under him.

One of the most interesting passages in these Recollections is that in which Lord Russell successfully combats one of Lord Macaulay's rhetorical exaggerations. In his biographical sketch of William Pitt, Lord Macaulay says: “Parliamentary government is government by speaking,—when it is established a Charles Townshend, or a Windham, will almost always exercise much greater influence than such men as the Great Protector of England, or as the founder of the Batavian Commonwealth.” To this Lord Russell replies—

“From long experience in the House of Commons, I think I am entitled to say that in these remarks Macaulay is greatly mistaken. Charles Townshend and W. Windham were listened to in the House of Commons with delight and applause. But there are other qualities which the House of Commons more imperatively requires—they require that the speaker who assumes to lead them should be himself persuaded that the course he recommends will prove beneficial to the country. Mr. Windham was unstable and irresolute; he said one day to Lord Henry Petty, who was sitting beside him, towards the end of his speech, ‘Which way did I say I would vote?’ Such a man can never lead the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh was a very tiresome, involved and obscure speaker. Lord Althorp was without any power of oratory; yet I never heard two men who had more influence in the House of Commons. Thus Lord Castlereagh and Lord Althorp had qualities that govern men, such as sincerity and a conviction on the part of the hearers that the Minister is a man to be trusted, which

* The Bill of 1854 proposed a 6*l*. franchise.

† “Recollections and Suggestions,” pp. 271-2.

has more to do with influence over the House of Commons than the most brilliant flights of fancy and the keenest wits.”*

Our space is exhausted, and we must unwillingly part with Lord Russell. We have read with regret the undignified vituperation with which he assails the Adullamites, whom he has evidently not forgiven for overthrowing his last Ministry, and the maliciously designed, but feebly executed attack on Mr. Gladstone, whom he evidently thinks guilty of the unpardonable sin of supplanting him in the leadership of the Liberal Party. The attack on Ritualism and the Whiggish Latitudinarianism of this, and the other passages referring to religious questions, are eminently characteristic of their writer.

We must, ere we close, refer to Lord Russell's judgment of his own career; it strikes us as being singularly candid and just.

“To speak of my own work, I can only rejoice that I have been allowed to have my share in the task accomplished in the half-century which has elapsed from 1818 to 1869. My capacity I always felt was very inferior to that of the men who have attained in times past the foremost place in our Parliament and the Councils of our Sovereign. I have committed many errors, some of them very gross blunders; but the generous people of England are always forbearing and forgiving to those Statesmen who have the good of their country at heart. Like my betters I have been misrepresented and slandered by those who knew nothing of me; but I have been more than compensated by the confidence and the friendship of the best men of my own political connexion, and by the regard and favourable interpretation of my motives, which I have heard expressed by my generous opponents from the days of Lord Castlereagh to those of Mr. Disraeli.”†

We cannot better bring this paper to a close than by giving as a comment on, and the complement of, this interesting piece of self-portraiture, the following sketch of Lord Russell drawn by Lord Brougham:—

“John Russell is a most excellent man, of great firmness, amounting even to obstinacy—of sufficient quickness, and has read, and also written, a great deal. He has the family love of freedom and jealousy of the Crown; but he has also that love of a Party, as if it were a religion. This leads to many an error, both in conduct and opinion. As a speaker he is very good, clear, and distinct, if not always forcible; as a debater he is quite first-rate. In Cabinet he was always firm, straightforward, and wholly to be relied on. He possesses such self-confidence that he would fearlessly try his hand at anything whatever. There really was some foundation for Sydney Smith's joke, that ‘Lord

* “Recollections and Suggestions,” pp. 161-2, and see p. 26 for illustrations of Lord Castlereagh's oratory—as to Lord Althorp, vide “Macaulay's History,” vol. iii. and “Mr. Greville's Memoirs,” vol. i. p. 52.

† “Recollections,” &c., pp. 221-2; vide also pp. 433-4.

John would take the command of the Channel Fleet, or cut for the Stone.' This saying showed a fine appreciation of his character.* His attachment to the Liberal party, and devotion to its interests was constant and unwavering, his strong feelings, as well as his fixed opinions on all that regarded Religious Liberty, need hardly be cited. He was as much wrapped-up in the Catholic question as in the Dissenters' disabilities, and he did a great service to his Party by his able conduct of the Test question. Upon all measures for the amendment of the Law, and the improvement of Legislation, Lord John's attention was constantly awake, and he generally took very sound views. The great fault of Lord J. Russell, in his official capacity, is the disposition to do rash things without consulting colleagues. It is in the family. I may cite, as illustrations of this tendency, his, to my mind, ill-advised Corn-Law Letter, published the moment he perceived what Peel's game was; his flying visit to Ireland during Lord Clarendon's viceroyalty—above all, his making Hampden a bishop in defiance of public opinion. But how insignificant are such errors compared with his great merits as a judicious leader of the party, his perfect honesty, his singleness of purpose, and the inestimable services that, very much owing to these qualities, he has rendered, and continues to render the Liberal cause."†

ART. VI.—SAVAGE LIFE: THE WESTERN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA.

The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America.
By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Vol. I. Wild Tribes.
London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1875.

THE old gardener who declared that he could not abide pigs, "because they be so piggish," will command some sympathy among the students of savage life. Least of all is the biographer of wild tribes likely to be smitten by that *lues Boswelliana*, the disease of admiration, to which Macaulay thought all biographers by the nature of their occupation peculiarly liable. In describing races uncultured and unprogressive, the writer naturally skims lightly over all that is common to the savage and his civilized brother, and becomes there fullest of detail and most emphatic in expression where he finds the men and their manners

* "My political character (says Lord Russell) is very much the reverse of that which Sydney Smith, in an angry temper and a witty mood, attributed to me," p. 346.

† "Life and Times," vol. iii. pp. 468-9-70.

least agreeable to his own tastes and furthest from the average standard on which his own life and behaviour have been moulded. Side by side, then, with the piggishness of pigs and the equally inevitable savagery of the savage, it may be well to remember that there is a vast amount of human nature in all human beings, or, as Fenimore Cooper's Deerslayer would have put it, that there are many matters in which pale-face gifts and red-skin gifts are all as one and the same.

For want of any equally comprehensive and more distinctive or specially appropriate name, Mr. Bancroft has chosen "the Pacific States of North America" as an inclusive title for all the territories of the vast Western seaboard which stretches from Bering* Strait to the Isthmus of Panama. The domain of his investigation extends even further than this title of itself implies, covering Eskimo-land with the Arctic Ocean for its northern border, embracing to the south of the Eskimos all the tract between the Pacific coast-line and the Rocky Mountains, and again still further to the south, touching the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. We have at present before us only the first volume of the five which Mr. Bancroft proposes to devote to the native races of this large geographical area. The second volume is to treat of the civilized nations, and the three which are to follow and complete the work, will deal with antiquities and migrations and trace the course of mythology and language without respect to tribal boundaries and the territorial subdivisions of a map. The first volume, with which alone we are now concerned, is given to the wild tribes of the region in question. It aims at unfolding to us, not so much what they are, as what they were; not the history, written in water, of their unknown past, nor the history, too often written in blood, of their comparatively recent contact and conflict with the white man; not, in short, a history of them at all, but a picture of them, such as for the brief moments of a first interview they

* In a note (page 41) on the spelling of the name Bering, Mr. Bancroft remarks, "It is not without reluctance that I change a word from the commonly accepted orthography." He does not, however, explain what has enabled him to overcome his reluctance in regard to several common English words, which he systematically alters from their generally accepted form. Thus we have "traveler," "woolen," "modeler," "marvelous," and, on the other hand, "fulfillment" and "skillful." For "color" and "neighbor," in place of "colour" and "neighbour," he may find supporters; but "neighbor-ring" is surely an invention of his own. "Offence" and "defence" appear as "offense" and "defense." "Molding" and "smoldering" are robbed of a vowel; and we have, possibly as a misprint, "exhuberance," on page 48. "Strategem" recalls the Greek origin of the word; but as the English rendering of the Greek happens to be "stratagem," it seems a pity not to spell it accordingly.

appeared to Spanish hidalgo, privateering Englishman, Russian trapper, or any other adventurous person who since A.D. 1501 may have had the fortune to come across a genuine unadulterated savage, and to look him over with the proverbial eager eyes that stare at the Pacific and silently make surmises, either wild or acute, as the case may be, of the possibilities of fur and gold to be obtained from the ingenuous native.

Mr. Bancroft claims to have condensed into his five volumes the researches of twelve hundred writers, and his picture of the wild tribes is certainly no hasty sketch. It presents to the mind's eye, as well as mere words can be expected to do, the prevailing lineaments of bodily form from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, the coiffure, the colour, the complexion, the cast of features. It omits not the details of costume, save where truthfulness to nature imperatively demands the omission, but faithfully tracks the meandering course of fashion, whether it leads to the ponderous clothing of the North, to which otter and whale, reindeer and waterfowl pay tribute, or to some gay, light, close-fitting garb of grease and feathers, or to the easy trammels of a vesture for which the scrupulosity of pruders might welcome an extra flounce, or even to the rarer, but still not unfrequent, condition in which drapery is conspicuous only by its absence. Besides these details of personal appearance and apparel, the picture of the wild tribes sets them before us variously engaged, in their homes, at meals or play, in the bath or in bed, hunting, fishing, on the war-path, at peaceful work, weaving, building, manufacturing boats and weapons, at times deep in gambling, dancing and feasting, and at other times enduring long periods of abstinence and self-affliction. Their food is described, and the special modes of obtaining it, their homes and furniture, their laws and government, when they have any, their social customs, especially those relating to births, deaths, marriages, and the treatment of the sick ; and finally, such a general estimate is made of temper and disposition as may seem fairly derivable from the accumulated epithets and sometimes contradictory opinions expressed in all the languages of Europe by pioneers, missionaries, merchants, and travellers of all sorts from either side of the Atlantic.

It would be churlish to refuse Mr. Bancroft the credit of having thus far executed with exemplary diligence and care a great and useful task. Thus much, in a preface distinguished for its modesty, he claims for himself. There, too, he explains the inherent difficulties of his undertaking, and, while jealously reserving to himself all responsibility for the work, freely acknowledges the assistance which in so large a field of operation it was essential he should receive from others. His style is clear and

without affectation, recalling the straightforward simplicity of Herodotus; and any, who fancy that the famous Halicarnassian is occasionally too plain spoken, may as well fairly understand that Mr. Bancroft never hesitates to call a spade a spade, and that in the present volume the unused opportunities for delicate periphrasis are about a hundred times as many as all that Herodotus could furnish. To those who cannot abide the piggishness of pigs this will no doubt be distasteful, but savage life cannot be described only in the sweet-scented language of the boudoir; and after all, true delicacy and purity of mind may be better shown in calling what is repulsive or shameful by its simplest and most directly intelligible name than by any beating about the bush, than by any innuendoes, or veil half drawn, or finger suggestively pointed.

Now and then our author impresses what he has to say upon the memory by an epigrammatic turn of phrase, as when describing the medical process in favour with Chinook doctors, he adds, that the patient "frequently survives the treatment;" and, in discussing the character of the same tribe, informs us that "in a few instances honesty has been detected." A quotation in a note declares that "the dog's tongue is the only dish-cloth among the Okanagans." The text itself is responsible for the statement that a Northern Californian is so fond of gambling that he will stake anything, "from a white or black deerskin, which is almost priceless, down to a wife or any other trifle." But in general Mr. Bancroft tells "a round unvarnished tale," without the smallest attempt at rhetorical artifice. He acknowledges in the preface that there may be an appearance of repetition in the present volume, and more than the appearance was almost unavoidable, if a complete portrait was to be given of tribes differing in many respects, though alike in a few. The impression of a twice-told tale will in part be produced by the fact that the copious notes very frequently contain the actual words of the authorities on which the opinions and descriptions in the text are based. The accounts of salmon-fishing are frequent, but the methods are various. The conflicts of the hunter with the mightier denizens of the sea and of the forest are often related, but there is a varied interest in the details of skill and courage, the mingled science and native daring which the different tribes display. If the stout heart of our own William the Conqueror loved the great game, when a stag was the noblest object of chase, we can imagine how he would have revelled in combat with the whale, the eagle, and the polar bear; and even the modern lover of sport will find much to interest him in many portions of the present book. There is, however, one minor form of hunting, which could not

be omitted from the record of a faithful reporter, but which might, we think, have been confined to a single comprehensive notice, seeing that it prevails among the Thlinkeets of the extreme North, the Nootkas and Chinooks of the Columbian group, the Californian tribes of the sea-coast, and the inland Utahs, all the way down to the Chia-pas of southern Mexico. It consists in chasing a very small and vivacious species of game on the narrow field of a human head or body, and devouring the captive when taken, without either the ceremony of cooking or saying grace before meat.* There is some risk, as we hinted at the beginning, that in details of this kind too often repeated, the truth itself should produce a false impression. There is some risk, too, that in reading consecutive accounts of strange, unsavoury customs, prevailing some in one tribe and some in another, we should half-uncsciously attribute to all the habits of each. But if into a table of savage doings and modes of life nothing were admitted but what would fall within the famous ecclesiastical boundary, *quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique*, the table would certainly be a short one.

There are actions inseparable from human life, in the performance of which almost every possible degree of decorum would appear to be found among wild tribes, beginning at the zero-point of what to an educated Englishman would naturally seem an absolute want of it. Yet in that absolute want there is an innocent shamelessness almost to be envied. Civilization is often compelled to look on at shamelessness which is not innocent, but very foul and impure, for the very reason that it is practised in conscious and avowed contrast to established order, in defiance, if not of actual law, yet of the wishes and feelings of the community at large. But culture is itself a little to blame in throwing too thick a veil of mystery over natural functions. The effect with some is to excite a vicious curiosity about matters which might just as well have been clearly explained as simple scientific details ; while minds of a different order, conscientiously averse to inquire into anything that seems to be forbidden, are left for half a lifetime or the whole of it in an actually dangerous ignorance. The present writer was amused some years ago, when explaining to two lads of sixteen or seventeen that the coral polype had but one opening for the reception of food and the rejection of the refuse, to observe the attitude of mind in which the information was received. It was partly one of wonderment at the fact in Natural History, but evidently much more of surprise that a grown man should have the face to tell schoolboys in his ordinary tone of voice a fact so indecently

* "Wild Tribes," p. 103, note; p. 196; p. 235, note; p. 373; p. 377; p. 431; p. 560; p. 654; p. 655, note.

ludicrous. There is a tinge of indelicacy in having too sensitive an appreciation of what is indelicate, and this over-refinement modern education undoubtedly fosters.

Untutored humanity is not to be supposed more free from the licence of passion than the same nature when trimmed and schooled. But if the savage indulges his natural inclinations to an extent which under a higher standard of conduct would be deemed immoral, it is not an aggravation of his viciousness that what he does he does openly and with a light heart. Rather one might say that not being self-condemned he stands acquitted. We, however, are apt to think less of the wantonness than of its open display, and moreover, with some confusion of thought, to judge of the foulness of the mind by the ill odour and disagreeable aspect of a dirty skin and hair unkempt. In some regions the wild man takes a daily bath in which carbonic acid and ammonia are conspicuous ingredients (p. 235); in others, he so plasters himself over with mud and grease that, plunge he ever so frequently in river or ocean, he emerges as unclean as ever. He can gorge himself with a feast of whale-blubber which would kill a white man. His favourite drinks are sometimes concocted by first chewing the materials. He has been known to imitate the action of ruminant animals by attaching a string to the food he swallows (p. 561). He likes his venison not only high but putrid, and eats creatures, both small and great, for which our ignorant palates have not yet acquired a taste. Yet in all these matters climate, necessity, long usage, and dominant fashion may have given a reasonable inducement where the outsider can see nothing but a sort of frenzied atrocity of dirtiness. We speak of reasonable inducement even in regard to fashion and long usage, because we speak after the manner of men, and we shall appeal without much hesitation to the same motives as an excuse not wholly unreasonable for other parts of savage behaviour which the European is apt to deride as extravagantly and inexplicably absurd. Besides the painting and tattooing of the skin which sometimes approach closely to the confines of truly artistic adornments, there are numerous piercings, chop-pings, and lacerations which savages apply impartially to their own bodies and those of their children. The ears are riddled with holes and loaded with enormous weights. The septum of the nose is bored through, and a shell or other long ornament inserted in the perforation, so that, had Mrs. Jellyby, after clothing the natives of Borrioboola-gha, found time to supply pocket-handkerchiefs to the Hyperboreans, her charitable forethought would have been frustrated by a mechanical difficulty.* In numerous tribes the under-lip of a female, in infancy or girl-

* P. 128, p. 229, and elsewhere.

hood, is pierced or slit. At first only a needle or other slender object is passed through the opening, but with advancing years or in proportion to the rank of the wearer, the appendage is enlarged in a continually increasing aperture, till at length a block "full five inches long and three broad" distorts the features of a very aged and aristocratic dame. Besides adding an attractive grace to the countenance, the block has definite uses. When very large it can be raised by a movement of the under lip so as modestly to conceal almost the whole face. In regions, too, where disputes are settled without the expensive and wearisome delay of law-suits, by a frank adjustment between the parties themselves, the lip-block is said to afford a grip and holdfast for the fingers of the fair rivals, such as leaves nothing to be desired in the management of a close combat.* Among other female charms the savage often pays due respect to those of stout ankles and thick legs, and these charms, where an unkind Nature has denied them, are sometimes artificially produced. Head-flattening prevails over a large area, though the tribe actually known as Flatheads seem long to have discontinued the custom. The Nateotetain women cut off a joint of a finger on the death of a near relative, the men being content in such cases with shaving the head and cutting their flesh with flints (p. 127). Whether it be the usage to bury or to burn the bodies of the dead, to leave them on the ground, to place them in trees or hang them from poles, the funeral rites almost always involve destruction or damage to life and property. With some a wife must be singed and starved, or a few slaves put to death. Among the Utahs, the favourite horse or the favourite wife is killed over the dead man's grave, while his surviving relatives lacerate themselves, and renew the howlings of a stereotyped grief at intervals for weeks and months. The Columbians allow a man to take with him some of the goods of this world on his journey to the next, but the Indians of the Rocky Mountains are not content with any half-measures in this respect. Among them no greedy heir can watch with ill veiled anxiety for the last breath of a rich relation. Among them no exacting money-lender is likely to accept a post-obit from any youthful spend-thrift; for, when a man dies, they burn all his property with him, and not only his own, but that also of his nearest kindred, who may thus in the depth of winter be reduced to absolute starvation, and a state in which they might well apply to themselves the impatient outcry of Jonah, "it is better for me to die than to live." As a matter of fact it is said that, among the Tacullies, the miserable widows, who are bound to bear on their own persons

* Pp. 98, 99, and notes.

for a period of two years the ashes of their husband's corpse, often cut short their term of lamentation and mourning and woe, and the long doom of rags and wretchedness, by suicide (p. 126). Tribes among the Californians and the New Mexicans follow the practice of destroying all the property of the deceased, but the usage is not universal, for in certain districts we are told that "after a short dance, more howling, hair-pulling, and other ridiculous acts, the priest demands provisions for the spirit's journey, which his hearers readily contribute, and which the priest appropriates to his own use, telling them it (the spirit) has already started" (p. 569). In some cases the house is abandoned after a death, in others a whole village must be removed to a different site.

Compare now what has been said in the last paragraph of the personal habits and social usages among wild tribes with the manners and customs which may be found on record from countries of undisputed civilization. Be it remembered, that our estimate of the character of the savage is based upon a variety of reported observations, more or less accurate, more or less partial, observations made at different dates, by a comparatively small number of persons over a very wide area. Then let it be seen what sort of picture the savage might paint of the cultured nations, whether he came and viewed them with his own eyes, or only made a compilation from the printed sources of English literature. The deputation of native chiefs made a contemptuous report enough of the white men of San Francisco, who wore high hats, and could not walk along even the smoothest path without the help of a stick (p. 19). But that tall erection, totus teres atque rotundus, variously known among the irreverent as a "topper," "a boxer," "a chimney-pot," so dear to the hearts and heads of orthodox English laymen, will scarcely yield to the sneers of a savage. Rather let him deride the boots which pinch and crush and aggravate our feet, or the short dresses of the ballet, or the tight-lacing of fair ladies, but let him spare the stiff and upright hat, emblem of the conquering Saxon, better known even than the Union Jack, or than the Stars and Stripes, both in the Eastern and the Western world. Leaving then the head-gear of the men alone, let him turn to the arrangement of the hair prevalent among European women, and to the fabrics known in the poverty-stricken male vocabulary under the general name of bonnets. Far from being wearied here by the persistent monotony of a single fashion, he may well wonder what principles of taste or reason guide the never-ending diversity. Contemplating feminine costume as a whole, Are these creatures, he will ask in his rude savage manner, feeling their way to a conclusion? Are they by repeated experiments in a scientific spirit, seeking to find out

what is most agreeable to nature, most suitable to their own climate, to the laws of health, to economy, to the rules of art, of which they talk so much and so grandly? Or is it possible that I rightly understand them to boast of borrowing their fashions in costume from a foreign country, where the conditions of climate differ from their own, and still more the complexions, the figures, and the general bearing of the people? Is it possible, that in this highly cultured and extremely self-satisfied nation, the incessant changefulness of garb is governed by a single mean and irrational motive; the desire of the few, at whatever expense and by whatever caprice, to dress differently from the many, and the desire of the many to dress as exactly as they can like the prodigal and capricious few? This innocent satire from the backwoods, no doubt would cheer the heart of many a husband and father. But the satirist might turn once more to the vesture of the male sex, and though he would certainly, if he had any conscience, admire the graceful elegance, the flowing lines, the conformity to nature, of the swallow-tail coat, he would nevertheless have the satisfaction of remarking that, what we reserve for the special occasions of evening dress and for the back only of a single sex, is among the Kutchins of his own country, the ordinary raiment both for back and front, both for men and women. "The Kutchins," writes Mr. Bancroft, "in common with the Eskimos, are distinguished by a similarity in the costume of the sexes. Men and women wear the same description of breeches. Some of the men have a long flap attached to their deerskin shirts, shaped like a beaver's tail, and reaching nearly to the ground. Of the coat, Mr. Whympers says: 'if the reader will imagine a man dressed in two swallow-tailed coats, one of them worn as usual, the other covering his stomach and buttoned behind, he will get some idea of this garment'" (p. 128). In a gallery of sculpture, standing, for instance, before the Apollo Belvedere, the savage would have to acknowledge that some of his countrymen were as indifferent to the impedimenta of clothing as the statue itself.* But imagine the chill pale marble to become instinct with life, the polished surfaces of limbs and body to glow with the warm natural tints of flesh, the fixed impassive expression of the features to yield to the movements of an animating spirit within, and that we had then to clothe this nobly moulded specimen of humanity, with the least degradation and impoverishment of its grace and beauty, would the drapery be copied from the fashion-book of a London tailor, or might it not much rather be borrowed from the buffalo robe, the moccasins and eagle plume of the wild Comanches? The fashion of dress,

* P. 403, et passim.

then, is scarcely a criterion of culture. In respect of housing, many of the wild tribes might count themselves happy by contrast with the amenities of an Irish cabin, or a London garret. In regard to social intercourse they would recognise in some English towns, as a congenial custom, the liberty of husbands to kick and beat and otherwise maltreat their wives. They would admire the stealthy violence of the garroter, only with some surprise that it should be directed not against the foes of the tribe, but against a man's own fellow-townsmen. So, too, they would applaud the cunning deceptions practised in trade, wondering only that we chose to cheat one another, instead of reserving the admirable weapon of ingenious fraud for use against aliens. Knowing the freedom with which we abuse most savages for their uncleanly ways, they would be amazed to hear that among ourselves too it is the chant not of romantic maidens but of philosophers, that war has slain its thousands, but dirt its tens of thousands. Much more might be added of what they might see amongst us only too like their own manners and customs; the gloomy barbaric pomp of funerals, wasting the substance of the widow and the orphan, and adding to the bitterness of grief the bitterness of penury; the propensity to gambling pervading all ranks, so that a man will sacrifice not only his own happiness but that of all his family to this one gratification; the indulgence in drunkenness among the uneducated masses; the readiness for war between nation and nation, a readiness for which not the uneducated but the highly cultured classes are almost exclusively responsible.

In his Ethnological introduction Mr. Bancroft has come to the conclusion that "human nature is in nowise changed by culture," and that "the European is but a whitewashed savage" (p. 25). The comparison we have just been instituting in detail would seem all in favour of these inferences, except that after reading police reports, descriptions by amateur casuals, and the indignant rhetoric of Charles Dickens when grappling with abuses, some might be inclined to exclaim, where is the white-wash? But to us the true conclusion from the facts before us seems to be a very different one. We should not for a moment admit that human nature is in nowise changed by culture. What we do admit is this, that culture is as yet in an early stage of progress with the highest minds, still only groping after truth and guessing at it, longing with an earnest, but, as the most devout Christian must allow, a still unsatisfied longing for some power either without them or within them, to guide them ever with unfaltering undeviating steps to do what is right and to think what is true. While, too, minds of the finest and widest intelligence are as yet consciously and confessedly only

on the threshold of culture, the great multitude in the so-called civilized world are still outside the portals, a few indeed clamouring to get in, but the majority drenched with Circe's cup. A little faint outcry is now making itself heard in England for compulsory education, for the abolition, as of a great national crime, of the dark slavery of ignorance. But the advocates and friends of bondage, as a natural and God-given order of things, resist in the name of religion, or liberty, or common sense, or any other much abused name that will serve their turn for the moment. So slowly does culture spread that those who have the low and almost mean beginnings of it neither value it for themselves nor wish to see it imparted to others. They see that among men well cultured the passions are quelled into obedience, and the crimes which make life terrible are infrequent, while in the absence of culture, vice and fraud and violence are rampant, yet they prefer to trust the expensive, harsh, inadequate machinery of prisons and police, hard labour and the gallows, rather than the spread of culture. They would even be surprised to hear that this meant more than teaching children to read and write and do sums in the Rule of Three, that it meant teaching them the laws of health and the principles of virtue, that it meant giving them worthy aims and hopes in life, that it included even opening their eyes and ears to the sense of what is beautiful in the world of matter as well as in the world of mind. All this they would regard as intensely unpractical and Utopian. Just as men of every rank in former days argued that the negro was meant to be a slave, so quoted by Nature, so declared by the Divine word, predestined to and fashioned for his miserable fate, so now each rank in society looks down upon the ranks below it as created for the position they fill, not to be raised above it, or ennobled and comforted, without a violation of nature, and, as some would be inclined to think, a defiance of God. We speak of the educated classes without inquiring what is the character of the education which entitles the classes in question to the epithet conferred upon them. Yet in many instances it is an education in narrow-mindedness, in many of its incidents specially contrived to make boys and young men value themselves for things of no intrinsic value. We speak of compulsory national education, as though, could this be attained, a new and brighter era must perforce then speedily dawn upon the world. But upon minuter inquiry into what is actually intended, we find that nothing more is proposed for millions of children than that they should be taught to read and write, and cast accounts, up to the age of thirteen or fourteen years. For attaining even this poor result the machinery is quite modern and still essentially imperfect. The result itself

has this grave inherent fault, that it is only teaching a child to read, not teaching the man either what to read or how to judge of what he reads. It is like putting a razor into the hands of a monkey, with which he is as likely as not to cut his own throat. An education which stops at thirteen or even at fourteen will in numberless instances stop before the mind of the child has sufficiently developed to profit by education at all; for with minds as with fruits, some of the finest and sweetest ripen most slowly; with minds as with the trees of the forest, some of the stoutest and strongest are slowest in growth. We speak too of highly cultured classes, without any very definite meaning. It was to these that a page or two back we attributed the prevalence of ambitious wars, according to the old but still truthful maxim, *delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*. But the wars are not due to the high culture. The classes to whose views of life, to whose passions, to whose opinions upon what is just and noble and convenient, the great sanguinary conflicts among the civilized nations of the world are due, are called and supposed to be highly cultured, because they have culture among them, but they have it often only in fragments, some individuals loving and appreciating justice and mercy, others being content with external beauty and refinement of manners. It is, besides, never more than sporadic, a little leaven here and there, unfortunately not capable, as it should be, of leavening the whole lump. Thus the few, who have not merely the name but the thing, carry forward true civilization with but slow and faltering footsteps. What they urge perhaps in the name of humanity is overborne by a tumultuous clamour in the name of patriotism. Patriotism, whenever it was invented, was a step in culture of the highest value. A savage patriot is as nearly as can be a contradiction in terms. For true patriotism implies enlightened self-sacrifice. It must have been originally a wonderful enlargement of view from the narrow interests of a man's self or those of his household to the good of the existing community and of future generations. Now, however, it is too often a narrowing of view from what is required by the good of mankind to the petty interests of some narrow strip of territory. We conclude then upon the whole matter, not, as Mr. Bancroft puts it, that human nature is in nowise changed by culture, but that the progress of culture is extremely slow, that the nations we call civilized are but a little way advanced upon the path, that in those nations the class which even *professes* to be cultured is numerically small, and that of the small number who make such a claim only a very few have any the least approach to a genuine and complete proficiency in what they claim.

Mr. Bancroft perhaps intends to indulge the philosophical

spirit in his future volumes. For the present he professedly gives us only "the raw material of science," facts without theories based upon them. His work, therefore, cannot be compared for fascinating interest with those of Mr. E. B. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock, who not only give us facts, but group them together with a purpose, pointing to the probable origin, and thereby to the explanation of customs, grotesque, and, to unaided eyes, absurd and meaningless, showing the connexion of the past with the present, and tracing out all the curious survivals of manners and customs, and modes of thought, of which those who use them can give no account, because they owe them simply to a monkey-like spirit of imitation—still inherent in humanity, and betraying through all disguises the humble origin of mankind. The importance, indeed of Mr. Bancroft's work, will be best appreciated by those who have already studied the subject of savage life, or, as it may equally well be called, of incipient culture, under Lubbock and Tylor. Such readers, however, must be content to find themselves treading on familiar ground.

In the short Ethnological introduction Mr. Bancroft makes some useful observations on the various contradictory attempts to classify mankind into species or races. In the same chapter he discusses the opinions rife in different schools of naturalists, concerning the origin of man, and other animals, and of plants; but we think him less successful in reporting theories and in scientific discussion, than in gathering together and narrating facts. After mentioning the two theories of the special-creation school, "the third theory," he says, "that of the development school, denies that there ever were common centres of origin in organic creation; but claims that plants and animals generate spontaneously, and that man is but the modification of some pre-existing animal form." The last clause is true enough, but the other two clauses are at least misleading. The modern exponents of the development theory named in this volume, are Darwin and Huxley, of whom neither one nor the other has laid down spontaneous generation as part of the theory in question. It is notorious that Professor Huxley has strongly expressed his views against our having any proof that spontaneous generation comes within the experience of science. That it may have occurred in bygone days under circumstances differing from the present he would probably not deny, but the unqualified statement, that plants and animals generate spontaneously, would imply that a pig or a potato, such as we now know them, at one time or other began an abrupt existence, a sudden maturity of life and organization, such as the believers in special creation deem probable, under the influence rather of religious motives than of scientific reasoning. The inaccuracy of the other statement,

according to which the development school denies that there ever were common centres of origin in organic creation, will be seen when it is compared with a quotation from the chapter in the "Origin of Species," which discusses this very subject, for there Mr. Darwin says, "hence it seems to me, as it has to many other naturalists, that the view of each species having been produced in one area alone, and having subsequently migrated from that area as far as its powers of migration and subsistence under past and present conditions permitted, is the most probable." This might, indeed, almost be considered a corollary to the theory of development, as far as regards all the more complex organisms, since the causes which produce and preserve variations are little likely to be combined in precisely the same way in two distinct instances. We see how a pair of human twins, fed, housed, clothed, and educated alike, nevertheless soon cease to be in any way minutely similar in body or mind; much more then would creatures with such a tendency to vary as must be needed for producing specific difference, be unlikely to vary in the same direction, so as to originate identical species in two or more distinct centres.

A subsequent passage, in which Mr. Bancroft gives a fuller account of the development theory, seems to be clear and accurate; nevertheless it is immediately followed by the unfounded statement of a very general agreement among naturalists of the present day, "that the same conditions of soil, moisture, heat, and geographical situation, always produce a similarity of species." To speak of the conditions in question producing a similarity of species, is to ignore all that Mr. Darwin has written about the facts of distribution. His argument is this—that similar species have varied from a common stock in times comparatively recent, and that when they are found in widely distant localities, it is not that they have been independently produced by similar conditions of climate and the rest, but that in the course of migration they have there been best able to establish themselves where the conditions referred to were most like those of their native homes. He explains how in some instances great alterations in the configuration of the earth's surface and the climate of large tracts may have left a fauna and flora, once continuous over a large area, now in remnants only in distant and isolated patches. There are, it may be, some variations which soil and climate tend directly to produce, as undoubtedly there are some which they produce by way of natural selection. Thus white animals and fur-clad animals prevail in snowy and cold regions. Thus plants with long binding roots are found in loose sand. It is not that the fluidity of the sand produces the length and tenacity of the roots,—but that these plants have found their

advantage in residing where but few competitors can follow them to share the arenaceous nourishment. The spider takes hold with her hands, and is in king's houses, but she generally retires to the lofty cornice, not from feelings of pride, not because there are more flies in that situation, not because the cornice was created for the spider and the spider for the cornice, but because there the housemaid's broom least often invades her privacy.

According to Mr. Bancroft, various circumstances in regard to distribution—

"All show conclusively the impossibility that such a multitude of animal and vegetable tribes, with characters so diverse, could have derived their origin from the same locality, and, disappearing entirely from their original birthplace, sprung forth in some remote part of the globe." "A comparison," he says, "of the entomology of the old world and the new, shows that the genera and species of insects are for the most part peculiar to the localities in which they are found. Birds and marine animals, although unrestricted in their movements, seldom wander far from specific centres. With regard to wild beasts, and the larger animals, insurmountable difficulties present themselves ; so that we may infer that the systems of animal life are indigenous to the great zoölogical provinces where they are found. On the other hand, the harmony which exists between the organism of man and the methods by which Nature meets his requirements, tends conclusively to show that the world in its variety was made for man, and that man is made for any portion of the world in which he may be found. Whencesoever he comes, or howsoever he reaches his dwelling-place, he always finds it prepared for him."*

For any one starting with a belief in the six thousand-times demolished hypothesis of a special creation of all existing plants and animals six thousand years ago, these conclusions might be considered sagacious and profound ; but a student moderately acquainted with geological researches, would be aware that there is no such impossibility as Mr. Bancroft imagines, that tribes, whether in the animal or vegetable kingdom, should disappear entirely from an area in which they once flourished, yet continue to flourish in some remote portion of the globe. Thus in Australia we have living marsupials and fossil marsupials of the period immediately preceding our own time, but in still more distant ages we find by fossil testimony, that Europe too was peopled with numerous marsupials, though now it possesses none. What "insurmountable difficulties" Mr. Bancroft has discovered "with regard to wild beasts and the larger animals it is not easy to understand, since, as Sir Charles Lyell tells us, the same megatherium extended from Patagonia and the river Plata in

* "Wild Tribes," p. 11.

South America, between latitudes 31° and 39° south, to corresponding latitudes in North America, the same animal being also an inhabitant of the intermediate country of Brazil, while the mammoth has been likewise found fossil in North America, and again in the Eastern hemisphere from Siberia to the South of Europe. The reindeer, too, as Lyell says, and the musk buffalo, are well known as being inhabitants of the Arctic regions, and they both occur fossil in the valley of the Thames.* It follows as clearly as possible from the researches of palæontologists, that whole groups of species have been gradually transferred from one area to another, owing to the corresponding transfer of the external conditions necessary or favourable to their existence. It is equally clear that some genera are capable of a vast contemporaneous range under a great variety of conditions, and according to the theory of development, the extent of this range is in proportion to the variability of the species under the influence of natural selection. Those species which so vary as to adapt themselves to the greatest variety of external conditions, can occupy the largest portion of the earth's surface, just as thomen, whether races or individuals, who by natural constitution or artificial contrivance, can best do battle with varying circumstances, become the colonists and conquerors of the world. It is surely absurd to talk about "the harmony which exists between the organism of man and the methods by which Nature meets his requirements," as if it were something different in kind from the harmony between other organisms and the providence, whether we call it of Nature or of God, which works in their behalf. Surely too, it is ridiculous to say of man, that, "whencesoever he comes, or howsoever he reaches his dwelling-place, he always finds it prepared for him." He finds no such preparation on the top of Mont Blanc, nor yet in wide tracts of the Sahara. The sea covers much more than half the globe, and when a ship, the dwelling-place which men carry with them, is accidentally destroyed at sea by fire or other disaster, so far from finding in mid-ocean a dwelling-place prepared and made ready for him, the shipless mariner for the most part finds nothing but starvation and the grave.

Mr. Bancroft has come to the conclusion that "the attempt to solve the great problem of human existence by analogous comparisons, of man with man, and man with animals, has so far been vain and futile in the extreme" (p. 16). The remarks we have been making are intended to show that he has not yet for himself sufficiently mastered the attempt to justify the peremptory terms of his criticism upon it. That he is, however,

* "Elements of Geology," Sixth Edition, p. 130.

no bigoted anti-Darwinian may be conjectured from one or two observations in the course of the volume. He mentions, for instance, a peculiarity in the feet of the New Mexicans on the Lower Colorado, of having the large toe widely separated from the others, which, he says, "arises probably from wading in marshy bottoms" (p. 479). Here he seems acutely to perceive the first stage of variation that might lead to the development of a web-footed animal. In the Ethnological introduction he refers to the capability of man to endure all climates, his omnivorous habits, his powers of locomotion, and his inventive intelligence, and concludes from these that "in the economy of Nature the necessity did not exist with regard to man for that diversity of creation which was deemed requisite in the case of plants and animals" (p. 12). He does not seem to perceive that what he calls diversity of creation may be equally well expressed as diversity of development, and that the development of those qualities, which he rightly ascribes to man, would not indeed preclude variations in man's bodily organization, but would deprive such variations in many instances of any particular usefulness. The advantages which man might originally have obtained by acquiring through natural selection a stout hide, webbed feet, long legs, strong nails, powerful horns, mighty teeth and tusks to tear and gore his foes, are now obtained through the much more rapid process of mechanical invention. A man born with the skin of a rhinoceros and the fangs and strength of a gorilla, "in the brave days of old," when flint knives were still both rare and rude, would have had an immense advantage over his more delicately fashioned brethren. He could have eaten them up, if the food supply fell short from other sources. He would have had a better chance than other men of propagating his race, for, of all the progeny of Eve, the fairest of her daughters would have been at his command. Now-a-days he would probably have to pass a life of single blessedness, the first and last of his kind, ill-fed, ill-clothed, carried about and exhibited as a monster in a showman's caravan.

Another Darwinian passage in Mr. Bancroft's volume is his estimate of those Californians who go by the name of the Shoshones. This passage we will quote in full:—

"The character of the better Shoshone tribes is not much worse than that of the surrounding nations; they are thieving, treacherous, cunning, moderately brave after their fashion, fierce when fierceness will avail them anything, and exceedingly cruel. Of the miserable root and grass-eating Shoshones, however, even this much cannot be said. Those who have seen them unanimously agree that they of all men are lowest. Lying in a state of semi-torpor in holes in the ground during the winter, and in spring crawling forth and eating grass on

their hands and knees, until able to regain their feet; having no clothes, scarcely any cooked food, in many instances no weapons, with merely a few vague imaginings for religion, living in the utmost squalor and filth, putting no bridle on their passions, there is surely room for no missing link between them and brutes. Yet, as in all men there stands out some prominent good, so in these, the lowest of humanity, there is one virtue: they are lovers of their country; lovers, not of fair hills and fertile valleys, but of inhospitable mountains and barren plains; these reptile-like humans love their miserable burrowing-places better than all the comforts of civilization; indeed, in many instances, when detained by force among the whites they have been known to give away and die" (p. 440).

If on other accounts we accept the conclusion in regard to these poor Shoshones that there is "room for no missing link between them and the brutes," we shall certainly have no cause for modifying that opinion in the "one virtue" assigned them. It is only the virtue of a caged bird or beast. The same might be said of a pig that wallows in the mire, or if some might assert that a pig likes a clean sty better than a dirty one, it would at any rate be true to say that a mole loves its miserable burrowing place better than all the comforts of civilization. A difference in nuptial rites between the *Anthropidæ* and the *Anthropomorpha* has been sometimes urged as an objection to any genealogical connexion between the two. It will be found, however, from what Mr. Bancroft says of the wild tribes of the Pacific States, that the objection, founded on insufficient information, is untenable, and that the truth of the matter so far strongly supports the belief in the disputed genealogy" (p. 566):

Since the earliest authorities for the present work date back less than four hundred years, it will be interesting to notice a few of the details which recall the state of life among early tribes depicted for us by Homer and Virgil, and other ancient writers. Not only was water the common drink among many tribes, till the white man introduced spirits,* but in many districts acorns supplied the staff of life. Thus we read that among the Californians, "bread is made of acorns ground to flour in a rough stone mortar with a heavy stone pestle, and baked in the ashes" (p. 339). When acorns are scarce, the Central Californians, under the stress of hunger, but not otherwise, will appropriate the store which the woodpecker deposits, acorn by acorn, in the trunks of trees.† Most readers will call to mind that far-off

* P. 188; p. 562.

† P. 375. The man may be thought to have less culture than the bird, when to obtain its careful store he finds it necessary to burn down the tree which is its storehouse. See the note to p. 375.

ante-classical time when the earth, new-taught by the divinities of corn and wine,

“Chaconiam pingui glandem mutavit arista,
Poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis.”*

Among the Columbians the Nootkas delight especially in feasts, which are given repeatedly by the richer classes and the chiefs. Heralds ceremoniously invite the guests. The fish and whale-blubber are boiled in the hall, and distributed in messes large or small according to the rank of the recipient. “Eating is followed by conversation and speech-making, oratory being an art highly prized, in which, with their fine voices, they become skilful. Finally, the floor is cleared for dancing” (p. 199). There is something about it all akin to a Lord Mayor’s entertainment, if we substitute turtle-soup for blubber of whale, but we feel that the aldermanic revelry is rather “a survival,” while the description of the Phæacians in the Eighth Book of the *Odyssey* might with scanty alteration stand for a contemporary picture of Nootkan society. There, too, is the gathering by heralds of the goodly company “to the great hall of banquet,” and when the souls of the guests are satisfied with feasting, the evening passes in ancient Corcyra, as among the Nootkans two or three thousand years later “in conversation, singing, joking, boasting of past exploits, personal and tribal, till bedtime, when one by one they retire to rest in the same blankets worn during the day” (p. 198).

The late Mr. Philip Worsley closes the preface to his fine translation by saying, “I can truly affirm that the *Odyssey* has been to me not so much a verbal enigma to be solved, as a phase of human life to be realized.” Had the Nootkans had a poet like Homer, and that poet found a translator like Mr. Worsley, instead of hearing that they eat with their fingers, we should read—

“They then their hands upon the viands threw,
But when the feast they could no more ensue,
Stirred by the Muse the bard high theme essayed,
Whereof the loud fame to the skies then flew,
How that Odysseus and Pelides made
Strife with portentous words, at sacred feast displayed.”†

Under similar circumstances, instead of the prose description of the step in their dances, “which consists chiefly in jumping with both feet from the ground, brandishing weapons or bunches of

* “*Georgics*,” l. 8.

† *Odyssey*, Book viii. stanza 9.

feathers, or sometimes simply bending the body without moving the feet," we should read that the divine harper—

"Straightway at the King's command,
Moved to the midst. Around him waiting stand,
Skilled in divine beat of the measured dance
Youths in first bloom, the fairest in the land.
Soon did Odysseus, rapt as in a trance,
Mark the loud pulse of feet, the ever-trembling glance."*

If the songs of the Nootkans are, like their conversation, sometimes "coarse and indecent," instead of this blunt charge of indelicacy, one bard describing the theme of another would have written—

"But he with voice and lyre a noble strain
Lifted, and sang there of the love renowned
Of Ares, mighty in the battle-plain,
And Aphrodite beautifully crowned."†

The praise which Odysseus bestows upon eloquence, his boastful assertion of his own superiority in archery, boxing, wrestling, and the like—

"All feats I know that are beneath the sun,"‡

his ready tears at memories which minstrelsy awakened, his unfeigned admiration of the ball-players and the dancers, would all have been in place at a Nootkan banquet, as would have been the description by Alcinous of his own people—

"Not blameless are we in the wrestling art;
Not with the fist in fighting we excel;
But with winged feet upon the race to start,
And cleaving keels obedient to impel—
These are the things which we do passing well.
And ever in our souls from year to year
Voluptuous dancings and the harp's sweet spell,
Rich feasts, and changes of apparel fair,
Warm baths, and couch of love, we hold exceeding dear."§

In regard to the first two lines of this stanza, what is said of the Nootkans in Mr. Bancroft's book should be noticed, that "in a fight they rarely strike, but close and depend on pulling hair and scratching; a chance blow must be made up by a present" (p. 201). Franchère's narrative, in describing fights among the Chinook tribes of Columbia, says of these wild warriors, that "when the conflict is postponed till next day . . . They keep up frightful cries all night long, and, when they are sufficiently near to understand each other, defy one another by menaces,

* *Odyssey*, Bk. viii. st. 35. † *Ib.* st. 36. ‡ *Ib.* st. 28. § *Ib.* st. 32.

railleries, and sarcasms, like the heroes of Homer and Virgil."* In some tribes "the war-chief carries a long whip, and secures discipline by flagellation."† Of the Californians on the Klamath, we read that they

"Blubber like a schoolboy at the application of a switch."

Here the student of Homer will at once be reminded of Odysseus with Thersites, in the *Iliad*—

"He, ending, the man's back and shoulders twain
Scourged with the staff: he, cowering in sad bale,
Curled from the smiter, and shed tears like rain,
While from his skin there rose a blood-red weal.
He then, in silly amazement, sat there, pale,
Quailing with terror of the golden staff,
Wiping his eyes, and with no heart to rail;
And the great army, though content but half,
Laughed at his tribulation a sweet pealing laugh."‡

When Hephæstus in the *Odyssey* contemplates repudiating Aphrodite, he makes it clear, as an Indian of North Western America would have done under like circumstances, that he intends to have back from the father of his fair but fickle spouse the presents he had formerly given to obtain her. Just as Laertes, father of Odysseus, passes the remnant of his life in unhonoured obscurity, scarcely to be noticed except for the fact that his daughter-in-law weaves and unweaves his funeral sheet, even so we learn that among the New Mexicans old age is dishonourable (p. 515), and that they neglect their aged invalids, refusing them attendance if their last sickness proves too long, and recovery appears improbable, or putting an end to uncertainty by suffocating the patient (p. 568). The sharp answers of Admetus to his father, in the "*Alcestis*" of Euripides, show how unreasonable or almost disgusting it might seem to a man, in the state of culture which that play represents, that his aged parent should be so egotistical as to wish to go on living when there were younger men to fill his room. We read of the New Mexicans, that "as a sign of grief they cut off the manes and tails of their horses, and also crop their own hair and lacerate their bodies in various ways; the women giving vent to their affliction by long-continued howlings" (p. 523). The public mourning which Admetus orders for his wife is in close accordance with these customs, however little like a savage we may deem *Alcestis* herself, who for her love's sake was content to be parted from him she loved, and to save her life by losing it. The sweet un-

* P. 236, note.

† P. 270, note.

‡ Worsley, "*Iliad*," II., 34.

flinching courage of her self-sacrifice had already made of hers a life "foursquare without blame," such as old Pheres would never have accomplished "by living longer than Jove." That life, whole and perfect in its own purity and nobleness, was to be followed indeed by a new lease of earthly existence, in which the queen brought back from Hades was to rejoin her sorrowing and half-repentant husband, and in which they were to be happy ever after with a sort of cherry-pie and currant wine felicity, but the poet artfully interposes, between this lower life and the life already crowned and perfected in virtue, the cold details of funeral pomp and ceremony.

“ἀλλ’ ἐκφορὰν γὰρ τοῦδε θήσομαι νεκροῦ,
 πάρεστε καὶ μένοντες ἀντηχίσατε
 παιᾶνα τῷ κάτωθεν ἀσπόνδῳ θεῷ.
 πᾶσιν δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσιν ὧν ἐγὼ κρατῶ
 πένθους γυναικὸς τῇσδε κοινοῦσθαι λέγω
 κούρῃ ξυρήκει καὶ μελαμπέπλῳ στολῇ.
 τίθριππὰ θ’ οἱ ζεύγυνσθε καὶ μονάμπυκας
 πώλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνεν’ αὐχένων φοβην.”*

The Apaches, among the mountains and deserts of New Mexico, are described as professional thieves (p. 476). It may be well to remember how considerable a class in our own population resemble the Apaches in their method of obtaining a livelihood, but the scholar may think it more to the purpose to recall what Thucydides says of piracy. For even in his own day that author tells us this in some quarters was thought an honourable profession, and he logically infers that in earlier times it had been a generally recognised pursuit, because in the old poets the question, "are you a pirate?" is evidently asked without any implication of censure.† Are you a sophist? are you an augur? are you a wizard? are questions which might once have been asked with respectful deference and awe, but now would be either unmeaning or derisive. It is an almost painful reflection that in the progress of knowledge and culture our descendants, to whom we authors, critics, lawyers, physicians, divines, soldiers, sailors, and merchants, are looking with a confident and generous ambition for the meed of posthumous renown, may merely regard us as a set of ill-natured liars, quacks, cheats, and cut-throats, who had the extraordinary effrontery not merely to perform the acts which consist with these appellations, but to put them forward as the praiseworthy fruits of a highly advanced civilization.

As Virgil tells of the stag, "puniceæ septum formidine

* Alcestis, lines 422-429.

† Thuc. Bk. 1. ch. 5.

pennæ," so among the Columbians "the frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converging lines of bright-coloured rags so placed in the bushes as to represent men" (p. 264). Among the Californians, the spear and javelin are generally tipped with flint, bone, or obsidian, but "occasionally the point of the stick is merely sharpened and hardened in the fire" (p. 377), just as we read in Propertius of the early Italians—

"Nec rudis infestis miles radiabit in armis;
Miscebant ustâ prœlia nuda sude."*

The Pythian priestess, breathing the magic vapour of the sacred cavern, with wild yells and shrieks pronounced the will of heaven to the Hellenic votaries of Apollo. The Lower Californians, too, in much more recent times had their sorcerers, and "these favoured of heaven professed to hold communication with oracles, and would enter caverns and wooded ravines, sending thence doleful sounds to frighten the people, who were by such tricks easily imposed upon and led to believe in their deceits and juggleries" (p. 568).

If Spartan boys were whipped at the altar of Artemis Orthia without flinching or uttering cry, though the scourging was so severe as sometimes to prove fatal, their indifference to pain would scarcely have surpassed that ascribed to the Californians, among whom "a youth, to become a warrior, must first undergo a severe ordeal: his naked body was beaten with stinging nettles until he was literally unable to move; then he was placed upon the nest of a species of virulent ant, while his friends irritated the insects by stirring them up with sticks. The infuriated ants swarmed over every part of the sufferer's body, into his eyes, his ears, his mouth, his nose, causing indescribable pain" (p. 414).

To pass from Greek to Syrian customs, when we read that among the Apaches, the lover stakes his horse in front of the lady's "roost," and that "should the girl favour the suitor, his horse is taken by her, led to water, fed, and secured in front of his lodge,"† we are reminded of the idyllic scene in which Rebekah draws water for the camels of Abraham's steward, with a politeness which seemed to anticipate his errand. Again when we read of the wild tribes of Central America that "these people are very strict in executing the law, the offender is brought before the old men, and if the crime is serious his relatives have often to share in his punishment" (p. 702), one can scarcely help being struck by the similarity of this conduct to the behaviour of the Israelites, when "Joshua and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge

* Propertius, 4, 27. De Urbe Româ. † P. 512, note.

of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had . . . and all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones.* With the Jewish rending of garments in mourning and distress we may compare the Columbian custom, that "a man who receives an insult or suffers any affliction, must tear up the requisite quantity of blankets and shirts, if he would retain his honour" (p. 192). The priests of Baal in Elijah's time, "cried aloud, and cut themselves, after their manner, with knives and lancets," to induce their god to send down fire, and in this respect "their manner" is very familiar in the customs of many Indian tribes, but, for the kindred purposes of obtaining moisture or fair weather, the Comanches have an ingenious and no doubt equally efficacious plan of their own: "when their demons withhold rain or sunshine, according as they desire, they whip a slave, and if their gods prove obdurate, their victim is almost flayed alive" (p. 520).

Mr. Boyd Dawkins' recently-published and very interesting book on "Cave-hunting" contains a section headed "Relation of Cave-dwellers to Eskimos." He there states that harpoons of modern date from West Georgia, are almost identical in shape and design with those from the caves of Aquitaine and Kent's Hole in Devonshire; that the heads of the fowling and fishing spears, darts, and arrows, as well as the form of their base for insertion into the shafts, are also identical; that the tools and implements of the Eskimos are often of the same form with those found in the caves, and are adorned with designs of animals, analogous to those cut on the reindeer antlers in Aquitaine. He further points out the agreement between the Eskimos and the cave man in their modes of manufacturing clothing, in their habits of feeding and sepulture. He explains, too, that the reindeer and the musk-sheep afford food to the Eskimos now, just as they afforded it to the palæolithic hunters in Europe, so that, though it may be a far cry from Southern France to the Northern shores of America, "to say the least, palæolithic man would have had the same chance of retreating to the north-east as the musk-sheep." From all which, according to Mr. Boyd Dawkins, it may reasonably be concluded that the modern Eskimos represent the palæolithic man of pre-historic Europe.†

We have not brought together these points of comparison between the wild tribes of North-Western America and old Pelasgian, Syrian, palæolithic races, merely for amusement and without any definite purpose. Suppose that, as here set down, they prove nothing; still they may excite in some minds a

* Joshua, ch. vii. 24, 25.

† Cave-hunting, pp. 353-359.

useful train of reflection, leading them to an impartial study of works in which a wide induction has been brought to bear upon the question of the origin of civilization. The religion of the vast majority of Englishmen is based theoretically on the first three chapters of Genesis, so that unless we will believe that the human race began abruptly a few thousand years ago with a full-grown man settled in a garden and endowed with a language before he had any one save his Divine Maker to speak to, and unless we will further believe that from his body a bone was taken and fashioned into a full-grown woman, and that then presently a talking serpent and a too-inquisitive wife induced the man, who was the appointed lord and master of both, to commit a fatal act of disobedience, which tainted not only himself, but all his posterity—unless we will believe all this *au pied de la lettre*, we are deliberately declared to be infidels and atheists. On so fine a point does the whole pyramid of modern theology appear to be balanced ! In judging of other religions than our own, if the sacred books contain similar accounts, we ask without hesitation, Are these things probable or in their nature possible ? Are they grounded upon any kind of proof, or do they rest upon testimony which cannot be disputed ? They may claim indeed to be the direct declarations of a Divine Being ; but we still ask, How is that claim established ? We see no harm in pronouncing them fictions ; we take pleasure in tracing such fictions to their origin in well-known tendencies of the human mind, and in showing how men gradually exalt their own fancies till at length they believe them to be, and actually call them, the voice of God. On what grounds of piety or common sense can we treat the sacred books of other religions by different rules of evidence from those which we apply to our own ? Let us test the first three chapters of Genesis, as we should test the institutes of Menu or the mythology of Greece, and behold the result. Not to be stinted in the matter of time, we will concede to those who think it desirable, that in these records a day, though divided into the evening and the morning, is not one of our modern solar days, but some other period of time—a year perhaps ; and that year, for anything we care, may be “a year of the Creator,” which, according to the Hindus, equals fifteen hundred thousand millions of the solar years of mortals. Be these day-periods short or be they long, it is only in the fourth of them that the sun is appointed to his office in the firmament of heaven. This to the astronomer is ridiculous. In the period before the sun had received its mission to discharge in the firmament, the earth brings forth both grass and herb and tree, not torpid and ice-bound as waiting for the sun, but yielding seed and fruit after their kind. To the botanist this is absurd. To

the naturalist the classification of animals, so far from being divine, appears evidently the work of one who knew little or nothing of the internal structure of the groups he mentions, and of one who from ignorance leaves entirely out of sight groups of vast importance in the economy of the world, for instance, corals and rhizopods, of whose remains great cliffs and mountains are constructed. Fossils, which have been poetically called the medals of creation, as though they had been struck in memorial of the Creator's work from age to age, declare that the process, whatever we call it, by which new species of plants and animals have been introduced into the world, was engaged through a vague immensity of time in producing, not plants alone or animals alone, but animals and plants together. In Great Britain there are reckoned 13,000 fossil species of animals and plants that have ceased to exist, against 4000 living species;* and in the successive strata which correspond to successive periods of deposition the evidence is written in many a form, on clay and flint and limestone, that new forms of animal life and vegetable life have been continually appearing and disappearing. Hence the statement that the introduction of the trees and other plants which now occupy the globe took place in a period perfectly distinct from that in which animals, first the marine, and then the terrestrial, were introduced, is to the palæontologist utterly incredible.

The distinction between the beast of the earth after his kind and cattle after their kind implies a belief that domesticated animals were created in a state of domestication, not brought into their condition of docile usefulness by man's long-continued efforts and choice, directed towards those creatures which seemed most apt for his purpose. Such might be the opinion of a child in reference to a peach or a pineapple-strawberry or a garden tulip, that, because they are nice and pretty, they must have come, just as we now find them, out of the Garden of Eden. Since only a vegetable diet is assigned in the first instance to beasts as well as man, the inference has been fairly drawn that according to this record, in the period of innocence before the fall of Adam, there were no beasts of prey. The physiologist knows better. He knows from geology that long before the appearance of man upon earth there were fierce animals, flesh-eating, and not vegetarians. He knows from his own science that the teeth and other parts of the structure of carnivorous animals are not suited to a vegetable diet, and that to have

* See Professor Prestwich's Inaugural Lecture at Oxford, delivered Jan. 29th, 1875. The calculation excludes insects, about 10,000 in number, and all such animals as must almost of necessity escape fossilization.

supplied them with the mechanism for consuming one sort of food, and to have then restricted them to the other, would have been no part of Divine skill and foresight. He knows that the common Greenland whale, drawing in great gulps of water through its pendant sieve of whalebone, could not, if it wished, avoid consuming multitudes of minute sea-animals. He sees too that if all animals were to obey the command to be fruitful and multiply, many must soon have had to face the alternative, whether they would choose to slay their neighbours or themselves to die of starvation.

Last of the creation, the record tells us, God made man in His own image. But where was the likeness? not in the human body; for, the Scriptures and the Christian Church themselves being witness, "God is a spirit," and is "without body, parts, or passions." Was it then in the moral or spiritual nature, in will, intelligence, reason, mind? How then did man at the first temptation fall, and act, not like heroic martyr, not like a pagan Regulus or Fabricius, steadier in virtue than the sun in its heavenly course, but like a naughty little boy who needed as his punishment not death but whipping? Can it be doubted by those who have studied at all the processes of thought in early culture, that the declaration that God created man in His own image is nothing but an inference on the part of the writer from the worship he saw around him? However it may shock minds unaccustomed to inquiry into the origin of religion, it would be unquestionably true of many a worship to say, "So man created God in his own image, in the image of man created he Him." That the statement in Genesis is due, not to Divine revelation, but to this anthropomorphic process, ought surely to be admitted by the Christian theologian, when he reads the further statement of God's resting on the seventh day from His labours, and blessing and hallowing that seventh day because it was the period of His rest. For to the Christian theologian the nature of God is unsusceptible of fatigue or change and requires not rest; he believes God to be not only the maker but the preserver of all things, and that, if by His word He created all things, so by the word of His power he upholds them all. The natural philosopher knows for his part that at no time can it have been true to say, "thus the heavens and the earth were finished and all the host of them," for they are not finished yet. They are still the subjects of perpetual and continuous change, though governed by laws so persistent that to us at least those laws seem eternal, the thoughts of a Divine unchangeable mind.

After the third verse of the second chapter of Genesis the critical scholar maintains that a new account of creation begins, in some respects inconsistent with that which precedes it, and

with additional difficulties of its own. The first account distinctly affirms that when God created man, "male and female created He them;" but the second account as distinctly declares that man was created a solitary animal, and that his female companion was subsequently formed, not like man and the other animals out of the ground, but, as an afterthought, from a bone of the man himself. In the second account the events of creation are mentioned in a new order; a time is mentioned when the whole face of the ground was watered by a mist, before any rain had begun to fall on the earth; rivers are spoken of apparently as flowing in their full strength in this rainless period; and a fair region is geographically marked out which no geographer has ever been able to identify.

Then comes the story of the woman and the serpent, a beautiful and simple Eastern allegory. The author of it could see, as we can, that the woman is generally the weaker vessel, that woman is inquisitive, easily flattered, that she exercises potent sway over her husband, who nevertheless is ready enough to lay the blame on her when things have gone wrong. He could see as we can that the imposition of a law acts upon the minds of children and uncultured persons as a positive incentive to do that which the commandment says must not be done. Thinking upon the origin and early condition of man, before clothes or weapons were invented, he deemed it necessary to place him in a fair protected garden, where he might live by peaceful tillage, not contending against ravenous beasts; though as a matter of fact in human progress, the dressing and keeping of gardens is long subsequent to the profession of the hunter. Striving to fathom the mysterious question why sorrow and pain and death are permitted, threatening all from the outset of life, he attributes them to the anger of God, and that anger to man's disobedience, though certainly pain and death attached to animal life long before man existed on the earth. He imagines that since man's creation husbandry has become more difficult, though in fact it has become more easy. He presents us man at the beginning of his career, just in the very state in which many an Indian has continued to the present century, and in which the majority of European children without education would doubtless still be and sometimes still are, "naked and not ashamed."

In all this, so far as it is true, there is nothing which requires a divine revelation; neither, in so far as it is at variance with known facts, is there anything in it to impeach the good faith of a religious philosopher writing some thousands of years ago. But can we say so much for those who still put forward the account as divinely historical? Surely they might with equal truthfulness and equal good sense maintain that *Æsop's* fable of the

donkey and the lapdog was a piece of inspired history. Would it give the sound morality which Æsop teaches a firmer foundation, if we insisted that the framework of his teaching, with its trees and fies and foxes that talk and act like human beings, must all be historically and scientifically true? Would it be reasonable to say that the lesson taught so entirely depends upon the events narrated, that the so-called fable must be either history or nothing, and that those who deny its circumstantial truth are impugning morality? Yet in the matter of religious belief it comes to this, that a man is set down literally as a blaspheming infidel, unless he will believe in a talking serpent. Unless he will put from him as an accursed thing the results of science in studying the stars above, and the earth beneath, and living creatures of all kinds, including the human species, in times remote and recent, with the most careful anatomy of the body and analysis of the mind ; unless he will confess himself deceived and deluded, wherever these results in the smallest degree conflict with the book of Genesis, he cannot, it seems, be a religious man ; not for him does the true light shine, not to him is the way of salvation open. Surely then to the question of the Hebrew prophet, "What doth the Lord require of thee?" the answer should have been, "to believe in a talking serpent," not that answer which actually stands recorded, "to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

The human mind has been feeling for ages after God, and for the way to worship Him in spirit and in truth ; that it should begin with errors and false fancies and be still in part entangled in its original blindness and ignorance, is but in accordance with the ordinary course of Nature. Culture, like religion, must be traced back to the customs of the savage, and barbarism still keeps its hold upon culture. The finest weapons, whether for manual or mental use, have been developed from contrivances so rude and primitive that they seem scarcely to deserve the name of contrivance. But a steel blade cuts none the less sharply because its prototype was a flake struck off by accident from a flint. So then with religion, if men would open their eyes and see, they would find that it need lose none of its reality and value, none of its noblest hopes, because of any meanness in its origin. Let the professional ministers of religion remember this, that in condemning Science without studying it, and in holding up discredited human fancies as the oracles of God, they are putting stumbling-blocks in the way of their brethren, and binding on men's shoulders heavy burdens grievous to be borne, which they themselves will not move with one of their fingers. It is for them to study the lessons of savage life and uncultured religions, that, seeing therein sometimes a picture

only too faithful of themselves and their own opinions, they may learn at length a larger charity and entertain at length higher and purer views of the Holy One who made the world, though not as they think He made it, and who preserves and governs it, though haply not by their rules of government nor exactly by their way of salvation.

From these "burning questions" we must turn once more, before concluding, to Mr. Bancroft's volume. It would be unfair to Mr. Bancroft to leave any one under the impression that any of the riot and storm of controversy appears in his narrative, or that his is in any way what would be called by the orthodox a dangerous book. The general character of the information which it conveys may be gathered from the details which we now propose to lay before our readers.

In all the tribes it appears that children in coming into the world cause the least possible inconvenience to their mothers, who, almost immediately after childbirth, pursue their household avocations, or a journey if they happen to be travelling, as if nothing had happened, although in some districts the husband finds it necessary to take to his bed upon the occasion.* The infant, however, which slips so easily into the world, is soon made acquainted with the hardships of life. Among the Aleuts of the North, if the child cries, the mother drags it naked to the sea, whether in winter or summer, and holds it in the water till it leaves off crying.† Among the Hares and Dog-ribs, "the infant is not allowed food until four days after birth, in order to accustom it to fasting in the next world" (p. 121). Among the Columbians, "children are roiled in the snow by their mothers to make them hardy" (p. 201); while, in the same tribes, babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, have been seen riding along on horseback without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.‡ Among the Californians, when a child is born, it is thrown into the water; "if it rises to the surface and cries, it is taken out and cared for; if it sinks, there it remains, and is not even awarded an Indian burial."§ Among the New Mexicans, "as soon as children are able to get food for themselves, they are left to their own devices, and it sometimes happens that when food is scarce, the child is abandoned or killed by its parents" (p. 566). To the other charms of infant existence must be added, especially among the Chinooks, the

* Pp. 117, note; 133, 391, 436, 513, 566, 585, 734.

† "Wild Tribes," p. 92, note. See also pp. 111, 112, for Thlinket customs.

‡ P. 283, note.

§ "Wild Tribes," p. 413. Compare p. 734, note.

head-flattening process. "The Chinook ideal of facial beauty is a straight line from the end of the nose to the crown of the head. The flattening of the skull is effected by binding the infant to its cradle immediately after birth, and keeping it there from three months to a year." A piece of wood or leather is fastened across the forehead by strings which are tightened from day to day and till the skull is shaped to the required pattern. "The child, while undergoing this process, with its small black eyes jammed half out of their sockets, presents a revolting picture." It is, however, fair to add that, according to report, "the little prisoner seems to feel scarcely any pain," and receives no perceptible injury in body or mind, while it appears that great opprobrium would attach to a mother who neglected to apply the process, and the neglected child itself would be regarded by its companions as no better than a miserable European "roundhead."*

As life goes on, it certainly entails upon the female sex, in many of the tribes, from opening girlhood, a series of adventures about as disagreeable as can well be imagined and much more disagreeable than can well be described. If heaven could be won by useless sufferings, these unhappy victims might pass within its narrow portals more easily than many a canonized saint. With boys the case is somewhat different. These are to supply the future warriors and hunters of the tribe. They are trained therefore, early to recognise themselves as lords of creation. They are seldom or never flogged, for fear of breaking their spirit. To be subordinate and respectful to their parents is by no means universally a part of their education.† On the other hand, if they are never whipped for juvenile delinquencies, that whipping all over with nettles as a point of honour, before the boy can set up as a man of war, must be particularly unpleasant. To have your friends kindly irritating venomous ants to sting you is not nice; yet, as this is attended, not by the ignominy of punishment, but by a sense of manliness already achieved and coming glory, it may perhaps be more pleasant than painful, just as the bruises and blisters of cricket and boating are welcome trophies to the Englishman of eighteen. The ambitious Indian lad will, moreover, be encouraged to endurance by the example of his elders. Part of the preparation for war among the Nootkas, consists in scrubbing the skin with briars till it bleeds.‡ Among the Californians, "hunters before starting on an expedition, would beat their faces with nettles to render them clear-sighted" (p. 414).

* P. 227. See also p. 80.

† That it sometimes is so, see p. 414, note.

‡ "Wild Tribes," p. 189.

As might be expected, it is in hunting that the greatest ingenuity of savages is displayed. To the sportsman it may even seem that to have this pursuit as the object of a life-long profession is no mean compensation for the terrible hardships to which barbarism is everywhere exposed.

In capturing the gigantic whale, the Eskimo employs a harpoon with a barbed ivory point; when the blow is struck the shaft of the weapon becomes disengaged, while the point, with a sealskin buoy or bladder attached to it, remains fixed in the blubbery carcase. By repeated strokes the great monster is so damaged in person and encumbered with buoyant furniture that he is easily towed ashore, a helpless victim. One could scarcely wish for any contrivance more efficacious, unless it were to lift him bodily out of the water by means of a balloon (p. 56). The polar bear is victimized by a disgraceful trick: a piece of stiff whalebone is bent and wrapped in blubber, and the ball so formed is frozen. The bear is then tickled and enraged by a flight of arrows; he turns to pursue his tormentors. Then, like Milanion in the race with Atalanta, the Eskimo drops, not a golden ball, but a ball of blubber from time to time. "Bruin, as fond of food as of revenge, pauses for a moment, hastily swallows one, then another, and another. Soon a strange sensation is felt within. The thawing blubber, melted by the heat of the animal's stomach, releases the pent-up whalebone, which springing into place, plays havoc with the intestines, and brings the bear to a painful and ignominious end." We cannot resist putting side by side with this the account of crocodile-hunting from Herodotus.

"The modes of capturing this animal are," he tells us, "many and various. But I describe only the one which seems to be most worthy of relation. The hunter baits his hook with a loin of pork, and launches it into the middle of the stream. He himself stands on the river bank with a live porker, which he beats. At the sound of the grunting which ensues, the crocodile makes its way to the place from which it proceeds, and meeting with the loin of pork, gulps it down, and is thereby drawn ashore; whereupon the hunter first of all plasters up its eyes with mud, after which ceremony he can manage all the rest with ease; but far from easily without it." *

There is another method of capturing crocodiles which must require much more audacity. In this the hunter himself plunges into the water, and, in place of a ball of blubber concealing a whalebone spring, he carries a piece of pork with a strong and sharply-pointed skewer run through it. When the crocodile snaps at the meat, the Egyptian by a dexterous twist of his hand inside the gaping jaws transfixes both of them on the points

* Herodotus, Bk. II. ch. 70.

of the skewer, and drags the creature open-mouthed and helpless to the land. A much nearer resemblance to the Indian stratagem is, however, furnished by the Egyptian practice of supplying the Hippopotami with abundance of peas, which they are said to eat with such avidity, and to follow up with draughts of water so copious, that a ruinous internal commotion is the result. Among the Aleuts the bear succumbs to a different treatment, ingenious no doubt, but scarcely to be panegyricized as humane.

"An Aleut bear-trap consists of a board two feet square and two inches thick, planted with barbed spikes, placed in Bruin's path, and covered with dust. The unsuspecting victim steps firmly upon the smooth surface offered, when his foot sinks into the dust. Maddened with pain, he puts forward another foot to assist in pulling the first away, when that too is caught. Soon all four of the feet are firmly spiked to the board; the beast rolls over on his back, and his career is soon brought to an end" (p. 91).

The bear is evidently respected by some of his foes, for among the Nootkas in former times "when a bear was killed, it was dressed in a bonnet, decked with fine down, and solemnly invited to eat in the chief's presence before being eaten." The numerous plans devised for its capture are in themselves a compliment.* Sometimes the hunter lures it to its doom by imitating the appearance of a seal. At other times the animal is tracked to its den by a party of men who block up the aperture with a barricade, leaving only an opening large enough for the bear's head to pass through. From a not unnatural curiosity, stimulated by the introduction of a firebrand, the grizzly beast soon looks out of the little window, upon which the Indians, who are lurking on one side, beat in his skull (p. 78).

It would almost seem as if the lower animals in these regions were in a state of backward civilization, corresponding to that of the human species. The seals themselves, like the unfortunate bears, fall victims to a misplaced confidence, being "often attracted within arrow-shot by natives disguised as seals in wooden masks."† In the same way deer succumb to the bow and arrows of the hunter who, disguised with the head and horns of a stag, creeps through the long grass to within a few yards of the unsuspecting herd."‡ So too the Klamath of California catches

* P. 187. Compare the important remarks on this and similar customs in Mr. Tylor's "*Primitive Culture*," vol. ii. p. 209.

† P. 186. See also p. 78.

‡ P. 373, p. 577, and elsewhere. See too Boyd Dawkins, "*Cave-hunting*," p. 354, for the figure of an Eskimos arrow-straightener, on which is depicted a native hunting scene.

the prong-buck, by fastening to his own heels strips of ermine skin, and then standing on his head and performing a pantomime with his legs. It may, however, be a truly scientific inquisitiveness in this case which lures the antelope to its destruction (p. 336). Waterfowl are taken by a device which, as Lord Dundreary might say, "no fellow could find out," unless he had something more than the intelligence of a duck. Calabashes are thrown into the streams which the wild fowl frequent, and after the sight of these has become familiar, the natives, with calabashes on their heads, "swim softly among the ducks and draw them under water without flutter or noise."*

With most of the tribes salmon is as much a staple of food as it could ever have been in Scotland, or on the banks of the Severn, in the days when its too frequent use as an article of diet was protested against in apprentices' indentures. Whether the monotony of flavour is relieved by the Indian practice of blowing sand over the fish during the process of drying, may be questioned. One result of the practice, which we find repeatedly mentioned, is that the teeth of the natives are ground down, sometimes to the gums, by eating sanded salmon.†

For the pleasing details of an Eskimo banquet we must leave the reader to consult Mr. Bancroft (p. 55). A contrast to the remarkably gross feeding in the frozen North will be found in the scanty miserable diet of the poorer Shoshone tribes of Nevada and Utah. The descriptions given of these wretched people almost pass belief. Yet, according to more than one account—

"They remain in a semi-dormant inactive state the entire winter, leaving their lowly retreat only now and then, at the urgent calls of nature or to warm their burrows. . . . In the spring they creep from their holes . . . poor and emaciated, with barely flesh enough to hide their bones, and so enervated from hard fare and frequent abstinence, that they can scarcely move."‡

The customs of courtship are extremely varied, and many of them are rather amusing. But even the one bright oasis in a woman's life, which youthful love-making might be supposed to afford, is far from being invariably happiness unalloyed. Among the Northern Indians the oasis itself is wanting, where "a man, of forty buys or fights for a spouse of twelve, and when tired of her whips her and sends her away" (p. 117).

To grow old and to fall ill are considered misfortunes all over the world, and even in civilized countries the workhouse and the pauper's funeral are distasteful to the imagination of the aged,

* P. 577, and elsewhere.

† P. 158; p. 163; p. 256, note; p. 334; p. 375, note.

‡ P. 427, note.

while, for all periods of life, the healers of the body can scarcely yet claim to work painless and infallible cures. But age and sickness among the wild tribes have such concomitants as to the eyes of a white man must make them appear most tremendous disasters. Merely to be buried alive (p. 289), or slowly throttled by affectionate relations, as sometimes happens to the old, may be considered a trifle. The medical customs can scarcely be described by so mild a term. There can indeed be but little sham sickness in a region where the patient in a raging fever is taken from the heated vapour-bath to be plunged in the river or sea (p. 246), where obliging nurses on principle refuse the sufferer a wink of sleep (p. 569), and where a pain in the side is treated by furious pounding with the fists, or savage bites from the teeth of a rabid medicine-man surrounded by yelling spectators.* That the doctor himself is sometimes killed when the patient dies, on the supposition not of incapacity but of malice, can be but a small consolation to other invalids who are exposed to the same treatment at the hands, or rather the mouth, of his successor.

Still, were we to group together all the miseries to which savage life is exposed from toil and famine and pestilence, and from the cruelties which ignorance and superstition cause men to wreak not only upon others but upon themselves, we should find that there were not a few circumstances of alleviation to be considered on the other side. The excitement of a sporting life is rendered perhaps all the keener when the combat is not only with the beasts of the chase, but also with the great and common enemy, starvation. There is, too, a certain freedom and jollity in barbarism which, according to Mr. Bancroft, has so much attraction even for the white man, that when "freed from the social restraint of civilized companionship," he "not unfrequently becomes so fascinated with his new life as to prefer it to any other" (p. 33). From one end of the present volume to the other we read of dances and dramatic representations.† It speaks well for the food of the Northern Indians or Eskimos, that it enables them to dance naked in the open air with a superb indifference to their winter climate. Jealousy must be at zero among the Yaquis of New Mexico, if what is said of them be true, that the dance they like best is the one called *tutuli gamuchi*, in which they exchange wives.‡ The Aleuts in the North are fond "of representing in dances their myths and their legends, of acting out a chase, one assuming the part of hunter,

* P. 296. Compare, too, the system of phlebotomy among the Isthmians, p. 779.

† Pp. 66, 67, 84, 93, 136, 154, 200, 243, 352, 392, 415, 515, 551, 585, 635, 736.

‡ P. 557, note.

another of a bird or beast trying to escape the snare, now succeeding, now failing, the piece ending in the transformation of a captive bird into a lovely woman, who falls exhausted into the arms of the hunter" (p 93). Among the *Sambos* of the South the favourite entertainment is—

"To put on a head-dress of thin strips of wood painted in various colors, to represent the beak of a sword-fish, fasten a collar of wood round the neck, from which a number of palm-leaves are suspended, and to daub the face red, black, and yellow. Two men thus adorned advance toward one another, and bend the fish-head in salute, keeping time with a rattle, and singing, 'Shovel-nosed sharks, grandmother!' After which they slide off crab-like, making the most ludicrous gestures imaginable. This fun exhausted, fresh men appear, introducing new movements, and then the spectators join in a 'walk around,' flourishing white sticks in their hands, and repeating the above-mentioned refrain in a peculiar buzzing tone produced by placing in the mouth a small tube covered with the membrane of a nut" (p. 736).

To these amusements must be added those of athletic sports, gambling, and story-telling. In the last, "those who concoct the biggest lies receive the most applause" (p. 739).

We might, had we space, quote many curious descriptions of the very varied architecture in vogue among different tribes. As it is, we must be content to mention, on the subject of their homes, that some are cave-dwellers, others burrowers under ground, that some make lodgments on lofty trees or on precipitous rocks, that some build fairy palaces of ice for their hunting-lodges, that some construct vast hotels, adorned with ingenious carving, and that there are some whose houses of wood and matting are so primitive, that in high winds the inhabitants, forsaking the smoky interior of their dwelling, retain the roof in its place by sitting upon it.

Enough has perhaps been said to lead many of our readers to wish to consult Mr. Bancroft's book for themselves. It is a public-spirited contribution to an important branch of literature, produced at an expenditure, evidently unstinted, both of time and money. It can only be by a strange error of judgment that this great volume of eight hundred pages has been issued without an index. Such an omission can be but ill-repaired at the close of the whole work, which many, who read this first portion of it, may never have the opportunity of seeing. But, whether with indices or without, the forthcoming volumes of Mr. Bancroft's laborious and elaborate undertaking will be awaited with interest; and, on our own account, as well as on his, we shall wish him good speed on his way to a successful termination of what he has so well begun.

ART. VII.—MERCHANT SHIPPING LEGISLATION.

1. *Mr. Plimsoll's Speech at the Trades Unionist Congress, Liverpool, 1875.*
2. *Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment Bill, No. 1.*
3. *Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment Bill, No. 2 (Mr. Plimsoll's).*
4. *Merchant Shipping (Load line) Bill (Mr. Norwood's).*

IT is much to be regretted when the discussion of questions of great social and industrial importance is turned aside to collateral and insignificant issues. It is more to be regretted when the personal claims of advocates on either side are permitted to overshadow or ignore the facts of the case, and interfere with its strict logical exposition. Most of all is it to be deplored when argument degenerates into impulsive and sensational appeals to popular prejudice. Any such passionate interference with the natural growth and maturity of a great public question tends sadly to prevent the formation of a sound and lasting public opinion. It is as if rival physicians begin to wrangle by the patient's bedside over their respective personal pretensions or professional standing. In the heat of such conflict, what becomes of the true diagnosis of the malady, and the intelligent appreciation of the best treatment? It is not the *discors concordia* of means to an end, but an outbreak of vanity and conceit, which may injure, if not prove fatal to, the patient.

One important element in the final settlement of all important questions is the formation of an intelligent public opinion. Unless the mass be convinced, and unless general confidence be engendered as to proposed remedies for social difficulties and disturbances, there can be no guarantee for stability, no *fait accompli* upon which to repose, no certainty even that the law embodying the specific remedy will not lapse into complete desuetude.

We do not, of course, expect 19th century faith to remove mountains, but until evolution transmutes human nature itself into something higher than humanity, the faith made up of self-reliance, sect confidence, and party fidelity, must be recognised as a factor in the solution of moral and social problems; for it is a lamentable fact that the confident assertion of error will work more wonderful changes than the trembling hesitating enunciation of truth itself. If it were otherwise, advertising would not

pay, and sterling merit would only be recognised by epitaphs and effigies. Truth will, no doubt, ultimately prevail. That is aphoristically certain; but through what fiery and sustained conflict; what sophistical cobweb complication and bewilderment, by what wandering mazes lost in false side issues? Like "Freedom's battle once begun" bequeathed to a long line of disputants, the righteous end will, no doubt, be achieved; but the friends of progress must mourn over the wasted time and perverted talents, and perhaps resent the lost opportunity, and prolonged suffering, before that aim (and after all, often only the subordinate one of ascertaining the best means to it) be attained.

The history of the development of abuses is simple and tolerably unique. It is one of growth, as the seed grows when sown in stony places. Strong and virtuous at first, sustained in moral vigour by healthy toil, and more vigorous by occasional failure. Then because there is no depth of soil, it passes through a second phase of disappointment and betrayed confidence, into simulated virtue and perverted credit. Last stage of all, it sinks into false representation and flagrant abuse. The "*History of Merchant Shipping*," so elaborately and admirably set forth by Mr. W. S. Lindsay, has not as yet (if it be the clever author's intention ever to write it) reached that chapter which shall treat of "lost lives," and property, sacrificed through the "greed of gain." We can well imagine that such a chapter may never find a place in so admirable a work, and that we may look in vain (if it were written) for Mr. Plimsoll's name to be associated with it; for the author of that excellent work is too acute to cumber his history with what belongs rather to the province of morals than to the history of shipping. The wickedness that sends to sea unseaworthy ships is a phase in the development of human nature not specially connected with shipping. It ought rather to belong to the records of the Old Bailey, for rascality belongs to no one branch of trade more than to another. Trickery, selfishness, and the seared heart that has no feeling for a brother when in view of a larger profit, or some coveted advantage, have no local habitation or name. They flourish more or less in all trades, professions, and undertakings. Hydra-headed, when cut off by law they will spring again, and when repressed by public opinion will break out in some new form; being, as they are, a Dead Sea fruit unsunned by the kindly and elevating influences of Christianity.

Unseaworthy ships, overloading, and undermaning are the forms which original sin assumes in connexion with shipowning, just as "Devil's dust" and "shoddy" belong to the woollen manufacture; as size, pipeclay, and short measure belong to the

cotton trade; and as "Wednesbury sham-dam" and "park palings" have been heard of as part and parcel of iron making and iron manipulating. So again we may note it in the rampancy of the evil spirit of adulteration from "Hamburg sherry, guiltless of any mixture of the juice of the grape," to sweets concocted without sugar, cigars manufactured with no tobacco, and butter extracted from Thames mud, and in a milder form we may trace it in watered milk, bread tainted with alum, beer salted and "doctored," and diseased meat powdered over to disguise its corruption.

The lesson we may learn from these and other well-known cases of lax principle, not excepting its manifestation in regard to the itching palm where trust has been reposed (all being evidences of the weakness of human nature, and of unawakened or seared conscientiousness) is this—not to extend wider the area of confidence, but rather to draw closer the ties of individual caution. The various cases of loose and vicious dealing we have enumerated should teach us that in our intercourse with the world, we ought to blend something of the wisdom of the serpent with the tenderness of the dove; that we live in a wicked sphere, and that our best chance of immunity from wrong is *self-reliance*. The lesson unfortunately is too frequently read in another way, and the remedy sought through hired inspection, the fate and ultimate effect of which is to foster apathy, and increase the evil.

In respect of one form and in one direction of lax and selfish commercial morality, connected with the shipping interest, we have had of late what is well known as the "Plimsoll agitation." With a courage that nothing could daunt, and a persistency which nothing could turn aside, the junior member for Derby has bent his energies to the task of denouncing shipowning rascality. To expose fraud and deception, to rouse the Board of Trade, and to stimulate public opinion on behalf of "our seamen"—a class ignorant, reckless, drunken, and immoral; *alienum appetens sui profusus*—hard working to get and wasteful and profligate to spend—Mr. Plimsoll's large-hearted efforts have been most praiseworthy. To see and to know with him has been to act; and action meant the union and exercise of the fullest powers of a passionate and impressionable nature. What indiscriminate charity is too apt to do under visual prompting, Mr. Plimsoll's philanthropy, in the case of our seamen, does full, free, and unrestrained; the result being however that the heart's impulse has shot ahead of judgment, and impatience of wrong outstripped the wisdom which comes of knowledge, experience, and cool reflection.

To his legitimate work of rousing public opinion, and stirring torpid officialism to a recognition and punishment of the wrongs

of "poor Jack," we wish all success. We welcome all such breezy healthful effort in the too often shunned battle of right against might, with peculiar satisfaction. We fully admit the facts that shipowning iniquity exists, and to an extent which *inter alia* throws a doubt upon the moral improvement brought about by over 1800 years of Christianity. But while recognising in him a leader in a just cause, and assigning to his work a high value, and fully appreciating his single-mindedness, we have to deplore the credulity which accepts talk as fact, the weakness which too hastily generalizes, and the impatience which prefers recrimination to judicial investigation.

This question of "lost lives" is not one to be turned, as it has been, to any personal issue. It ought to be confined to hard facts, clearly ascertained, and logically and temperately treated, and such treatment requires high judicial qualities, and not the executive narrowness of the mere policeman. Popular feeling may easily be excited, but it is only the mature judgment of a sound public opinion, based upon discriminating research, which can bring about and make permanent a better state of things; and no *à priori* theory, no "case"—no assumption first formed, and to support which evidence is afterwards sought and applied, will ever bring about a beneficial change. And with the ball at his feet, and the goal in sight, Mr. Plimsoll has yet so played with a righteous cause, as to make it seem doubtful whether rancour against the shipowners, or zeal for the sailor, or the higher motive of the love of abstract justice, is his prevailing animus.

"We are dealing with lost lives" exclaimed one of the delegates at the Congress of Trades Unions at Liverpool the other day; and such a plea for preventive measures, if such measures were practicable, should outweigh all other pleas. But there is danger in approaching a serious question from the side of feeling. Shylock justly says, "You do take my life when you do take the means whereby I live," and the means whereby hundreds of thousands exist hang upon the prosperity of the shipping interest, which Mr. Plimsoll looks at too exclusively as another name only for iniquitous profits. Again, if there were now some startling episode in the history of shipping, some new expedient for shortening voyages and thereby entailing additional peril to seafarers, such danger might be a plea to sweep away at once petty or contingent considerations; but ships sail and steam as they have traversed the ocean since the days of the Corinthian triremes, and the first ocean steamer. Change has been by gradual, almost insensible improvement, and every improvement has had the effect, while lessening the requirement for labour, to lessen the burden upon the individual employed. We hold, therefore, that there is no need for hot haste, nor can there be any

justification for reckless and wasteful expenditure of remedial effort, when it threatens to become a certain means of curtailing the employment of all affected. On this indirect ground also we claim that empiricism should yield to experience, and fiery zeal to sound judgment.

War deals with lost lives. Tens of thousands of lives tremble in the balance at every crisis of a well fought battle; but who except the neophyte waiting his "baptism of fire" would venture to say that the "blood frenzy" Kinglake refers to is a better safeguard than calculation, or that hotheaded impatience of inaction will save more lives than the steady nerves that can watch and wait?

The physician also deals with lost lives in hospitals and in the home circle, but the empiricism of Dr. Sangrado is exploded, and the heroic treatment of disease, born of an ignorant impatience that something should be done, has yielded to a better appreciation of the *vis medicatrix nature* and, Scripture warrant notwithstanding, surgeons do not nowadays sanction the plucking out of the offending eye, or cutting off the bruised hand, until Nature and watching care have had an opportunity to bring about a deferred, but permanent cure.

The lesson taught by these several examples is, that expediency ought not to take the place of well considered action;—that the quickest best is not the best permanently; and that immediate results are often dearly purchased by future sacrifice.

The impatience for quick results is a notable feature in the high pressure life of the present day. It is the moral sequence to railways, penny postage, the telegraph, and the commercial practice of quick returns and small profits. Life is short, and social movement swift; and certainty is so much better than deferred increase, that we have no time, and have lost the faith that can sow for any future harvest. We build on the sandy foundation, grudging the time to dig to the rock, and ephemeral rapidity of completion is estimated higher than a deferred solidity.

We cannot stop to notice the general application of this unwisdom in recent and projected legislation. Suffice it to say generally, that if anything goes socially wrong, or, being wrong, the attention of society is called thereto, and popular indignation is fomented by agitation, the cry at once is for the application of the *brutum fulmen* of law,—and usually of law warped, and strained out of its legitimate functions for the purpose of producing instantaneous relief. But particularly we have to notice the mischief which is (with the best intentions) sought to be wrought by the Plimsoll agitation; the cardinal mistake of which arises from the assumption that the best

agitator is necessarily the wisest lawmaker, unmindful of the truth that it is easier to find fault than to improve.

The work of that agitation has, so far, been well done; and, as yet, the effects have been beneficial. We owe to Mr. Plimsoll the "Royal Commission on unseaworthy ships." To him also is due the new-born zeal of the Board of Trade; and if he had not flung himself into the agitation with characteristic self-abandonment, the guilty might still have slept the sleep of the righteous, and continued on Sundays to thank God they were not as other men are. Mr. Plimsoll has suddenly, and roughly and effectually shaken the peccant shipowners out of their fools' paradise of profits made by a process worse than the almost forgotten iniquity of negro slavery, when men made money by sacrificing human liberty. Into the witches' cauldron, by the contents of which commercial iniquity transmutes precious qualities into gold, the ingredient cast in by the wicked amongst shipowners was human lives; and while the Hell-dance went on merrily, it was Mr. Plimsoll who first had the courage to startle the revellers, and like Macbeth to cry "avaunt!"

So far, as we have said, his work has been well done, after his peculiar fashion. He has made himself a name for philanthropy which may fairly ally him with the Howards, Frys, Wrights, and Strides; but we venture to say that as regards his agitation, nothing would so much tend to enhance its value as his leaving it. It has passed the stage when vague generalities may pass muster and do good; and the quality of his mind is eminently fitted to deal only with generalities. It now has progressed into the phase in which facts and figures must supersede appeals to feeling; and unfortunately, so soon as he deals with these, he raises personal squabbles and provokes personal animosities, which discredit rather than intensify the effect of his mission. His function as an alarmist admirably fitted him to call attention to an intolerable evil, but unfitted him to suggest or to work out an adequate remedy. He is like the man who loudly and energetically proclaims the existence of an epidemic; but alarmist qualities and service establish no claims to study the disease and prescribe the remedy. Not only in our opinion is this estimable gentleman doing no good to permanently remove the evil of unseaworthiness, but we hold that he is rushing in where men of widest reputation for enlarged views, men of science, professional men, of ability, and men noted for philanthropic effort, have "feared to tread." His Royal Commission has proved a very Frankenstein, against whose operations he has no defence but denunciation. He is at open enmity with the Board of Trade; and occasions are not wanting to show his feeling that those who are not with him in all he desires, must necessarily be

dead against him. The assertions which formed the backbone of his first speech on the subject in the present session, were immediately and indignantly denied by the parties he sought to implicate. All this is very much to be deplored. His work of promoting the safety of sailors at sea thus hangs fire while he is injuring his reputation and destroying his influence by personal squabbles arising from a too ready credulity, which leads him into (to use the words of the report of the Royal Commission) "misstatements and exaggerations." The remedy for unseaworthiness, which with an empiricism pardonable because of his scientific and technological ignorance, is that almost universal panacea for all social abuses, both of commission and omission—*official inspection*.

On the other hand, the Royal Commission Report temperately but strongly opposes Government inspection and compulsory classification as advocated by Mr. Plimsoll; and in lieu thereof proposes individual responsibility, made real and urged home by pains and penalties. We therefore have in the antagonism of these two advocates, the two opposing principles—viz., the popular and sensational element to be embodied in Government action, as represented by Mr. Plimsoll; and the deliberate and judicial element, represented by the Royal Commission, and which may be described in brief as *responsibility made real and brought home by punishment*.

Before we drop all allusion to the personal element and side issues, which have too much pervaded the discussion of this important question, and which we have noticed more to be enabled to do justice to the motives, and to acknowledge the value of the work of Mr. Plimsoll, than from any feeling that the real merits of that question were touched by their discussion, we must advert to the composition and labours of the Royal Commission which Mr. Plimsoll has denounced in no measured terms. In his speech at Liverpool, on the occasion of his addressing the Trades Union Congress, he is reported to have said in effect, that as to that Commission why, "there were Commissions and Commissions:" that although he did ask for the appointment of that Commission, his experience of its *modus operandi* was such that "he would never ask for another." The whole tone of his criticism was contemptuously hostile—he would not march through Coventry with such a lot—not he! True there was a Royal Prince who was a member of the Commission:—but what of that? "he was making love to the Czarrvna at the time," and so what could be expected from him? Again "they sat with closed doors,"—sat in London instead of going to the various out-ports; and as in effect the mountain, represented by the seamen, would not come to Mahomet, and Mahomet declined to be peri-

patetic, and look them up in their own haunts, no satisfactory result could be expected. This, no doubt, was the more unsatisfactory and galling to Mr. Plimsoll, because the few witnesses who were understood to support his views, are thus referred to (Preliminary Report, p. 15):—"The witnesses suggested to the Commission by Mr. Plimsoll did not much assist our investigations, and we lost valuable time in trying to elicit facts from the casual observations and unrecorded recollections, relating to former events. We obtained, however, more trustworthy evidence from other sources." Mr. Plimsoll's answer to this derogatory opinion may be supposed to be contained in his accusation that the Commission did not go whither those he wished to call resided. There is, however, no reason to doubt that all the witnesses which Mr. Plimsoll suggested as likely to give important evidence, would have been summoned by the Commission had he named them; and it is unfortunate that Mr. Plimsoll in his controversy with that body had not put himself in the right by having made such suggestion, supposing he knew of any such witnesses existing. As it is, the charge of avoiding his witnesses, for it amounts to this, must be dismissed as a vague generality, and even as such "not proven."*

If the question of the relative credibility of the opposing parties is to rest on ascertained character, it is only fair that having already done, we hope, full justice to Mr. Plimsoll, we should state who and what were the members of the Commission. This will enable our readers themselves to weigh how much on each side belongs to character. The members, as described in the text of the Commission, are as follows: but for the sake of classification we have changed the order of their enumeration.

1. The Duke of Somerset.—A former First Lord.
2. T. M. Gibson, Esq.—A former President of the Board of Trade.
3. The Duke of Edinburgh } two naval officers.
4. Sir James Hope }
5. H. C. Rothery, Esq.—Registrar of the High Court of Admiralty.
6. Arthur Cohen, Esq.—Barrister-at-Law.
7. Thomas Brassey, Esq.—M.P. for Hastings, and partner in the Canada Engine Works, Birkenhead.
8. Peter Denny, Esq.—Shipbuilder and shipowner.

* It is generally understood that Mr. Plimsoll was informed by the chairman that the evidence of such witnesses as he proposed would be received, if coming within the limits of the inquiry; but that libellous imputations could not be permitted to be made under the protection of a Royal Commission. It is to be regretted that the letter to which this statement was the reply, was not printed in the appendix. Its omission was, no doubt, a matter of taste and propriety.

9. George Duncan, Esq.—One of the Committee of Lloyd's Register.
10. E. D. Edgell, Esq.—Trinity Brother.
11. H. E. Liddell, Esq.—M.P. for Northumberland.
12. C. W. Merrifield, Esq.—Principal of the Royal School of Naval Architecture.

We cannot conceive it possible to name twelve gentlemen who, having a complete knowledge of the general subject, and bringing to its investigation special aptitudes, from the positions they hold, could be more impartial. As regards their characters and social standing it would be a work altogether of supererogation to say a word to show that in all that was requisite to enable them to discharge the important duty assigned to them they were not only qualified, but morally above suspicion.

They examined ninety-seven witnesses, putting to them over 18,000 questions, and eliciting a mass of evidence from every branch of a complicated business, direct and collateral, which apart from the digest given in their two reports, and the opinions founded upon the evidence generally, must be considered full, fair, weighty, and valuable.

In reference to this body and this evidence, we cannot but consider that Mr. Plimsoll's depreciatory remarks establish the fact that he is unable to rebut their arguments, and unable to lessen the weight and cogency of their opinions. The mere denunciation of both therefore tells rather against Mr. Plimsoll's judgment and temper, and militates not a little against the validity of his opposing views. Good, bad, or indifferent as may be the evidence and the Report (as Mr. Plimsoll intimates), it is really all that the public can judge from, for we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Mr. Plimsoll's general statements are loose in their application, vague in their nature, contradicted by those implicated, and condemned by the Commission.

Having said so much, we may now fairly dismiss side issues and drop the personal element altogether. Mr. Plimsoll has been a mere accident in the discussion. He has worked himself into notoriety from the temper of his agitation, as much as he has recommended himself in the course he has taken to the approval of the intelligent public, and to the *profanum vulgus*, attracted and gratified by the sensational complexion which has been given to a serious subject. The case is so far clear that no one can deny the existence in some or other shape, and in a more or less degree, of the evils of unseaworthy ships, the peril they entail upon life; and the injury they inflict upon the character and prosperity of an important national industry. And, thanks to Mr. Plimsoll, not only has this conviction been brought about in a great measure by his efforts, but he has also been instrumental

in setting us face to face with the two great remedial principles—that of inspection and restriction on the one hand, and of responsibility and punishment on the other.

Of these two opposing principles one seems to us to be, in this case, as it ever has been, an invitation to fold the hands, and asphyxiate the brains and life of the shipowners to the slumber of dependence and inertia; while the other is the fresh breezy healthy call to self-reliance, with the clear intimation that as they sow so must they reap.

The shipping interest of this country is too vast and important a concern to be perilled by dilettante legislation. It was not born of yesterday, nor is it an insignificant item in the sum total of the national grandeur and influence. The amount of tonnage afloat is over 8,000,000 tons, worth some 100,000,000*l.*,* fetching and carrying in weight and measurement goods well-nigh 50,000,000 tons, and earning in gross freight from 70,000,000*l.* to 80,000,000*l.* annually. The number of sailors has been estimated by the Board of Trade at 329,000 for 1873, or say, for 1874, 330,000. Seamen's wages are 4*l.* per month; but making allowance for time lost ashore, for ordinary and raw hands, and for boys, we may fairly take the amount of wages paid throughout to be £8,500,000
and the cost of victualling 5,500,000

Making a total of £14,000,000

To this we must add the productive value of all the trades dependent upon and ministering to this branch of national industry. We build some 500,000 tons of shipping annually, and we equip them. Going further back, such building and equipping employ iron and coal miners, iron workers, &c., making up a total, as nearly as we can estimate, of 100,000 artisans, miners, and others, earning on the aggregate, at a moderate computation, over 9,000,000*l.* annually. If to the 23,000,000*l.* of wages we have thus made out, we add the supposed profits of shipowners, say 10 per cent. on the capital invested, or 10,000,000*l.*, we have this result:—no less than half-a-million lives and 33,000,000*l.* sterling as the net product of the industry hanging upon the prosperity of the shipping interest of England.

The strength and continuity of this catenation depend upon the shipowner being able to make 10 per cent. on his capital.

* In 1873 the *Bureau Veritas* states the amount of British shipping to be this:—Sailing vessels, 5,320,080 tons, and steamers, 2,624,431 tons. We have estimated the tonnages for 1874 at 5,400,000 and 2,700,000 respectively, and the value per ton at 8*l.* and 20*l.*

To statist of the Plimsoll school, the 10,000,000% of profit make the sole counterpoise to the "lost lives" so persistently but vaguely referred to. Let the greedy and unscrupulous shipowner, it is said, sacrifice some of his ill-gotten gains, and so insure the lives of our seamen. But how? We can understand how profits made on more than doubtful motives may be foregone; but we have yet to learn that vexatious interferences with an entire trade, which tend to restrict that trade, and drive it into hands less hampered, can be fairly made on the plea of philanthropy. The remedy to be effectual should be applied to the few sinners, and not to the innocent residue; but the inspection proposed as the outcome of the Plimsoll agitation will affect all alike. It is to be, so far as understood, an interference which must begin in the draftsman's office, and be continued from the laying of the keel of the ship, through every intervening stage of the building, fitting, equipping, and loading, until she finally departs on her voyage; and this is to be carried out in the face of a keen and growing foreign competition.

Mr. Plimsoll's bill for this session is now before the public; but whether or not the particulars therein specified will be brought before the House, we state unreservedly that "inspection" to be worth anything, *sui generis*, must be radical, continuous, and complete, as well as personally efficient. And we say further, and with equal unreserve, that thorough or not, the power to make such interference at all will be equally expensive, annoying, disheartening, and mischievous.

The shipowner's profit does not accrue from each separate and succeeding pound sterling earned in gross freight, *but depends upon the last added shillings of the rate per ton*. The expenses of sailing a ship or steamer are essentially fixed charges. Wages, victualling, insurance (on ship), repairing, wear and tear and depreciation to hull and machinery, port charges and interest, are the same whether the vessel be half loaded or full, or freight be 2*l.* or 3*l.* or 4*l.* per ton. It is only therefore after freight enough has been made to pay off all fixed expenses that the owner's profit begins to accrue. If a dull produce market stops the last few hundred tons, or obliges the freighters to lure the shippers by a lower rate; or a glut of tonnage lowers the freight market generally, the shipowner's profit is cut off. If the cost of building and the amount of fixed charges is increased, as we hold it would be by a rigid system of inspection, the profit to the owner is equally gone, for the unhampered foreign competitors will be glad of rates which would prove unremunerative to the Englishman, building and sailing his ship "according to law."

We have already stated the gross freight annually earned by

our mercantile marine to be at, or about, 80,000,000*l.* Should legislative interference therefore drive business away, or reduce the freight market, or enhance the fixed charges to the extent of one-eighth only, such interference would destroy the whole of the shipowner's profit, would peril the existence of the shipping interest generally, and jeopardize the livelihood of half a million workers, plus their dependent families. Men of the Plimsoll school of thought do not realize upon how slender a thread the prosperity of commerce depends, nor that fortunes are built up through fractional percentages which confidence may at any time double, or a whisper of doubt destroy. So long as competition is confined to home limits, we have within us the means of adjustment. If one class suffers another benefits. But not so when the rivalry exists between two competing nations. History abounds with instances not only of the advantage of trade fiscally free, but also of the sensitiveness felt by commerce at the inquisitive superintendence of excise regulations. Mr. Plimsoll's friends may point with satisfaction to the results of factory inspection and regulation coincident with an increased cotton trade. We also point to this instance of, we admit, the best kind of bad legislation, and from a personal knowledge of the interior working of such interference, we do not hesitate to say that a large amount of the isolation if not the estrangement of masters and men, and of the supposed antagonism of interest, as well as of the too prevalent bad feeling, may be traced to factory legislation. In this branch of industry, as in the case of unseaworthy ships, we do not deny that evils existed, but we say that cosmetic applications are not radical cures—that all alcoholic stimulus is not strength, and that the constitution may suffer from outward and temporary alleviation. If there be any weight in the argument that such legislation meets with general approval, it is more than met by Paley's remark, that if numbers settled what was truth, Paganism would be right and Christianity a mistake; and if any appeal be made on the part of the supposed weak worker as against the presumed strong capitalist, we have only to point to trades unionism, co-operation, friendly society organization, and the nine hours' movement, as the results of the spontaneous efforts of the so called down-trodden working class!

Left to itself,—to the true principle of *laissez faire*,—commerce, like water, will find its own level by a thousand natural and unsuspected channels of invisible percolation. Its adjusting power is great, but its sensitiveness and jealousy greater still. It works by small means, but it is by the aggregation of minute but independent action that she builds up without observation in the process such vast and beneficial results. Any extraneous interference, either to attempt to adjust, or with the design to

extend, become simply disastrous through uncertainty, if not from ignorance and error. It demands the unsleeping vigilance of all concerned, to watch and guide the sensitive mobile elements of trade and commerce to assured results; a process to be carried out more by instinctive appreciation than by any mental deduction. And where are those ubiquitous detectives and preventives to be found, except amongst those interested?

It is with this vast and important, and at the same time delicate and sensitive organization, providing the means of livelihood for fully 1,500,000 men, women and children, that the Plimsoll agitation sets to work "with a light heart" to interfere. And for what object? "The prevention of loss of life at sea:" an aim so noble, and one so righteous, that, if attainable, all others should give it place. But is it even theoretically attainable? And if so, is "inspection" the practical means whereby it may be attained?

Before we proceed to consider these crucial questions, it will be well to state fairly the extent and meaning of the phrase used in the Plimsoll agitation, as derived from "unseaworthy ships."

The wreck chart of British vessels is a sad record of suffering and death, and not the less so because the most painful details must ever be left to the imagination. The record is that lives are lost: the imagination can only fill in the painful details. Human life is suddenly arrested, and men gulp and die, and the night of this world closes over the little cosmos of each, peopled with hopes and fears, aspirations and remorse, noble resolves, and sins and lusts already committed because lusted after in their hearts.

It is a record also of property lost at sea, which means general as well as individual misfortune; and all this, whether particularized as to its effects or taken in the concrete, furnishes great opportunity to commonplace agitators. But an analysis of its fearful totals will do no little to put the saddle on the right horse, or at all events add to the weight of the argument that the large and respectable body of shipowners ought not to be punished in order to reach a few sinners, and so prevent a comparatively small loss of life. By putting the saddle on the right horse also the eyes of the thoughtful and intelligent of the seaman's friends—and who are not his friends?—may be opened to the right direction which their praiseworthy efforts should take to ameliorate their condition.

Mr. T. H. Farrer, on behalf of the Board of Trade, laid before the Royal Commission an analysis of the "Parliamentary Return of official inquiries into wrecks and casualties from 1856 to 1872."

The total number of both was 1095. Of these, however, only 50, or "4½ per cent., arose from defects or faults of the ships or compasses, or other equipments; or in the stowage of cargo, or bad ventilation" (of coals); while 711, or 65 per cent., arose from faults of master, crew, or pilot; 142 from stress of weather; 148 from other known and inevitable accidents; and the remainder from causes unknown.

The results tabulated are as follow:—

Loss attributable to shipowners . . .	50 or 4½ per cent.
Ditto to crews . . .	711 „ 65 „
Ditto to no one . . .	142 „
Ditto ditto . . .	148 } 30½ „
Ditto to unknown causes . . .	44 }
1095	

No doubt these figures do not take in all the losses which have taken place during the interval quoted. It is only of late years that Mr. Plimsoll's efforts and accusations have stirred the Board of Trade to full activity. But it is not the total, but the relative number, which is the notable fact. Mr. Plimsoll in effect leads the public to suppose that shipowners' "greed of gain" is one prominent, if not the only, cause of preventable loss of life at sea. The inexorable logic of facts, on the other hand, proves that for every life lost through the wickedness or indifferentism of the owner, fourteen lives are sacrificed by the ignorance or recklessness of the seamen (including masters of ships) themselves; and there is every reason to infer if three times the number of inquiries had taken place, the same proportion would have been substantially maintained.*

This explanation of the nature, extent, and value of the interest to be meddled with, and the real significance of the assigned cause for meddling, may help to the understanding of the proposed mode which this interference is to assume—viz., "*Government inspection and compulsory registration.*"

Nothing is more easy, and unfortunately of late more common, than in an off-hand jaunty manner to call for inspection, as a

* The following figures, taken from official returns covering a period of twenty-seven years, show that the absolute, as well as the relative loss of life has been exaggerated.

No. of Ships sent to sea	22,186
„ Passengers	5,388,163
„ Crew	847,550
	6,235,713

The losses were as follow:—

No. of Ships, 103, or '46 per cent.

No. of Lives, 6149, or '09 per cent.,

Or less than 1 life per 1000 from all causes.

kind of legislative Holloway's pills, for the cure of every social disorder. Let it be brought about through ignorance, recklessness, want of principle, or selfish cupidity, it is all the same. Applied to the acknowledged futility of putting in force the Permissive Prohibitory Bill, this principle of legislative meddling is generally condemned under the sneering designation of "making men virtuous by Act of Parliament." Again, so little apparently of real principle enters into the advocacy of legislative action, that we find as a rule the excellent-intentioned men who call for such interference in regard to the proposed drink bill, condemn the same in reference to the Contagious Diseases Act; and veering once again call for it in order to prescribe the system and manner in which shipowners are to carry on their business. All these agitators in point of principle, each in his own way, are ready to

"Compound for sins they are inclined to,

By damning those they have no mind to;"

the logical result being a species of social deontology; every trade trying to make every other trade better—and neglecting their own! Without, however, travelling out of the record in the present matter, we venture to say that nothing will be found so practically difficult to render efficient, or in the end beneficial, as inspection of ships. If perfectly rigid and uncompromising, it will prove disastrously restrictive. If permitted to become elastic, it runs great risk of lapsing into abuse; for inspectors and shipbuilders are but men, and the itching palm is unfortunately not so uncommon as to make it wise to present undue temptation. And yet to make any system of complete inspection work at all (in repairing, for example), some discretionary power must be given to the inspector. There may be many ways of doing the same thing well; and to restrict the shipbuilder or repairer to a single one of them, would cramp invention and retard improvement. On this point the Report states—

"The policy of instituting a Government survey for the purpose of securing the seaworthiness of ships, is more than questionable. It would tend to remove responsibility from those persons on whom it would rest, and would render the Government nominally responsible for the form, the materials, and the whole construction of our merchant ships." (P. 3, 1874.)

Thus, *à priori*, we have the Scylla and Charybdis of hard and fast rules and of a discretionary power; and we have also in the opinion of the Commission, which we entirely endorse, the ultimate mischief of a destroyed responsibility. If discretionary power be considered the lesser of two evils, the inspector becoming an unsalaried and indifferent manager of the shipyard, must be consulted at every step, and with the already proved drawback

that another inspector at another port may disapprove and undo work otherwise and elsewhere approved. If the hard and fast lines of rules and specifications as to dimensions, structural methods, qualities of materials, and quality of workmanship are to be taken as the basis of a Government inspection, what room exists for tentative progress and assured improvement? Such a system may bring all ships up to a dead level of mediocrity, but most certainly it would hold them there in hopelessness and apathy. On this point the Report of the Commission is explicit, and repeats emphatically what we have already quoted. "We think that all systems which tend to remove responsibility from shipowners and their paid agents are against the true principles of public policy." (P. 6, 1874.)

These several inherent objections to inspection are intensified, we think, when we come to consider the nature of the thing which has to be inspected, and for what purpose the inspection would be instituted.

The hull of a ship represents not only a house with its appliances, but a substantial warehouse for the safe stowage of heavy goods; and is so constructed as to be subjected to motions and strains infinitely varied, and frequently violent. At one moment the hull may be resisting a terrible force as a beam, then as a beam with a reversed strain, and then as a lever. It must overcome strains of torsion, defy collapse, and prevent the tendency to burst, all following in quick succession, and most of them applied simultaneously. It requires science, taste, and mechanical skill to design and construct a ship, for in addition to the primal requisite of strength there are many nautical and economical principles to be studied and realized, and all the complication growing out of a varied and variable use to be considered and arranged. The qualities of a ship are determined by a system of wise compromise. Every quality trenches upon some other, and it is only by settling the relative merits of each that a good and economical ship can be built. As regards her strength, the principle of every adjustment takes the simple form of *resisting any change of angles*. If, structurally, her original angles of parts are maintained, she may defy the sea. She may rend her plates or break her ribs and backbone; but this is a question of material and not of workmanship. The aim therefore is simple enough, but there is an equally simple countervailing principle to be kept in view. *The strength of the whole depends upon the strength of every part*; just as the weakest link in a chain is the measure of every chain's absolute strength; and this gives the clue to the necessity for unsleeping, untiring care in arranging and perfecting every part of the vessel. An enormous weight made up of hull, fittings, outfit, and cargo has

to be trusted to the waves, to be tossed in all directions, through every eccentricity of movement. The waters play with the floating mass, however, as a nurse with a child. They fling it aloft in wildest glee to receive it again in a soft yielding embrace, with little strain and damage, only when weakened by unseaworthiness. The longest Atlantic waves which run, in nautical language, "mountains high," spanning from crest to crest an interval of something like 600ft., have at most a height from trough to ridge of 40ft., the angle of ascent being 1 in $7\frac{1}{2}$. In the hollow, when the vessel is head to wind, or scudding, the strain is to uplift each end of the vessel, with a tendency to fracture amidships, subjecting the lower material of the structure to a tensile strain, and the upper to one of compression. As the bow first crosses the summit there is a reversion of the strain. The fore-end more or less unsupported hangs upon the middle, and when far enough advanced to change the equilibrium the bow rushes into the declining wave and leaves the after end to bear its share in the work of resistance, and to fracture. It is the quick reversion of these vast strains, complicated and added to by the tendency to twist, and the motion of rolling, that distress the huge fabric. It is as if the hull were taken up by great hands and bent to and fro as one would deal with a piece of wire in order to break it in two. Let her be fairly laden, fully manned, admirably equipped, and navigated with skill, yet if badly riveted the ship must founder.

Dr. Fairbairn has given the following data to show the reduced strength of iron plates from riveting:—

Assuming for the strength of the plate . . .	100lbs.
The strength of the double riveted joint is . . .	68 "
And that of the single riveted joint . . .	46 "

Or for practice, allowing for the larger number of rivets in combination, the strengths per square inch in pounds may be taken as follows:—

The strength of the plate being . . .	58,000lbs.
The double riveted joint would be . . .	35,000 "
And the single riveted joint . . .	28,000 "

(Iron Manufacture, p. 252.)

From this we see, that however thick may be the plates, or strong the keelsons, riders, and ribs, wherever a riveted junction has to be made more than one-half the strength vanishes at once. This diminution arises from the punched-out portions of the plates. Covering plates, or butt straps, may restore the strength of the metal punched out, but only to bring us face to face with another source of weakness—viz., the shearing of the rivets. This again may be restored by "chain riveting," but such restoration is hardly practicable in the ordinary plates of an iron ship.

There is another, and often unsuspected, source of weakness from riveting. The rivets are heated to nearly "white heat," and therefore the metal is expanded almost as much as heat can and does expand iron. The *longitudinal* contraction in cooling brings the overlapping plates, or, if flush jointed, the plates and the butt straps, close together with immense force. This insures a water-tight joint. But unfortunately the heated rivet is also *laterally* expanded, and therefore in contracting it no longer can fill up the plate holes as when inserted. Moreover, when the plate-overlapping edges are drawn close together, and can approach each other no nearer, and the rivet can no longer contract longitudinally, it becomes wire-drawn—*i.e.*, thinner—and still less completely fills up the holes. The plate edges are therefore held together by friction only, and when that is overcome, by the attenuated rivet touching the edges of the holes. This would matter little if the strain were always steadily in one direction, but, as we have shown, this is not the case with a ship in rough weather. The strains alternate, and a rivet loose in the hole, although tight in the countersunk portion, will soon allow the butt to work infinitesimally, but still to move. Again, the holes themselves are very liable to be punched so as to lie one a little over the other. To make room for the rivet, a pointed steel punch is driven in, which rends and compresses the metal of both holes; and although room is thus forcibly made to allow the insertion of the hot rivet, it is by forming two elliptical holes, one end overlapping the other, which the rivet cannot fill up. Here again is an unsuspected source of weakness and danger, ready to be fully developed in some heavier storm than ordinary, or by a few years' regular wear and tear.

It will of course be said that all this establishes a case for Government inspection. Our rejoinder is, that it is precisely a case in respect of which nothing will answer except the individual responsibility which puts character, profit, trade celebrity—daily bread, in short—in one scale, to outweigh bad work and bad material in the other.* It is precisely a case where nothing short of making every worker, and every foreman above him, and put-

* The case of bad material is one which it is supposed may be satisfactorily dealt with by inspection. We think not; unless every plate be so critically selected as to enormously increase the cost. At the meeting of the Institution of Naval Architects, on March 19th, Mr. Nathaniel Barnaby, Chief Constructor of the Navy, stated the cost of ship plates as follows:—

Best plates for ordinary ship building,	8 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> to 9 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
for navy use	19 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>

This difference looked very like an utter condemnation of the quality of the iron used in private shipyards, until it was explained that the material was the same quality in bulk, but that the difference of over 100 per cent. represented the cost of inspection and selection.

ting all workers under the vigilant interested eye of the master, will suffice to secure good work. We will say nothing about *conscience*, but we will suggest *punishment*, certain and sharp, as preventive to such evil practices; and all these absolutely necessary considerations are overlooked or have no weight in outside official inspection. When it was suggested by a speaker at the Trades Union Congress, to which we have already referred, that inspection had already been tried and found wanting, the answer was made, "We not only want more, but *better* inspection." Well, take it as of the best, and what is it? Set an official inspector to watch, for example, the riveting of each ship, and what does that amount to? Why, that another foreman, or manager or master, whose motive to the performance of his duty (putting conscience aside as equal in both cases) is his salary and place, over or instead of one who has his good business name and business profits at stake and whose capital and character and means of living are all sunk in the venture.

The Report of the Commission gives prominence to two names as advocating the two opposite principles of inspection and responsibility—the first, Mr. C. McIver, one of the largest and most respectable of our steamship owners—a partner in, and manager of, the world-renowned Cunard Line, and having, as he states, "the personal direction of the Company in all matters connected with it, both outdoor and indoor" (Evidence, 9193); and the other, the late Mr. W. J. Lamport, of the firm of Lamport and Holt, and connected with the Liverpool, Brazil, and River Plate Steam Navigation Company. Mr. McIver recommends "that all steamers should be surveyed by some recognised authority." His answer to the question (9322), "I think what you contemplate is that the inspection which you speak of should extend simply to the construction of the vessel?"—is, "To the workmanship;" but he qualifies this limitation by adding, "The owner and the builder arrange between themselves the specification and the lines; but beyond that there ought to be some one to step in between the builder and the buyer to insure that there is no error in the specification as to the relative strengths, and that the work contracted for is properly carried out." If we understand the meaning of this opinion it amounts to this:—The shipowner is not able to take care of his own interest, and Government ought to send some one to prevent his being cheated. In reply to 9327, he further states, "The object of my recommendation is to improve the type of vessels and to improve their construction." Again, if we understand correctly what is here meant, Mr. C. McIver is of opinion that shipbuilders and shipowners do not understand their business, and that Government ought to step

in to show them how to build and how to manage the mercantile marine!

We think the best commentary on the whole of Mr. McIver's evidence is the fact that the steamers of the Cunard Line are not classed at all. The Company prefers to draw up their own specifications, they appoint their own superintendents, and depend entirely on their own skill, care, and responsibility to secure good vessels. When asked (9224), "Have you any objection to have them classed?" (*i.e.*, at Lloyd's), he replies, "Certainly not, as far as we are concerned. I think they ought to be classed so far as the general law is concerned, but so far as we are concerned it could not be any advantage to us, because in everything I believe we are over the strength." Read in connexion with the recommendation, the object of which is "to improve the type of vessels, and to improve their construction," the only intelligible meaning we can assign to these answers is that the scantling of their vessels is all right, but that the Company would like an inspector to criticise the lines, and superintend the construction of their splendid fleet. If this be so, all we can say is that Mr. C. McIver is too modest. Finer ships than the Cunard Line—the product of individual responsibility in all respects—are not afloat; and although he says in answer to (9226) Why have you not classed your vessels at Lloyd's? "Because we thought that they were a much better class of ship than what is generally accepted under either Lloyd's or the Liverpool book, *because they have been built under the special survey of the Admiralty*," yet we cannot forget that he has also stated in effect (9289) that his own specification and lines, and the strict supervision of the ship when building by his own overlookers, leave the official surveyor nothing to do (9221).

Through the ambiguity of these replies we think this at least is clear—viz., that the classification at Lloyd's would lower the character of the Cunard Line; and the practice of the Company confirms the view that the rules upon which the classification in Lloyd's Register is founded will not insure the best ships. Without, however, condemning otherwise than by ignoring these rules and classification at Lloyd's, Mr. C. McIver advocates classification by some recognised authority; and yet declines in practice to have his ships inspected and classified by the best authority extant. He seems to entertain some vague idea that classification can do no harm, and may do good. The Cunard Company do not voluntarily act upon this opinion, but nevertheless Mr. McIver does not object to make it compulsory.

On the other side, we have the evidence of Mr. W. J. Lamport. This gentleman (now deceased) stood in the same relation to the

Liverpool and Brazil Line of thirty-three steamers as Mr. C. McIver does to the Cunard Company's fleet of forty ships. About his evidence there is no ambiguity. There is nothing nebulous or undecided in his opinions and statements. He speaks apparently from an experience second to that of no one; and he shows at least the consistency of practising what he advocates. Holding precisely the opposite opinion to Mr. C. McIver, the steamers of the Liverpool and Brazil Line, like the Cunard Line, are not classed. It seems to us that the latter policy is consistent, and the other, so far as explained, is inconsistent with the expressed opinion of their several promoters.

It must not be forgotten that the seaworthiness of ships is only the means to insure the preservation of life at sea. Inspection is the specified mode of attaining that end, and the law is to be evoked to enforce it for the protection of our seamen. This is the aim of the Plimsoll agitation.

Prior to the year 1854 there existed on the statute book no less than forty-seven Acts relating to shipping, the earliest of which dates so far back as the time of Elizabeth, and is entitled "An Act touching sea marks and mariners." This was, no doubt, passed at the instance of some Plimsoll of that day to institute a fixed load-line, and to protect "our seamen."

In 1854 these Acts were repealed wholly or in part by "A Code of Imperial Statute Law relating to British Merchant Shipping," known as the "Merchant Shipping Act, 1854."

This Act might fairly be represented (*inter alia*) as an Act for the protection of British seamen. It begins this work of protection by enacting that inspectors may be appointed to report upon the character of any accident or damage to any ship, the condition of the hull and machinery of steam vessels (s. 13). In execution of their assigned duties, inspectors may go on board any ship and examine any part thereof, may inspect any premises, summon any persons as witnesses, procure returns, enforce the production of documents, and administer oaths or declarations. Care is taken that the expenses of witnesses should be paid, and a penalty is imposed for refusing to give or supply any evidence required (s. 15). To obstruct an inspector in the discharge of his duty is punishable by fine (s. 16). Further, "our seamen" are specifically protected:—

1. As to shipping offices.
2. As to the rules relating to their engagement.
3. As to the appropriation of wages before discharge.
4. As to their discharge and the payment of wages.
5. As to the recovery of wages.
6. As to the wages and effects of deceased seamen.
7. As to leaving seamen abroad.

8. As to provisions.
9. As to health and medical stores.
10. As to their accommodation on board.
11. As to the power of making complaint.

Here we have, so far back as 1854, an attempt made to "inspect," with a view to prevent unseaworthiness, and in a variety of ways, and with reference to the most minute particulars, legislative enactments to "*protect*" the British seaman. It may have been bad taste in a Government official to use the phrase "grandmotherly fussiness," in respect of this elaborate system of securing to the seaman his rights if they were trencched upon, and his health and comfort if invaded, but surely the phrase is apt and true! A child—it might be the only son of his mother, when about to make his essay in the great world—could hardly be more jealously hedged in with safeguards by anxious parents than is the hardy but reckless sailor by the Legislature. But even this was not enough. The Act of 1854 was amended in the next Session. In 1862 it was again amended. In 1867 it was tinkered once more; and urged on probably by the Plimsoll agitation, each of the three next years, 1871-2-3, saw new bills brought in, and fresh provisions enacted, to further amend the amended Acts. The result is that the unfortunate shipowner seems as if he would require to have in his office a private solicitor to keep him legally straight, as he has a book-keeper and cash-keeper to look after his accounts.

It *seems* so, but it is not so needed in practice: and the reason is plain. Bad legislation, excessive legislation, and such as is ahead of, or opposed to, public opinion, in the long run drops into desuetude. We might generally enumerate many instances of such abortive law-making, but as regards the laws affecting shipping we prefer to let the Commission tell their own tale.

"Previous legislation (Report, 1873) upon matters connected with shipping suggests other considerations.

"Parliament did at one time enact a law for regulating the number of water-tight bulk-heads in iron ships. This was, however, found to be a source of danger, inasmuch as it tended to reduce the number to two only; and it was consequently repealed.

"Parliament also enacted a law compelling certain boats to be carried in all ships. It was found impracticable to enforce this law, which remains a dead letter on the statutes; and the Board of Trade have now obtained power to make rules as to the number and character of the boats to be carried.*

* How little likely this power is to be beneficial, we may learn from its practical working. In the Final Report, 1874, the above statement is repeated, but it is followed and qualified by this further statement: "The surveyors,

"Parliament has lately passed a law for the testing of chain cables. It is now stated that this law is mischievous, and tends to lessen the security which it was designed to increase.

"Again, there has been much legislation as to safety-valves for the protection of life, but the opinion of practical men employed by the Board of Trade is that this legislation had better be repealed."

These instances afford in a certain measure satisfactory assurance that bad laws soon become effete laws. As regards the specific effect they remain a dead letter; but unfortunately, as in the case of the protection of seamen, *they are worse than merely useless*. They engender a false security in sluggish or ignorant minds, and under the vague feeling that the seamen are cared for and specially guarded by the Legislature, they take no thought of, and practise small care for, their own security and well-being. Under the more than paternal legislation of the last twenty years they have, it is said, sadly deteriorated. "They are often (Report, 1874) deficient in thrift, in sobriety, in discipline, and in that self-control which education is intended to promote;" and we must refer to what we have already enlarged upon (p. 465, *ante*) how large a proportion of wrecks and casualties and consequent loss of life is due to *unseaworthy seamen*. Mainly, if not entirely, owing to the feeling naturally excited in the minds of men, drunken, undisciplined, and with no power of self control, and consequently liable to wrong impressions and illogical conclusions, is the ill-will between shipowner and seamen, which has become worse and worse since the Act of 1854. If a man wants "protecting" by extraneous care, it is from an enemy; in this light, no doubt, it is that the sailors prompted by legislation have regarded the shipowners.

The Government Bill is silent on the question of marine insurance, and we should not have referred to it as a supposed element in unseaworthiness had it not been for the debate raised by Mr. Brassey in the House of Commons on the 12th of March. The idea is a prevalent one that insurance lies at the bottom of preventable losses of ships at sea. In a vague, loose way the statement passes from mouth to mouth that ships are sent to sea in an unseaworthy condition; that they are over-insured, and that this is done with a hope of their loss. By-and-by the

however (in the exercise of this discretionary power), sometimes differ in their views, and the number of boats sanctioned at one port are afterwards disallowed at another, occasioning thereby expense to the owner and obstruction to trade." Again, as to lights, it is stated: "No coloured lamps have, until recently, been found, upon trial, equal to the requirements of the statute; and meanwhile the shipowner is subject to the capricious decisions of surveyors." So much for the substitution of a discretionary power for useless and impracticable, but definite, enactments!

phrase becomes "many ships;" gradually the statement grows, like the story of the three crows, into "most ships;" and sometimes even into "all ships!" All we can say in reference to this grave and sweeping indictment is, that if the fact be so, the great body of underwriters is not only the most wicked, but the most fatuous of mercantile classes. If it be a well-known fact, no person or persons can know it so well as those who suffer most, pecuniarily, from its operations. And that this body should carry on their business year by year, winking at systematic deception, and without even the colourable plea of profit arising from it, is simply marvellous in the annals of human credulity, human folly, and human absurdity. Such miserable infatuation would be extraordinary as an individual instance of the eccentricity of human nature. But that it should be alleged against a large, intelligent, and we believe successful class, is so very outrageous as to pass from the sublime in wrong-doing into the merely ridiculous. In other words, the charge is so absurd, that it carries with it its own refutation and its own condemnation.

More moderate gossipers limit the evil of insurance to the induction of carelessness and absence of responsibility on the part of shipowners. If shipowners, it is said, were compelled to restrict their insurance on any ship to three-fourths her value, the strongest inducement would be raised for them to take all possible measures against preventable loss. Now here we may note the recognition of the commercial principle that profit is the best incentive to commercial probity, and the admission of the fact that underwriters are not actuated by this principle. But is the underwriter a mere cipher in the estimate of the whole transaction? Does he make no inquiry? Is he quite helpless? We fear, as a rule in London,* we must say yes!—supposing it to be true that the present system of insuring is at the bottom of preventable losses at sea. We fear that the whole system hangs upon the fear that one man will do what another man declines; and thus, not in a spirit of healthy competition, but as a weak bidding for business as business, and from the false pride of being left out of the race. One man, a leader amongst many followers, appends his name to "the slip." The fiction is that by so doing he certifies that examination and investigation have been made as to the risk, and thereupon the rest follow like sheep over a wall, or hang one upon another as do a swarm of bees. The same soft Simonism takes place when a loss has to be settled. There is the cringing fear that the imputation may settle upon

* There is an essential difference in the mode in which underwriting is carried on in Liverpool and London. We think many of the minor evils complained of may be traced to this difference.

a man that he is captious, and a bad payer; that he will be overlooked when good business has to be offered, the readiest and least troublesome takers naturally being selected. All this of course is incompatible with sound commercial principles, and cannot be explained upon any ground of the quantity of bad business paying. On the whole, the only conclusion we can arrive at is that it is a feeble wail on the part of the underwriters at their own preventable folly, or else it is a vile slander upon the shipowning body.

The sound business principle of insurance is that it is the interest of the shipowner to pay as little as possible by way of premium, and it is the interest of the underwriter to get him to insure as large a sum as possible, so long as moral right goes hand in hand with pecuniary profit. If business be sound and healthy the taker of the risk has the advantage in promoting its extent, not the shipowner who pays for it. The only motive which can be supposed to disturb the just balance of interest, is simply the grasping criminality which seeks profit by boldly defying the low but sound principle that honesty is the best policy. Bolder still is the policy that realizes profit by robbery with violence. Seriously, however, it seems to us that any one who knows that such covert criminality is practised, is an accessory after the act if he does not take measures swift and sure to bring about condign punishment. Let us be clearly understood. The shipowner who over-insures, knowing that his ship is dangerously weak, or rotten, or so overladen as to peril her safety and the lives of her crew, ought to be placed in the same category as the man guilty of arson to defraud an insurance office. And whoever knowing that this criminality is practised and takes no measures to punish the perpetrator, *connives at the criminality*. But, on the other hand, whoever, avoiding individuals, promulgates such charges generally, and against a highly respectable class, is, in our estimation, a libeller and scandalmonger.

To meet such vague uninvestigated charges, the demand is for legislative enactments; and the President of the Board of Trade has promised that Government will in some way take up the subject. Before, however, he attempts to establish marine insurance by law, we trust he will study the remarks of the Royal Commission we have already quoted, in the numerous instances of failure of obtrusive laws enumerated in their Report. To these we may add the statement made by the Chairman of the Stock Exchange, in reference to the legislative attempt to prevent a certain class of Stock Exchange operations, in his evidence before the Committee on Foreign Loans, that the law referred to "is quite disregarded!" and we re-echo the commentary made by the *Times* thereupon, applying it to prospective interference

with the operations at Lloyd's—"Parliament had better think long before it ventures on further legislation for the discipline of Capel Court;" or, we venture to say, of Lloyd's Room.

If Sir C. Adderley, however, wisely limits his consideration to the repeal of some of the existing enactments which sanction, and probably suggest, many of the abuses of which now and then an instance may be given, we should sincerely rejoice, believing as we do that self reliance and personal responsibility are the only sure guarantees for a sound insurance business.

Before we refer to the counter principle of responsibility, and its attendant pains and penalties, legal and moral, as embodied in the Government Bill, it may be well to summarize what has already been said as to the action and influence of inspection upon the whole question.

1. We think it clear that, so far as inspection has been tried, it has in all cases failed in its direct beneficial results, and utterly and miserably failed in its ultimate collateral influence.

2. As applied directly for the protection of seamen it has mainly proved a dead letter; with the lamentable, but inevitable indirect result of suggesting and fomenting a feeling of hostility towards shipowners, founded upon the supposed necessity, as respects the seamen, for the guardianship of the law.

3. The best extraneous supervision must always fail in degree, and be weak in motive, as compared with the sustained vigilance and the sharpened knowledge of a regular business organization; such organization will be impelled and stimulated by the "daily bread" necessity from lowest to highest, and in the builders and owners of ships be stimulated by pride in character, social standing, and success in trade.

It may fairly be assumed to be so—

(a) Because *inspection must do all or nothing*. If all, the inspector becomes simply another manager, or a vice-manager. If discretionary power be allowed, such interference, uncertainty, loss, and paralysing effect will drive away trade.

(b) Because if fixed rules are laid down, to control and guide all the varied operations connected with building and sailing, they will be taken as a maximum and put a stop to improvement.

(c) Because a Government certificate or its equivalent classification will be held to condone all faults.

(d) Because to "pass inspection" will be the *summum arcem* of business ability, and as no extraneous inspection can be so ubiquitous as that of men, foremen, manager, and master, scamped work and bad material will creep in because of this low motive.

4. That the evil of loss of life at sea from unseaworthiness, bad as it is, is not so bad as may be traced to unseaworthy sailors.

The Plimsoll agitation, by confining public attention to a partial and partisan view, is doing mischief in so far as it diverts a curative public opinion from discussing the whole question.

5. That the shipping interest of this country is too vast and valuable to be harassed and worried by dilettante legislation. That the livelihood of a million and a half of persons depends upon its prosperity, and that if the whole of this important interest is to be interfered with in order to coerce a few peccant owners, the loss of life (through privation and distress) of a sea-faring population, may not be confined to casualties at sea. The mortality which is increased by the wearing, painful, dogged anxiety and misery of a sinking status in life, is far more to be pitied, in our estimation, than the gasp of sudden forgetfulness of a drowning man. If British shipping should be driven to sail under foreign flags, thousands may mournfully exclaim with Shylock—"You take our lives, if you do take the means whereby we live!"

6. That no law will continue operative if it run counter in principle to public opinion; that no public opinion except under the excitement of agitation will in the end approve of "misstatements and exaggeration," or sanction the crippling of the shipping interest of this country; and that the quick results of an expensive and cumbrous system of inspection, however fair to look at, will in the end turn out to be merely Dead Sea fruit!

This, in brief, is the case of the Plimsoll agitation, when subjected to analysis and fairly weighed; and it contains the principles put forth in the Merchant Shipping Acts, No. 2 Bill, introduced by Mr. Plimsoll and others.*

To put in the opposite scales we have the elaborate, temperate, and judicial Report of the Royal Commission; and we have, as its natural outcome, the Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment Bill, No. 1.

Our space will not allow us fully to analyse these two rival Bills, nor to discuss all their details. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that the details of the Government measure will undergo many changes, under the pressure of the technical out-of-doors discussion now being brought to bear upon it. Our present object has been to test the broad principles embodied in both.

In the controversy which has arisen from the Plimsoll agitation we must note the unanimity which prevails as to the fact

* We are glad to know that Mr. Samuda, whose name appears on the back of the No. 2 Bill, stated at the Institution of Naval Architects, on March 19th, that it was appended to this Bill without his full consent, and that at the proper time he should repudiate the responsibility.

that unseaworthy ships, so far as overlading goes, are sent to sea. We may also note the general admission that the safety of the seamen should be held paramount to all other considerations; and it could hardly be otherwise in a civilized country, that any one knowingly sending vessels to sea, hoping to gain from their loss, would meet with universal execration. But the point at which divergence of opinion takes place has reference to the cause and extent of the admitted evil, and following that divergence we may trace the different remedies proposed, and the varied opinion as to the class to be blamed. We may further note the general concurrence of opinion that some sort of legislative remedy should be applied.

The time is hardly arrived for the recognition of what we hold to be the true principle to guide such legislation, that it should be applied to cases of absolute, and not preventive peril to human life. The philosophy of law-making is so cheap, the impulse to shield from apparent oppression so strong, and the habit of resorting to the nearest, rather than to the best remedy, so prevalent, that we cannot wonder at, while we regret, the treatment of the question by the partial and hesitating application of sound views. Bearing in mind the Plimsoll agitation and Bill No. 2, and considering what injury might have been inflicted by the short-sightedness and warm-heartedness of the agitators, we may congratulate the shipowning interest that at least the tide has turned as regards the fatuous and deceptive attempt to protect the seamen instead of inciting them to self-reliance, discretion, and discrimination as to their best interests. The sixth clause of the Bill, which makes "advance notes" illegal, and the clauses hedging in the seaman as regards the payment of his wages, &c., we do not look upon as cast in the old form of protection to him, but rather as assuming the shape of a solatium for the law-oppressed owner. The customary right the sailor now has to obtain an advance he evidently abuses to his own (mistaken) advantage, and to the owner's detriment. It furnishes him with the means to engage in a saturnalia on the eve of a voyage, under the deleterious effects of which he commences his contract of service. Drunkenness and debauchery are not qualities conducive to seaworthiness, nor are the lees of the orgies (prostration of strength and incipient disease) likely to save a ship in peril if she sailed with a crew in this condition. If her departure be postponed, the owner loses time, which is money. If the captain sails at once, and a storm arises, a case for Mr. Plimsoll is forthwith established. The Bill says stop the right to advances. It will be morally better for the sailor, and within the limits of his contract far better for the owner. In Clause 9 and to 24 included, efforts are made to insure the seaworthiness of

the crew through the strict maintenance of discipline, and by the punishment for neglect and of wilful offences. Clauses 25 to 32 insure the record of such particulars as will establish the fact of unseaworthiness if it exists, and the necessity arises to call in question the condition of the vessel. They contain no provision either to define or to prescribe seaworthiness. But if loss arises, these clauses wisely provide for the existence of authentic evidence. Clauses 34 to 40 prescribe investigation. In the interest of all concerned—sailors, owners, shippers, and underwriters—this inquiry is essential to after action. If the result of the inquiry be to establish the fact of unseaworthiness, the way is clear and inexpensive to bring home the consequences of wilful negligence to the grasping shipowner. Not only does the Act lead up to, but it makes the pecuniary penalty unlimited, upon any proof of loss, to the parties interested. Clauses 41 and 42 are stringent beyond measure: the latter in fact so stringent, that if passed it will go far to make any man hesitate to embark his capital in a business which makes him liable for the acts of omission and commission of "his agents." Is the captain an agent within the meaning of these clauses? The maintenance, the repair, and the renewal of all essentials to a ship's seaworthiness when abroad on a protracted voyage depend mainly upon the captain.* Does he side with the crew, or take place with the owner? If he be an agent, why not also all the officers and petty officers? If the phrase "as between himself (the owner) and the crew" makes the crew an independent body, not in fact the agents of the owner, then to whom is the direct representative of the owner—the captain—answerable for his acts? Is he, in short, one of the crew, or is he, being over the crew, the agent of the owner?

Such excessive and vague stringency will, we believe, if ever practised, prevent its own success. In the daily routine of a man's business, and within the well-defined limits of his especial rôle, it is all very well for a master to be liable for the acts of his servants; but in the event of some of the numerous cases for extraordinary discretion, for unusual intelligence, for exceptional vigour, courage, and decision, which occur in the history of every voyage, that the failure of one man where another would succeed, that the miscalculation of a captain's flagging energies, jaded senses, or weakened judgment, should be called "neglect or default," or worse, and visited upon the owner, appears to us unwise and unjust.

But these are details, and may be altered without infringing upon anything that is valuable in the broad principles of the Bill. The various shipping nuclei throughout the country are up and stirring, and we may be sure that common sense lacked by

union will carry the day against the spasmodic and reckless demands for harrying and worrying one other trade. It is one point at least in the political part of the game that the Prime Minister has committed his consistency, his character, and his party to the "let alone" principle. He has so emphatically condemned harrying and worrying, that we think we may count upon having the weight of Government influence steady, in this case, upon the side of sound principle; and that by a majority, strong every way, in numbers, in right, and in political expediency, we may look to a Bill passing which shall satisfy both the impulsive claimants who blandly call for "something to be done," and others also who, like ourselves, rejoice to see a measure evincing the desire to turn back the tide of ill-considered and abortive protection to seamen.

The parties most concerned in the question of safety to life at sea—shipowners and sailors—have, we believe, within themselves the power to work out an improvement in all that is really bad in the case. Let owners insist upon their captains "taking a line of insurance" upon the ships they command. We believe the bulk of the masters of our best vessels are fairly steady, and fairly reliable men. The sea is a good school for developing the native resources of those upon whom responsibility rests. But all responsibility, which is nothing without it be based upon conscience, is yet none the worse for the stimulus of direct self-interest. If a man feels that, in addition to all other motives to be careful and to put into play all the energies of his nature, he will yet lose, say 100*l.*, if his vessel collides with another, or runs ashore, or gets burnt, it would run counter to human nature not to be *more* careful, and *more* earnest, and sharper still!

So with the men. The co-operative principle has succeeded, and is working wonders of prudence and thoughtful care amongst thousands of operatives, and in a variety of trades. Why not adopt the same principle in ships? It must have appeared, *a priori*, a hopeless step to take to enlist so wild and coarse and reckless a class of men as the miners in the cause of economy of working and steadiness and thoughtful care in the "winning" of coal; and yet the Messrs. Briggs made the attempt, and signally have they succeeded. We take it therefore to be no answer to say that sailors are wild and reckless, and little open to prudential motives. No man knows what may be done with "a stout heart," and, the old song adds, which is not inapplicable to the seafaring class, "a tight pair of breeches," to get on in the world. Sailors have so far been protected into deterioration and a feeling of hostility to shipowners. Suppose they were now, as a trial, to be *trusted*? Does it run counter to the traditional frankness, kindness, and loyalty of seamen, to reject

a hand extended in confidence and trust, and the evidence of a strong desire to win back the too long lost kindly feeling which ought to exist full and free between those whose best interests are identical? Co-operation in manufacturing has made "every operative a foreman." It gives him an interest in his work. It allies good conduct and high wages together, and condemns waste, idleness, and bad workmanship. A small premium to be paid to the crew upon the successful issue of a voyage would hardly be felt by a shipowner benefiting by such successful issue, and would be looked forward to with hope, earned by good conduct, and received with gratitude by the crew.

This, however, is a movement which, if ever made, must be made by the owners. There is a movement open nevertheless to the sailors themselves, which may both directly and indirectly benefit their position. The complaint, and it is a valid one, is that the individuals of a crew are no match in any dispute with the concentrated power and autocratic action of the ship's husband. His capital is to him strength: to the crew, union would also be strength. There is law enough now existing, in all conscience; but it becomes a dead letter to the poor and needy and thoughtless sailor. Let him, however, follow the example of other workers, and *let him form a Sailors' Trades Union*. Undoubtedly there are difficulties in the way of taking this step. Sailors are a wandering race—not only because they are movers to and fro over the face of the waters, but because they have no fixed abiding place when they seek the land. This, however, is not an insuperable objection. It is rather a strong plea for the delegation of their united strength, their interests, and the redress of their grievances to some committee or agent of their own appointment. There will always be sailors enough in port to apply such delegated strength; always are there men able enough to guide the scattered elements of strength to a right issue. A small subscription, and a moderate fund in hand—energy, skill, and firmness to use it—and we will venture to say that the moral force, which always springs from the fear of a resort to something more material, will prevent cases of oppression, and bring about a ready and fair compensation for losses and injuries. Whatever objections may be made to such a new project will fall to the ground like the walls of Jericho when the trumpet is sounded for battle. Men are often aghast at possible difficulties, until, when urged irresistibly to action, they wonder why the egg was not set on end long before.

"So men stand shivering on the brink,
And feel the cold wave with their feet;
Once in, the delighted spirit pants for joy!"

If the attempt only be properly made, not in a spirit of doubt and with incipient dislike, but in hope and confidence, then with co-operation as *persuasion*, and with trades unionism for strength, we believe there would be no call for legislation to protect seamen, coerce owners, or harry and worry a most important element of our national greatness.

It is hardly necessary to notice the Bill No. 3, introduced by Mr. Norwood. The only principle it embodies—if principle it can be called—is the marking of “the maximum load line in salt water down to which the owner, having regard to the construction and employment of the ship, claims to be entitled with safety to load her.”

As owners never can tell what the employment of a vessel may be, they will of course place the mark required by the Act as high on the ship's side as possible. A ship so marked, and such mark not exceeded, will be above suspicion; and any action for damages, or for loss of life, will be barred by law. Except as affording, as it were, an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, we fail to see the practical advantage of such voluntary-compulsory legislation.

We are now on the eve of a discussion of the Government Bill. We trust that no false issues will be raised in the House of Commons, as unfortunately they have been raised throughout the country. We trust that there will be no attempt to discover the interests of seamen and shipowners. In the long run, and for real prosperity, they are identical. Such arguments have prevailed during the past phase of the Plimsoll agitation, but the time has now arrived, and the House of Commons is the place, to discuss this important question on broad and national grounds, and from a basis not of sensational appeals to passion, but of reason and calm judgment. We hope therefore that so crude, so inefficient, and so costly an expedient, and one so likely to prove destructive to the shipping interest, as inspection with compulsory classification, may be summarily dismissed. Inspection has been in one shape or another tried long enough. It will be well now to look for the eradication of what is evil, and the promotion of what is right and lasting to what Dr. Chalmers beautifully calls “the expulsive power of a new affection.” Let responsibility be depended upon, and as against the weak, the ignorant, and the evil-minded urge it home by punishment.

Lifted out of the heated arena of popular discussion, we trust the House of Commons will prove to have a cooler atmosphere, and one promoting more prudent consideration. Should it prove otherwise, we shall sincerely regret to have in the true interests of the country to look further still, and be compelled to thank God that we have a House of Lords!

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE most important addition to our theological literature this quarter is the second volume of the translation of Dr. Kuenen's "Religion of Israel."¹ We have already described the method and some of the results of this important work, and have the greatest pleasure in introducing a fresh part to our readers. It not only reflects credit on Dutch scholarship, which seems to combine something of French elegance with German solidity, but supplies a triumphant refutation to the misleading banter of a certain too-ambitious essayist. For Dr. Kuenen's methods are those of literary analysis and historical criticism; the royal road recommended with so much self-complacence by the spoiled child of genius displays its attractions in vain. There is of course much in this volume that is not new to well-informed readers, but the light in which the history is now read makes it all seem new. It opens with the accession of Manasseh, whose reign formed so complete a contrast to that of the reforming Hezekiah. But, as the author remarks, we must remember that our only accounts of this king proceed from a hostile source, and that he represented a principle which could plead the most powerful conservative arguments in its behalf. If it be true that he "shed very much innocent blood in Jerusalem," he must have been driven to it by opposition, and at any rate the prophetic party, when they were in power, were not more distinguished for clemency. The next reign, that of Josiah, is so thoroughly known in its main features from the book of Deuteronomy, and the contemporary prophetic literature, that it enables us to infer to some extent the conditions of the period which preceded it. Josiah was a boy of eight when he came to the throne. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance to the upholders of the exclusive worship of Yahveh (Dr. Kuenen calls them the Mosaic party) to attach the young king to their side. To do this it was necessary, first of all, to have a definite programme, and then to environ it with divine sanctions. Hence the book of Deuteronomy, in which the venerated hero and lawgiver Moses is made to announce as revelations from God the laws and principles which the Mosaic party believed to be necessary for the State. Dr. Kuenen expressly rejects the accusation of forgery, so plentifully hurled at the unknown authors of this book, though it is possible that even he has done scant justice to the motives of the composition. Geiger at any rate held firmly to the belief in the patriotic conscientiousness of its authors, and adduced weighty arguments from Jewish literature to prove it. The unfortunate expedition of Josiah against Pharaoh-Necho must have given a rude

¹ "The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State." By Dr. A. Kuenen, Professor of Theology at the University of Leyden. Translated from the Dutch by A. H. May. Vol. II. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

shock to the expectations of the Mosaic party. It was an ill-advised, nay, a senseless undertaking; as Dr. Kuenen justly remarks—"Had he but endeavoured to form an alliance with the Kings of Syria! But no, without any one's help he tries to keep back Necho's army. We can only account for this imprudent act by connecting it with the expectations which had been raised by the new book of the law." In other words, Deuteronomy expressly attached the highest earthly blessings to the observance of the law. Josiah had fulfilled this condition to the utmost of his power, and had a right to count on the support of the national God. This hope had been cruelly disappointed. It was natural that the faith of many should be shaken, and that thinking persons should seek for some solid answer to their doubts. The book of Job represents the most important of the various modifications of belief which were then proposed. Between the death of Josiah and the collapse of the State, the principal figure is beyond doubt that of Jeremiah, who is for the first time seen in his true character in these pages, and in a little book brought out prior to Dr. Kuenen's, by his friend Dr. Oort. Deeply affected by the calamities of his country, he traced them to the superficial character of Josiah's reformation. He was not misled by appearances. Regular attendance at the house of Yahveh was compatible with the worst immoralities. Hence the agonizing conviction that the series of chastisements is only beginning, and that the political existence of Israel is doomed. This was his preaching, and fully accounts for the hostility which he incurred. It is possible, too, that the belief in the magic potency of solemn words contributed to the popular hatred of Jeremiah. Dr. Kuenen, with true historical insight, makes allowance for the circumstances of both parties. Statesmen were bound to oppose the utterance of such Cassandra-like warnings; but Jeremiah chose rather to be a bad citizen than an unfaithful servant to Yahveh. In justice, however, to the prophet it should be added that he believed as firmly as his adversaries in the ultimate reversal of the fate of his nation. The connexion between Yahveh and his people was too close to be severed for ever. And Jeremiah had his reward, not indeed in his lifetime. He became "the prophet" *par excellence*, and the burden of his preaching passed into the consciousness of the people. Every way inferior to him was his younger contemporary Ezekiel, a severe and formal character like Calvin, whom he further resembles in his strict logical consistency. But what a truly Roman faith in the destinies of his country is revealed in his draft-scheme for the services of the as yet unbuilt temple! Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as Dr. Kuenen remarks, represent two opposite tendencies in the religion of the time. The ideas of the former were taken up and expanded by the anonymous prophets, whose works are preserved in the book of Isaiah; those of the latter by the founders of the rigid system of Levitical legislation, Ezra and Nehemiah. Passing over the pages on the great prophet, called with doubtful accuracy the "second Isaiah," we come to the author's exposition of his views respecting the "Elohistic" narratives (again a questionable title) and Levitical legislation of the Pentateuch. He regards these passages as forming a continuous and self-subsistent record, which began to be written down in Babylonia between the years 538 and

458 B.C. He is perhaps a shade too confident on this point; we must wait for his long-promised reply to Bishop Colenso's weighty arguments in Part V. of his great work on the Pentateuch. But even admitting that the "Elohistic" narratives are distinct from, and earlier than the Levitical legislation, the character of the religious movement among the Jews at the end of the Exile is sufficiently shown by the Levitical legislation, which is almost, if not quite certainly of post-Exile origin. There is one point in which Dr. Kuenen is necessarily at a disadvantage. The marvellous discoveries of Assyriology were not even suspected at the date of the original publication (1869-70). It is becoming daily more impossible to resist the conviction that the author or authors of some of the chapters of Genesis had an intimate acquaintance with the myths of Babylonia. But when can this have been, except during the Babylonian exile? If Mr. George Smith is correct, the Babylonian affinities occur in both "Elohistic" and "Jahvistic" portions, but the point can only be determined when the text of the Babylonian parallels has been laid before experts. If it should turn out that the "Elohistic" narratives are of Hebrew, and the "Jahvistic" of Babylonian origin, Bishop Colenso will have a complete answer to one of Dr. Kuenen's objections, that "the standpoint of the second narrator, the Jahvist, betrays a higher antiquity than that of the [Elohistic] Book of Origins" (p. 196). The higher antiquity of the Jahvistic account of the creation will be that of contents and not of form. The Babylonian original may be extremely ancient, and its reproduction as modern. This result will, doubtless, be keenly contested; it implies of course that the Yahvistic narratives are not all of a piece, for some of them are almost certainly prior to the exile. At any rate here is a new chapter in the history of the Jews, which will have sooner or later to be incorporated in the "Religion of Israel." The remainder of the present volume calls for no special comment. It is a lucid and accurate account of the reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah, who, by introducing a written in place of an oral revelation, revolutionized Jewish religion and Jewish politics.

A volume of between eight and nine hundred pages, by an old fellow of Trinity,² representing the labour of more than fifteen years, has a right to be fairly considered and impartially criticised. There is much to instruct, even if something to repel, the reader in this very learned work, and the admirable arrangement of the contents enables him without loss of time to select those portions which are likely from his point of view to be of use to him. The title-page, at the end of a long description of the book, bears the ominous legend, "a contribution to Christian evidence;" and in fact no less than 252 pages are

² "The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. A new Translation, on the Basis of the Authorized Version, from a critically revised Greek Text, newly arranged in Paragraphs, with Analogues, copious References, and Illustrations from original authorities, new Chronological and Analytical Harmony of the Four Gospels, Notes and Dissertations. A Contribution to Christian Evidence." By John Brown M'Clellan, M.A. In Two Volumes. Vol. I.: The Four Gospels, with the Chronological and Analytical Harmony. London: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

taken up with a serious and thorough harmony of the Gospels. This part of the work is dreary reading enough, and we must for the present pass it over, with the exception of one characteristic passage. The plan of the work is expounded in the preface, which is full of interest, in spite of its unpromising introduction about "the janglings of heathen philosophers, and the contentions of pseudo-Christian heresies." Its most striking feature is an earnest and learned attack on the principles of textual criticism of the New Testament advocated by Messrs. Lighfoot, Westcott, and Hort. Mr. McClellan cites with approval a passage from Dr. Roberts (the author, be it remembered, of a most uncritical work on the language spoken by Jesus), describing the *textus receptus* of the New Testament as nothing short of a "Providential miracle" (Preface, p. xxvii.). On the other hand, he regards the great modern critical editions, with the exception of Griesbach's, as essentially retrogressive, and thinks that "consequences have at length been reached so absurd and disastrous as to demand to be taken for a complete and final demonstration of radical error of procedure." "Instead," he continues, "of the pure text of evangelists and apostles of the first century, modern criticism offers to the Church a corrupt Egyptian text of the fourth century." In proof of these vigorous assertions, he has added a table "exhibiting a select number of the errors and graver corruptions contained in the aforesaid two most ancient MSS. (the Sinaitic and the Vatican), together with the names of the principal modern editors aforementioned, who have admitted these errors and corruptions severally into the sacred text" (preface, p. xxx.). This is most interesting and valuable. An editor who can admit such a reading as *ὁ μονογενὴς Θεός* into the text stands self-convicted of error. It is indeed a "golden canon" which Mr. McClellan propounds, "that no reading can possibly be original which contradicts the context of the passage, or the tenour of the writer," and one which is certainly violated in this and some others of the readings in Mr. McClellan's list. But is not our author himself too sanguine in his hopes of reconstructing the original text? He says, indeed, that "errors of transmission which may be found in existing copies are comparatively [so] limited, and of [so] little moment" (p. 389). But this does not seem to be borne out by facts. Tischendorf, a friendly witness, declares it to be certain that "the New Testament text of the fourth and third centuries had in very many ways lost its purity and integrity," and to be most probable that "this variation of the sacred text grew up in no age more than in the earliest—i.e., in the first and second centuries after Christ" (preface to 7th edition of his Greek Testament, p. xxxi.). And the author himself admits that "all extant copies are more or less disfigured with errors and perversions" (preface p. xxiv., where classified specimens, including some with moral and doctrinal bearings are given). Now, even granting that the readings of cursives and versions are sometimes better than those of uncials, what evidence have we that they are derived, or at any rate always derived, from ancient texts? And even if they were, what evidence have we that these more probable readings of the ancient texts were not themselves due to conjecture? It is impossible to say (see preface

to Lachmann's Greek Testament, p. v.) how early the copyists did not begin to exercise the art of conjectural emendation. If this be correct, the original text of the New Testament is irrecoverable. But if the words are uncertain, the thoughts are equally so, and the "plenary inspiration" of the New Testament becomes a baseless dream. Holding such heterodox critical opinions, Mr. McClellan was forced to undertake the labour of an independent revision of the *textus receptus*. This he appears to have done most conscientiously. The materials collected by former editors have been scrupulously tested; the best editions (how bad they often are!) of the chief ancient versions have been regularly consulted; and, above all, "the whole of the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers of the first five centuries, with some that are later, have been perused *seriatim*, with a view to estimate and correct the quotations from their works, and the arguments from their silence." Next, "in order to re-ascertain, confirm, and settle the full force and meaning of every word, phrase, and construction of the original, we have diligently explored anew . . . the whole domain of Greek literature, sacred and profane, down to the close of the fourth century of our era, with many later portions, paying particular attention to those less known authors whose writings fall within the period of B.C. 250 to A.D. 258." Nor is this all: he has collated the best ancient and other versions in the originals, if we read him aright, which, as readers of Bishop Ellicott's prefaces well know, is not the least difficulty of a conscientious New Testament editor. We have not yet had time to test the value of these pretensions, but the extent of the author's scholarship is evidently considerable. In so vast a mass of details it was impossible to avoid occasional slips, such as the reference to Isa. xlii. 1 (on "only-begotten" = "beloved"); such, too, as the rendering of Matt. iii. 12 ("whose fan is in his hand," for "in whose hand is the fan"), or the explanation of Joshua = the Lord's salvation (probably from Keim), or the statement (endorsed, it is true, by Renan, but without authority), that Manmon was the name of a Syrian god of riches, or that "write this man childless" (Jer. xxii. 30), may be rendered, "write this man destitute" (p. 415). The translation is carefully done; it is literal, but not crabbed. The illustrative quotations in the margin, which are always translated, but with references, show a wide and original range of reading, and form a novel feature in this edition. The notes at the end are concerned almost entirely with textual criticism and language, and are as excellent in form as they often are in substance. Where they wander into exegesis they are not always satisfactory. Our author vies with Bishop Wordsworth in his love of patristic subtleties, as in the note on *ἐπιούσιος*, Matt. vi. 11, which is explained as "the food given for nourishing a life which shall be perfected and enduring in the future world." We have not thought it necessary to dwell upon the author's unseemly language towards theological opponents, as it only proves the weakness of his own cause, and the alarm which he not unnaturally feels at the progress of rationalism. But we must not conclude without a word of recognition to the Cambridge University Press for the skill with which the typographical difficulties have been met and overcome.

Mr. Proby offers us³ two small volumes of translations from the Old Testament. The first is a version of Ecclesiastes, that mysterious sceptical book, which makes such heavy demands on the harmonizing ingenuity of the orthodox. Mr. Proby himself, however, seems all unconscious of its difficulties. He admits that "the sacred writer does not give a logical solution of any one difficulty;" that he is like a man in the water just able by his slightly superior swimming powers to keep his drowning fellows' heads above the waves; but fails to see the inconsistency of this admission with his previously expressed opinion, that "whoever was the human writer, GOD THE HOLY GHOST must be considered the AUTHOR." And the special value of Ecclesiastes for us is not—to show that "there lies more faith in honest doubt," &c.; but to give a prophetic forecast of the times of Antichrist. Mr. Proby is a tolerable Hebrew scholar, though but superficially acquainted with modern philology. His chief authorities are Dr. Ginsburg and Mr. Preston.

His second work, on the "Ten Canticles,"⁴ i.e., the songs ascribed to Moses, Deborah, Hezekiah, &c., is not calculated to improve his reputation. It needed a more careful revision by some trained Hebrew scholar, who would have cancelled such an impossible reading as this of Judges v. 2, "[O ye that had part] in the wild-growing locks [which were] in Israel! [O ye that had part] in the people's self-devotion! bless ye the LORD," and such a false grammatical view as that Shaddai "the violent," or, "destruction," means "my Lord." The theology is as mild as that of "Ecclesiastes." Our author's ruling passion is to discover types of Christ.

Mr. Stopford Brooke's sermons⁵ are like the wine that needs no bush. They are full of genuine heart-eloquence, and enriched with the stores of a cultivated imagination. The chief defect under which they labour, is one which certainly prevents Mr. Brooke from filling a position in the van of theology, but does not in any serious degree interfere with his usefulness as a religious teacher. It is in fact common to him with the great majority of Englishmen—the want of a keen historical sense. Like an accomplished essayist, to whom popular theology owes so much, he is irresistibly drawn to confound his own ideas, which are the results of a singularly varied training, religious, literary, speculative, and—last, not least—artistic, with those of the grandly simple religious heroes of an age as unlike the present as it is possible for an age to be. Mr. Brooke's spiritual insight seems to us of a singularly delicate quality, but the forms in which his intuitions are

³ "Ecclesiastes for English Readers. The Book called by the Jews "Kobeleth," newly Translated, with Introduction, Analysis, and Notes." By the Rev. W. H. B. Proby, M.A., formerly Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar in the University of Cambridge. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1874.

⁴ "The Ten Canticles of the Old Testament Canon." Newly Translated, with Notes and Remarks on their Drift and Use. By the Rev. W. H. B. Proby, M.A. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1874.

⁵ "Sermons Preached in St. James's Chapel, York Street, London." Second Series. By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

expressed are removed by nearly nineteen centuries from those by which the martyr-seer of Nazareth moved the world. We do not say that they are altogether inconsistent, but a minute analysis of the forms of the early Christian religion will be necessary, in order to determine how far either Mr. Brooke or we have a right to call ourselves Christians. That the doctrines of the universal fatherhood of God, of universal salvation and immortality, were commonly held by Jesus is more than the evidence warrants us in asserting. What is probable is, that those doctrines are more in harmony with his actual teaching than those of the pseudo-Catholic church. And after all, it is the spirit of the life of Jesus which is important for us to appreciate, not his isolated words or facts. His combination of intense emotional theism with a pure and unselfish, though necessarily limited morality; or in other words, his deep-seated consciousness of a personal relation to God, and his utter concentration of his faculties on the good of others, are patent from words and facts which Strauss himself fully admitted, and, being thus patent in themselves, facts with which scientific students of religion have to reckon. These remarks are suggested by the fine sermon placed at the head of this volume, and will at once make it clear how far we agree—from the point of view of critical historians—with Mr. Brooke's courageous deliverance on "The Changed Aspect of Christian Theology." He thinks that we are only just awakening, not so much in criticism as in social and political life, to the fundamental meaning of the words of Jesus. And, however this may be, no one can deny that if Christian teachers would go as heartily as Mr. Brooke with "the ideas which are collected round the words Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," they would have a much better claim than they have at present on—not merely the toleration but—the sympathy of the most radical of philosophers. To have preached this sermon in St. Mary's, Oxford, is of itself a title to distinction. It is said to have been the grandest and boldest sermon which the sleepy dons have listened to since the memorable sermon on Hebrew Prophecy, by the venerable Dean Milman. On the other sermons, our remarks must be brief. Several relate to narratives in the book of Genesis. They are full of psychological interest, and display much insight into spiritual states and emotions, though it cannot be denied that Mr. Brooke reads a great deal in Genesis which was never suspected by the authors. There is also a course of six splendid sermons on the theme, "God is a Spirit." Their fundamental idea is that both aspects of God are true—the personal and the impersonal, both corresponding to necessary facts of religious experience. It would be out of place to analyse them; they are works of art, and not of dogmatic theology. For art too has its place in bodying forth the visions of the religious ideal.

That indefatigable religious reformer, Mr. Scott, sends us his usual packet of tracts on burning questions of the day. It includes one of some importance by Professor Francis Newman on "The Two Theisms," the Greek or philosophic, and the Hebrew or emotional. One

* "The Two Theisms." Thomas Scott, No. 11, The Terrace, Upper Norwood, London.

on "Responsibility," by the late Mr. Cranbrook, of Edinburgh, may also be mentioned, as disentangling the element of truth in the popular doctrine of the final judgment. Dr. John Muir's *medical* translations of religious and moral maxims from Indian writings⁷ is an interesting contribution to the comparative study of religion. As he truly remarks, "It may safely be assumed that all or most of the counterparts to the most striking expressions of Christian morality contained in the Gospels and Epistles, which were to be found in the Classical authors, have been adduced by Grotius . . . and yet they are but few in number as compared with those which the Indian writers present." A word of recognition must be added for the literal versions given in the appendix. One of the chief defects of Mr. Conway's valuable "Sacred Anthology" is the doubtful authority of the translations. Miss Hennell's tract "On the Need of Dogmas in Religion"⁸ touches an important subject, too hastily discussed by many liberals; but the unconnectedness of the thought and the extreme obscurity of expression have prevented us from carrying away any definite result from it. On page 7, however, she suggests a very important qualification to a crudely rationalistic statement of a *Pall Mall* critic. It is true that the first disciples believed in the Resurrection of Jesus, but chiefly because certain pre-conceived ideas led them to suppose that this event ought to have happened. The tract on "Primitive Church History"¹⁰ is absurdly sceptical, and ought not to be circulated.

The "Letters, Fragments and Discourses"¹¹ of the distinguished Old Catholic preacher, Father Hyacinthe, will command the attention of all who can appreciate a simple, tender, but courageous character. Those interested in the religious question more directly as actors will turn with even greater interest to the remarkably frank and luminous preface by the Dean of Westminster, showing that Ultramontanism and Nonconformity exist in all religious communities, and justifying liberals for remaining within the Church.

The stream of controversial pamphlets produced by Mr. Gladstone's famous "Expostulation"¹² continues to flow. Dr. Neville sends us "A Few Comments," which are not couched in a tone favourable to calm discussion. Nor do they seem to us to be likely to add any fresh material of importance. Mr. Suffield's pamphlet, though somewhat

⁷ "On Responsibility." By the late Rev. James Cranbrook. Thomas Scott.

⁸ "Religious and Moral Sentiments Freely Translated from Indian Writers." By J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. Thomas Scott.

⁹ "On the Need of Dogmas in Religion." A Letter to Thomas Scott. By Sara S. Hennell. Thomas Scott.

¹⁰ "Primitive Church History." Thomas Scott.

¹¹ "Catholic Reform." Letters, Fragments, Discourses. By Father Hyacinthe. Translated by Madame Hyacinthe Loyson. With a Preface by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

¹² "A Few Comments on Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation." By Henry Canon Neville, former Professor of Theology in the College of Maynooth, &c. London: Pickering. 1875.—"The Vatican Decrees and the Expostulation." By R. R. Suffield. Thomas Scott, Upper Norwood, London. 1874.—"Vaticanism: An Answer to Replies and Reproofs." By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. London: John Murray. 1875.

rhetorical in expression, is entitled to weight as coming from one who so thoroughly knows the Papal system. He entirely agrees with Mr. Gladstone as to "the momentous character of the Revolution crowned at the Vatican." Mr. Gladstone has himself issued a second pamphlet, which our readers will doubtless have read and admired. He gives a detailed answer to his critics, which, to readers of ordinary morality, will seem to settle the question as to the character of the propositions of the papal Syllabus. To the charge of having wantonly wounded the feelings of loyal English Catholics, Mr. Gladstone replies by expressing his deep sympathy for the great and saintly qualities of many dead and living Catholics, and protests that his only object in opening the question was "to produce, if possible, a temper of greater watchfulness." The pamphlet is full of characteristic passages, the finest of which is the splendid eulogy of John Henry Newman. We ought to have mentioned before, the calm and dignified reply of Archbishop—now Cardinal—Manning.¹³ There are pages in it well worth reading, as, for instance, where he says (p. 133) that "the principles of 1789 are Lutheranism applied to politics," and that "Luther's ghost, I fear, has yet more to do;" but especially where he defends the English members of his church from the charge of disloyalty. He points out, too, that the Vatican Decrees could have had no bearing on the civil allegiance of any who held the doctrine of Infallibility before the Council, and that these were the great majority of Catholics. But he has not overthrown the argument from history, used with such effect by Mr. Gladstone. A condensed but learned summary of the historical argument against Vaticanism is offered by Canon Jenkins.¹⁴ We doubt, however, whether he has brought into sufficient prominence the fact that this defiance of modern civilization is the result to which Catholicism has been tending ever since the Council of Trent.

Dr. Beard has translated from the French a popular historical sketch of "Christianity in the Nineteenth Century,"¹⁵ which will at any rate fill a gap in liberal theology till some more critical work is written.

Dr. Frederick George Lee¹⁶ is the editor of the graceful and elegant volume fitly called "Lyrics of Light and Life." Most of them are too deeply tinged with mediævalized Christianity to be generally acceptable, but a few are well worthy of admission into a future edition of the "Book of Praise." Dr. Newman contributes a poem on "My Birthday," written at Trinity College, Oxford, February 21st, 1819, Bishop Alexander some touching verses called "Below and Above," and Miss

¹³ "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance." By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. London: Longmans. 1875.

¹⁴ "The Privilege of Peter and the Claims of the Roman Church Confronted with the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Testimony of Popes Themselves." By Robert C. Jenkins, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

¹⁵ "Christianity in the Nineteenth Century." By Etienne Chastel, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Geneva. Translated from the French by John R. Beard, D.D. London: Williams & Norgate. 1874.

¹⁶ "Lyrics of Light and Life." XLIII. Original Poems by Dr. John Henry Newman, William Alexander, &c. &c. Edited by the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L. London: Pickering. 1875.

Christina Rossetti some rather mystic lines called "A Rose-plant in Jericho." But the gems of the book are two of the three poems by Mr. Aubrey de Vere, one called "A May Carol," written apparently in Switzerland, and the other, "The Trouvère."

Mr. Tyssen sends us a curious and instructive paper on "The Origin of the Week."¹⁷ He thinks that our present system of fixed seven-day weeks arose out of an earlier regular system of lunar watches, extending from one quarter of the moon to another. The theory is not entirely new, but is well supported.

Dr. Kayser,¹⁸ a Strasburg professor, has brought out in the exuberance of youth, a work designed to subvert the prevalent views of the origin of the Pentateuch. It is dedicated to the veteran champion of liberal theology, Dr. Edward Reuss, and reflects credit on the acumen of the author, though not on the accuracy of his information. He has been at the pains to do what has been infinitely better, because far more comprehensively done by Bishop Colenso, a man, who, however he may be ignored by German professors, has outdone them in their own field of literary analysis. Dr. Kayser's analysis, however, will be of much value to those who desire to test that of Bishop Colenso, and we have no doubt that the result will be to the credit of the English critic. It is still more surprising that Dr. Kayser's professional guides should be unacquainted with the works of Dr. Kuenen, for Leyden and Strasburg should be on friendly theological terms. He ought surely to be aware that his results have for the last six years been persistently maintained by the accomplished Dutch theologian.

The merits of Dr. Rönisch¹⁹ as a thorough and painstaking student of the Latin versions of the Bible are too well known to need restatement; but we are surprised at his publisher's presumption on our ignorance in sending us what professes to be a "second, corrected and enlarged edition," but is really a copy of the original edition published in 1869, with the addition of an appendix of 16 pages. Glad as we are of the merest chips from Dr. Rönisch's workshop we think it would have been fairer to wait till a new edition was called for. The work appeals mostly to philologists, as the old Latin versions of the Bible contain almost the only specimens of the vulgar idiom. The origin of the romance languages receives direct illustration from this source.

The relation of Leibnitz²⁰ to the Catholic Church is a subject which has a greater interest to a German than an Englishman. But it would

¹⁷ "The Origin of the Week Explained." A Paper read before the Liberal Social Union at the Meeting on July 30th, 1874, by A. D. Tyssen, B.C.L., M.A. London: Williams & Norgate. 1874.

¹⁸ "Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen." Von Aug. Kayser. Straassburg: C. F. Schmidt. 1874.

¹⁹ "Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der röm. Volkssprache." Von Dr. Hermann Rönisch. Zweite berichtigte und vermehrte Ausgabe. Marburg: Elwert. 1875.

²⁰ "Leibnitz's Stellung zur katholischen Kirche. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines sogenannten systema theologicum." Von Dr. Fr. Kirchner. Berlin Duncker. 1874.

be a blow to one's belief in the independence of philosophy could it be proved that so eminent a name belonged to the reactionary cause. As a matter of fact, Leibnitz was the first of modern speculative theologians, and united, curiously enough, characteristic doctrines of both Lutheranism and Catholicism. This is doubtless explicable by his historical position, but not calculated to raise his credit among Liberals. He was at any rate a foe of the Jesuits, and his theology, poor as it is, has left deep traces on the popular orthodoxy of both Germany and England.

Mr. Finlayson, a Congregational minister, has produced some very creditable sermons, liberal in tone, though not directly bearing on disputed questions.²¹ Mr. Orby Shipley²² a volume of "Lent Lectures on the Seven Deadly Sins." There is moral earnestness in it and literary power, but overmuch mediævalism. The theory of sin is borrowed from Dante! Mr. Isaac Williams²³ is well known as a tender and refined religious writer; his sermons do not invite criticism. From inferior writers of the same school, we have "Meditations on the Public Life of Our Lord,"²⁴ from the French; Mr. Hutchings's "Lectures on the Temptation;"²⁵ Mr. Compton's "Sermons on the Catholic Sacrifice,"²⁶ and a translation of Scupoli's "Spiritual Combat."²⁷ Mr. Daniel Moore²⁸ wastes his time in reviving the worn-out allegory once supposed to be latent in the very curious song or collection of songs wrongly ascribed to King Solomon. He is capable of better things. Mr. Hooppell²⁹ presents some naval students with a summary of the usual arguments against Materialism. They presuppose, however, the supernatural character of the Bible, the *coup de grâce* to which has, by a strange irony, been recently given by the *Daily Telegraph* expedition to Nineveh.

Among the "Manuals of Religious Instruction,"³⁰ edited by Canon

²¹ "The Divine Gentleness, and other Sermons." By T. C. Finlayson. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1874.

²² "Theory about Sin in Relation to Some Facts of Daily Life." By the Rev. Orby Shipley. London: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

²³ "Sermons on the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year." By the Rev. Isaac Williams, B.D. In Two Volumes. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1875.

²⁴ "Meditations on the Public Life of Our Lord." From the French. Edited by the Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A. In Two Parts. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1875.

²⁵ "The Mystery of the Temptation." By the Rev. W. H. Hutchings, M.A. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1875.

²⁶ "Sermons on the Catholic Sacrifice." By Beardmore Compton. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1875.

²⁷ "The Spiritual Combat, together with the Supplement and the Path of Paradise." By Laurence Scupoli. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1875.

²⁸ "Christ and His Church." Lectures on the Song of Solomon. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

²⁹ "Materialism: Has it any Real Foundation in Science?" A Lecture by R. E. Hooppell, M.A. Second Edition. Rivingtons. 1875.

³⁰ "Manuals of Religious Instruction for Pupil Teachers. The Old Testament." Part IV. By E. J. Gregory, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

Norris, we are glad to mention with qualified praise one on the Psalter, which shows some study of the literary aspects of that book. Of course "the Christian application" is not uncared for. But if we must have an authoritative religious book, at least let us read it intelligently. Mr. Reid's "The Law of History,"³¹ is a supplement to a worthless but well-meaning book already noticed in this Review. Mr. Morgan's³² graceful and touching poems should have been noticed before; they will commend themselves to cultivated orthodox readers. We have also received Mr. Bickersteth's "The Shadowed Home,"³³ meditations on death and resurrection; "Cures of the Evils of the Church of Scotland,"³⁴ by Dr. J. Miller; a tract against "Disestablishment, from the Broad Church Point of View,"³⁵ an able but too diffuse essay on the same subject, by the late Mr. Parkinson;³⁶ and a most powerful attack on popular religion, called "Modern Christianity, and Civilized Heathenism."³⁷

We regret that no more prominent place can be given to three remarkable sermons, one by a missionary of the Brahmo Somaj, at Manchester;³⁸ another by the Bishop of Natal preached for him by the incumbent of the City Church at Oxford,³⁹ and the third a "lecture" delivered in Westminster Abbey by the eminent Presbyterian minister, Principal Caird.⁴⁰ The Baboo Chunder Mozoomdar takes for his subject "Simple Religion," *i.e.*, spiritual Theism. He beautifully says, "There is but one prayer which I know, which I preach and practice, the infinite repetition of which fills the hearts of all good men—'Lord, pour into my heart Thy spirit.'" Bishop Colenso's text is "Overcoming the world," on which he bases a plain, practical exhortation, which shames the unchristian opposition of which the author has been the subject. Dr. Caird's discourse on "The Universal Religion," *i.e.*, the religion of the New Testament, is said to have produced an almost miraculous impression on an audience, many of whom were suspicious, if not hostile. It was no doubt extremely whole-

³¹ "The Law of History." By Daniel Reid. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1874.

³² "Immanuel: Thoughts for Christmas and other Seasons, &c." By A. M. Morgan, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1875.

³³ "The Shadowed Home, and the Light Beyond." By E. H. Bickersteth, M.A. London: Sampson Low. 1875.

³⁴ "The Cures of the Evils of the Church of Scotland." By the Rev. Joseph Miller, B.D. First Series. London: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

³⁵ "Disestablishment from the Broad Church Point of View." London: Printed for private circulation. 1875.

³⁶ "Modern Pleas for State Churches Examined." By the late H. W. Parkinson. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

³⁷ "Modern Christianity and Civilised Heathenism." By the author of "Dame Europa's School." London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1874.

³⁸ "Simple Religion." A Sermon Preached by Baboo Chunder Mozoomdar in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Manchester: Johnson & Rawson.

³⁹ "Overcoming the World." A Sermon by the Right Rev. J. W. Natal, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

⁴⁰ "The Universal Religion." A Lecture Delivered in Westminster Abbey on the Day of Intercession for Missions, November 30th, 1874, by John Caird, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1874.

some for the country parsons who had come there to mock. But it does not read well from a liberal point of view, and ill sustains the high reputation of its author as a philosophic theologian.

Philosophy is gradually abating its metaphysical pretentiousness; instead of attempting to solve, unassisted, the problems of existence by the high *à priori* methods, it calls exact science to its aid, and presents a singular composite of ontological abstractions and generalized natural facts. Such a work as Mr. Wyld's "*Physics and Philosophy of the Senses*,"¹ is a favourable specimen of the combination of the two methods. Mr. Wyld has wisely packed his metaphysical speculations into the first and fifth parts of his treatise; from the second part he has excluded all subtle reflections on the nature and cause of phenomena, and though they occur in the third, fourth, and sixth parts, yet they rarely interfere with the scientific matter, or materially disturb the intellectual repose of the reader who seeks instruction in physical laws and physical organs, and is impatient of the intrusion of ontological abstractions. The author justifies his attempt to popularize the subject of the senses by pleading the desirableness of embodying in his work new discoveries, correcting prevailing misconceptions, and presenting to the consideration of competent and independent thinkers a philosophical treatment of the subject which should be approximately consistent and complete. So far as we can judge, the scientific expositions are clear and intelligible. The phenomena of sound and light are recounted and explained, the special senses and general sensibility, the nervous system and its functions are described in language which is always lucid and never condescendingly familiar; and if in the philosophy of the senses Mr. Wyld is inclined to dogmatize, his dogmatism is not offensive. The theory which he regards as the true foundation of philosophy, is that known as the dynamical, which, held as it has been by men of eminence in science and philosophy, is, he asserts, in our own day becoming more and more an article of well-founded scientific conjecture and belief. Respecting the assumption of material atoms, Mr. Wyld holds that the minute bodies of which any object is composed are dynamical bodies, accepting, apparently, the hypothesis of Boscovich, controverted by Mr. Lewes in his recent volume of "*Problems of Life and Mind*." He congratulates himself on Mr. H. Spencer's recognition of an unknowable reality, though the source of an intelligent will, to which he refers us for an explanation of the origin of life, has no sanction, that we can see, in the absolute of Mr. Spencer. The speculations of Huxley and Tyndall are noticed at some length, but all hypotheses are held to be insufficient, except that of a physical system, or economy, not called

¹ "*The Physics and Philosophy of the Senses; or, The Mental and the Physical in their Mental Relation.*" By R. S. Wyld, F.R.S.E. With diagrams and engravings. Henry S. King & Co., 65, Cornhill, and 12, Paternoster Row, London. 1875.

into existence by a Creator, but instituted by the great source of power, a supreme mind ; or, in Mr. Wyld's own words, "the result to which a consistent theistic belief brings us is, that the ultimate or chemical atoms are mere centres of force, and that these, by their conjoint and several action, constitute the physical world." This is an hypothesis, indeed, which some may regard as more plausible than that of creation or of evolution. But when we ask for its verification we encounter only such assertions as, "power is not matter, or substance, or a thing in the ordinary sense of the term, but rather an action of a spiritual and immaterial character, forced on us by our perception of the external world, which may be explained as the consciousness of a conflict of mental power with external power, and, by inference, of spirit with spirit, of the finite and limited principle which we call mind, with the Infinite Mind." In another page Mr. Wyld explains, "we merely say that to us the position assumed by Professor Tyndall appears irrational, and that we find it more easy, simple, and natural to regard Deity as the direct cause of physical and physiological action, and to regard the mind, or thinking principle of the creature as formed of the spiritual essence of the Being who is the eternal possessor of wisdom and power." Postulating the existence of such a Supreme Power and of a spiritual principle within us, Mr. Wyld expresses his conviction that the man who does not discover evidence in Nature of the working of spiritual and intelligent power, must, as it seems to him, have the eye of reason closed.

Conceived in a similar spirit, professing to combine the study of exact science with metaphysical theory, the essay entitled "*Lux e Tenebris*"⁴² is another illustration of the direction which popular philosophical inquiry is taking. The author of this essay, however, while often in agreement with Mr. Wyld, has numerous points of difference. With Mr. Wyld, matter resolves itself into force ; with our author, matter is the cause of physical consciousness, and all we can know of it is derived from physical phenomena. The phenomena, however, would seem to furnish us with but scanty knowledge, for while the existence of matter is as certain as that of mind, its nature, we are told, is quite beyond our reach. Matter and mind, proceeds our author, are inseparably connected, and he rightly adds, "whenever the functions of the material organ are interfered with, the phenomena of the mental factor are deranged." Organic sense occasions the consciousness of organic changes in the body with which the mind is incorporated. It "no less occasions the higher psychical manifestations. The sensations and emotions thus generated represent the conscious being, constituting what is called the ego, the self, the psyche. Carrying his physiology into the psychological domain, the author contends that "just as our elementary idea of physical organization is the simple organic cell with its vivifying, animating nucleus, so our simple notion of psychical organization is the mental cell, with its conscious active psyche." As we understand him, the mind is pictured as a void or hollow sphere outside. In

⁴² "*Lux e Tenebris* ; or, The Testimony of Consciousness." A Theoretic Essay. London : Trübner & Co. 1874.

immediate contact with this sphere is the material brain. Beyond this, again, are the persons and things of the material world, with which the brain is connected by nerves distributed throughout the body. The contents of this sphere are the psyche, and the phenomena of which it is conscious; and these phenomena we know, while of the nature of the sphere we know nothing. A diagram of mind-cells and life-cells, prefixed to the volume, is intended to show the connexion and sequence of mental phenomena in psychical organisms, and to aid the student who attempts to realize the ingenious and fanciful speculations of the author of "*Lux e Tenebris*." In rationality of conception, and in the command of scientific resources, Mr. Wyld's is incomparably the best book of the two. Both books affirm a theistic conclusion; but the argument, though in the main the same, is differently handled. According to our essayist, whatever is right. In creation there is no evil. All Theists are not of this opinion. L cretius, who asserted the existence of serene and beautiful intelligences who dwell apart and lead ambrosial lives, regarded the evil in Nature as a witness against the doctrine which assigns its order to the gods. Turning a deaf ear to the *tant  stat pr dita culp *, the immortal indictment which that sublime genius chants from his throne of two thousand years, our author insists on the existence of a plan in nature implying the existence of a universal mind that is omniscient, omnipotent, and all-benevolent. The God of Revelation is not, in his opinion, all-benevolent. Will the Christian Theist agree with him that the order of Nature *does* demonstrate absolute perfection in the Being whose existence is the fundamental assumption of his creed? The Mystic may be justified in affirming the presence in the soul of a First Good and a First Fair, for his logic is the logic of feeling. But is the dialectician warranted in asserting that an imperfect world is the creation of a perfect Being?

Both these writers claim the support of Mr. Herbert Spencer, one for his dynamical, the other for his mind-cell hypothesis—we fancy with but a poor title to do so. Yet amidst great divergence there is some agreement in doctrine between the lesser lights and the great luminary of the present intellectual firmament. "Our knowledge," says Mr. Spencer, "of noumenal existence has a certainty which our knowledge of phenomenal existences cannot approach; in other words, in view of logic as well as of common sense, realism is the only rational thesis; all the others are doomed to fall." This noumenon is not the Divine Mind of Berkeley; it is the Noumenon of the philosophic materialist. It is the Absolute, it is not personal, it is not intelligent, but it is the Universal Power whereof nature, life and thought are manifestations, and before which true science humbles itself. This conception however is one which powerful thinkers like Mr. J. S. Mill and Mr. G. H. Lewis have not accepted, and as it appears to be the fundamental principle of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, the future of that philosophy, as a whole, will be dependent on the acceptance or rejection of this postulate. The claims of the evolution system of thought are fairly placed before the public. In the last number of the *Westminster Review* attention was drawn to the comprehensive composition of the system of Mr. Fiske, in his "*Cosmic Theism*." An outline of the same

philosophical construction, by Dr. M. E. Cazelles,⁴³ in a more succinct form, and with less heterogeneous matter, presents to the inquisitive few the distinctive doctrines of "The Synthetic Philosophy." The sketch of these doctrines is made with a sympathetic intelligence which leaves little to be wished. The language perhaps is somewhat abstract, and the treatment lacks colour from the want of the illustrative and the predominance of the reflective element. In a series of chapters, nine in number, the author, closely following Mr. Spencer, states the problem of the universe, delineates the main features of the system of which he is the interpreter, discusses the doctrine of Progress, the law of Evolution, the order of the sciences and the true nature of government and religion. The real or supposed aberrations, or deficiencies of Positivism, are noticed at some length, and the essential antagonism on many points of primary importance between the system of A. Comte and that of Mr. H. Spencer are indicated in a spirit of decided predilection for the latter, and disfavour for the former. The essay is translated by a minister of religion, the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who perhaps welcomes this exposition of the philosophy of "Cosmic Theism," as Mr. Fiske, *not* Mr. Spencer, calls the Evolution-system, because he professes to lay down the preliminaries of a treaty of perpetual peace between religion and science. We are afraid the translator's clerical traditions would come off but badly if they were subjected to the dynamical influence of the cosmic God.

Under forms, often widely divergent, a belief in the Absolute, reasserts itself, in the speculative literature of the day,—with a vehement force of conviction proportioned to the real or supposed importance of the doctrine. A work characteristic of a certain section of this Transition School of metaphysics, the "Principles of Absolute Science," by M. James Thomson,⁴⁴ may perhaps have an interest for those persons whose point of view is less remote from that of the author than our own. According to M. Thomson, the age requires a doctrine to counteract the superficial opinions which threaten society with anarchy, and in the continued advance of the true soldiers of thought towards the Absolute we have a practical affirmation of the only philosophy that can save Society. The end and aim of our being is certainty. The Absolute, the cause of this certainty, impels these chosen crusaders on their march to this Holy Land of thought, and since man is endowed with the potential triad of knowledge, sensation, sentiment, and reason, the end which they have in view, is assured. The Absolute, then, is our criterion or infallible guide. From the Absolute Fact certainty is derived. The Absolute Fact is the manifestation of the First Principle, and the First Principle is God. God is the Absolute. The key of the Absolute, the resolution of the enigma, will be found in necessary law, in analogy, in the indications afforded by the connexion of

⁴³ "Outline of the Evolution Philosophy." By Dr. M. E. Cazelles. Translated from the French by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham. New York: D. Appleton & Co.; London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

⁴⁴ "Principes des Science Absolue, &c." Par M. James Thomson, Membre de plusieurs Sociétés Savantes. Paris: J. Rothschild. 1875.

body and soul. Intellectual states are interpretable by corresponding effects or symptoms. The idea of the unity of the Absolute Fact affects the soul as a general malady, say cholera, affects the body. Corporeal discomfort has its spiritual counterpart in—1, the inability to perceive the Absolute Fact; 2, the inability to comprehend it, when perceived; 3, the ability both to comprehend and perceive. To each of these three states corresponds one of three effects or symptoms, the idea of control by force; control by faith; control by reason. In *systematic* force, faith, and reason, we have an explanation of the moral corruption of mankind. In the Absolute lies the secret of man's salvation. *Providence* is the necessary result of natural laws, but God does not interpose in the material, but only in the spiritual world, only in prayer. Nature has three elements, Matter, Dynamism, Animism,—but this rapid outline will be sufficient to indicate the spirit and method of M. Thomson's philosophy. His whole way of looking at life leads him to dissent entirely from current doctrines. Free trade, and Utilitarianism, and Darwinism are detestable in his eyes. Of Mr. Mill he speaks with bantering contempt. Against Auguste Comte he directs a violent philippic; but his special aversion is Mr. Charles Bray, whose "Manual of Anthropology" he denounces as the Bible of Nihilism. This dreaded author does not seem to be included with Darwin and his fellow reprobate in the class of MM. les Scélérats whom M. Thomson cannot send to the guillotine, or in the category of venomous serpents whose heads he would not object to bruise, but figures among the vile prostitutes of the intellect, who in flagrant opposition to all that is true and good, uphold the monstrous doctrine of Necessity! The redemption of society, M. Thomson assures us, is to be effected by belief in the Absolute systematically applied. For scientific details we must refer our readers to the portly volume, in which this philosophy is expounded, merely remarking that one expedient recommended for regenerating the world, is the conquest or *exploitation* of the continents of Asia and Africa, while to accelerate this regeneration we are enjoined to adopt a morality the very opposite of that of the Positive school; in brief, we are called on to eliminate by all possible means, not only physical but intellectual monstrosities; not only deformed persons, idiots, and madmen, but revolutionists, communists, atheists, and criminals. Our author promises a final contribution to his system, in which the inevitably dry character of the present work will contrast with the attractive sociological tableaux, designed to afford a general view of the principles which he advocates.

The Religion of Humanity proposes an ideal whose humbler Providence has very different characteristics from that of the Absolute Being of metaphysical thinkers. In the opinion, however, of the late Mr. Mill, whose bias was towards theism, such an ideal is capable of inspiring an attachment and sense of duty which are able to control and discipline the sentiments and propensities of men who sincerely accept it, and prescribe to them a rule of life. The treatise on Sociology instituting this religion, embodies the late speculations of the illustrious founder of Positivism. A translation of this remarkable work, by disciples, whose ability, energy, and courage are well known, will facilitate its study, and promote that

discussion of its doctrines which no creed that demands acceptance should decline or escape. The names of Dr. R. Congreve, Mr. S. Beesly, Mr. F. Harrison, and Dr. J. B. Bridges afford a sufficient guarantee for an accurate and scholarly rendering of the original. Of the four volumes of which the "Positive Polity" consists, the first, admirably translated by Dr. Bridges, Inspector of the Local Government Board, has recently appeared. The remaining three will follow, at convenient intervals, in the course of the present year. The general view of Positivism prefixed to the system of Positive Polity, and "originally published and afterwards translated as a substantive work," has been thoroughly revised for this volume. Marginal notes and a table of contents have been added by the translator. The "system" itself commences with a general indication of the introductory principles, treating of the action of Feeling on Thought, the legitimacy of the Logic of Feeling, community of conviction and action, sympathy and discipline of pride; scientific synthesis, distinction of abstract and concrete, the division of natural philosophy into cosmology and biology. Then follows the analytic introduction, describing the intellectual and moral value, the division and systematization of mathematics, the logical features and constitution of astronomy, the position and organization of physics, the logical and scientific aspects of chemistry, and the arrangement of that science. The synthetic introduction deals with the general characteristics of life, vegetal, animal, social, and the theory of cerebral functions. In an appendix are comprised the "Speech at Blainville's funeral," a "Letter on Social Commemoration," and "Lucie," and "Les Pensées d'une fleur," the former a story, the latter a graceful little poem, by Madame de Vaux, the intelligent and noble-hearted woman who was to the founder of Positivism, what Beatrice was to the author of the *Commedia Divina*. Great in its aims, absorbingly interesting in its subject matter; abounding in elevated thoughts, in grand and often sound conceptions, and occasionally striking out a true principle, the "Positive Polity" may be studied with advantage and admiration even by those who, like ourselves, reject some of its cardinal generalizations, recoil from its minute prescriptions, and deprecate the application of its regulative sacerdotalism as menacing the growth of individual liberty, and even the fresh revelations of personal life and character which, if we may use the fine language of a great poet in a merely metaphorical sense, "redeem from decay the visitations of the divinity in man."

Positive thought in some form will, we hope, triumph in the end over the barren and bewildering metaphysics of Germany. The successive builders of ontological card-castles happily do their best to destroy all faith in their nugatory method, and to shake their tremulous edifices till they topple to their fall. Dr. Friedrich Nietzsche⁴⁵ still retains his faith in the most destructive of all the *à priori* cosmogonists, Arthur Schopenhauer. The literary merit, the humour, the candour, the often deadly force of Schopenhauer's logic make him deservedly

⁴⁵ "Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen." Von Dr. Friedrich Nietzsche, Ordentl. Professor des classischen Philologie an der Universität Basel. Leipzig: Fritsch. 1874.

a favourite with persons who have no faith, and as little hope. The genius and cheerful serenity of the giant-killing philosopher seem fairly to have overpowered Herr Nietzsche's unconformable temperament, and to have compelled him to recognise a master spirit and great religious reformer in the paradoxical manufacturer of an occidental Buddhism. According to Schopenhauer and his admiring pupil, existence is a lying puppet show and endless game of nonsense, which the booby Time plays before us and with us. This wonderful universe, with all its variety of life, is hollow, deceptive, stale and unprofitable; human nature is without dignity, human love without beauty, human destiny without grandeur. The solution of the problem which man proposes is to be sought in the destruction of a world that never is, but only seems; in contempt for human virtues, human vices, human wellbeing, in hopelessness, in self-immolation. A happy life is impossible, the highest attainable life is the heroic life. The man who realizes this life is the ideal man—the man of Schopenhauer, a man far exalted above the man of Sentiment, the man of Rousseau, or even the man of Contemplation—the man of Goethe. In some of these representations there is, no doubt, truth to be found, and amid the dismal notes of this great lamentation over life, a strain of higher mood from time to time is heard. The imperfection of Nature is undeniable, and moral evil, both in kind and degree, appalling; but the pessimism of Schopenhauer is surely as exaggerated as the optimism of Leibnitz. The ordinary view of the world appears to us nearer the truth than that of the paradox-loving Schopenhauer. Good and evil, like light and darkness, co-exist, but the material, no less than the spiritual order, is capable of improvement; and life is sometimes enjoyment, not always renunciation. The representatives of human nobleness are, according to Dr. Nietzsche, philosophers, artists, and saints. The philosopher of course must have "a fine eye for consequences," and, if possible, see a soul of *evil* in things good; the artist represents genuine culture in opposition to intellectual Philistinism; the saint, who commits spiritual suicide, is exalted into a region of higher life and thought, the clouds of earth depart, the glory of summer evenings is round him. This transcendent saintliness, however, does not preclude the exercise of privileges which are usually supposed to be incompatible with moral predilections. Schopenhauer, at least, in one of the papers in his "*Parerga*," pleads strongly for the restoration of polygamy, maintains the unreasonableness of expecting men to put a restraint on their passions, while, with that impartiality which becomes a philosopher and a saint, he insists on padlocking the *lying, lover-hunting, round-shouldered, broad-hipped female sex*. The saint of Schopenhauer it seems must renounce the world, and very likely the devil, but he may make amends to injured virtue by amiable capitulations to the third of our spiritual enemies, "Low morals and High Church" being thus triumphantly reconciled. From the eulogistic estimate of the sublime philosophy contained in the third of Dr. Nietzsche's opposition pamphlets, we trace our way back to the first of the three, in which an attempt is made to damage the reputation of a truth-loving, high-hearted man, whose aim was

not so much to construct a philosophy as to explain the origin of a religion. Strauss undoubtedly pushed his mythical hypothesis too far in his first "Leben Jesu," but the general principle which he laid down even in that work, that the evangelical narrative is partly myth, partly legend, partly fact, has, in our opinion, been amply confirmed, and in his popular *Life of Jesus* there is but little for future criticism to correct. That the conclusions at which Strauss arrived would be opposed to those of many estimable persons is a matter of course; but an occidental Buddhist would object but little if at all, to the most trenchant negations of the dreaded theologian. In fact, his battery seems principally directed against the Confession of Strauss in the little work entitled "The Old and New Faith." We should have thought that the religious belief of a man of Strauss's learning and experience would possess a legitimate interest for all thoughtful men in these days of mental anarchy, and that long and laborious inquiry was a sufficient justification for such an avowal from such a man. Dr. Nietzsche, however, regards Strauss's Confession as a blunder, and criticises it, perhaps not without occasional success, in a bitter and denunciatory spirit. As Schopenhauer represents the purest culture, so Strauss seems to be chosen as a type of the Philistine intellect. Surely Strauss's ample knowledge, his penetrating sagacity, his devotion to art, his love of poetical composition, his biographical productivity, should have exempted him from inclusion in the circle of men of narrow parochial minds and citty tastes, to whom the term Philistine would be appropriately applied. No doubt the work of a Strauss is not that of a Darwin or a Goethe, but it is noble and necessary work, manfully conceived and honestly executed; not purely destructive, though it destroys, but in some degree exhibiting the strength of the building hand, and the splendour of the illuminating mind. In the second or intermediate division of the present work the author's expression of antipathy becomes general. We are far from thinking that his censure on the abuse of historical composition or historical acquirement wholly undeserved. A mind overloaded with facts loses sight of the principle that interprets them, and an exhaustive minuteness is a poor substitute for that comprehensive and centralizing treatment which, as in Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," impresses by its magical condensation the life of a period on the receptive intellect. The essay, as we understand it, is directed against useless prolixity and multifarious pedantry. The author contends that history interests men as actual possessors of life, serving them in their external activity, corresponding to their instincts of conservation and veneration, and appealing to them as suffering creatures needing moral liberation. History accordingly takes a threefold division: it is monumental, antiquarian, or critical.

The historical conception of Hegel, notwithstanding the numerous vices in its application, seemed to a once ardent adherent, Ludwig Feuerbach, his principal achievement.⁴⁰ Schopenhauer he commends

⁴⁰ "Ludwig Feuerbach in seinem Briefwechsel und Nachlass sowie in seiner

for the selection of compassion as the moral motive power in human nature, while he yet asserts that active sympathy, prompting to efforts to increase the happiness or lessen the misery of man, is the only true moral principle. The limitless pity of the philosophical Pessimist presupposes the desire of happiness, presupposes that not our own welfare but that of others of the human race is our being's end and aim. Christianity, in Feuerbach's view, implied a mental disposition, a service of soul, a spiritual malady; he recognised Christianity, but he recognised it to negative it. Before Strauss he had answered the question, Are we still Christians? as Strauss afterwards answered it. Intoxicated for a time with Hegelianism, he combated it vigorously when he had recovered from his speculative inebriation. To deliver philosophy from the close atmosphere of Hegelian thought and give it air became his great object. Declaring the independence of ethics on theology, he made man the central point of the world and of his own system, and, going a step beyond Strauss, who had applied the mythical solution to the history of Jesus, he determined to show what was the origin of myth, or what are the intellectual and moral qualities of man, which inevitably give rise to the Christian faith. According to Feuerbach, the gods are personified human wishes, Olympus and Paradise projections of mortal aspiration. Between 1840 and 1850 appeared his "Essence of Christianity," "Essence of Religion," and "First Principles," lectures embodying his philosophical doctrines. Theologians raged, declared Feuerbach knew nothing of the soul or its needs, and asked indignantly what the police were about. Professional opposition did not prevent the bold thinker from becoming popular, however; and the popularity which he enjoyed continued to increase till the open avowal in the Heidelberg lectures, that his object was to liberate men from the religious and political valets-de-chambre of the terrestrial and celestial monarchies and aristocracies, and make them conscious citizens of earth, ceased to find any response, a reaction having enabled the earthly aristocracies to restore their favourite political flunkies to their old places. The philosophical character of Feuerbach through all its phases of development is portrayed with ample detail in the letters, fragmentary essays, and scattered biographical notices comprised in Herr Grün's volumes. We should have preferred a short continuous "Life" of Feuerbach, which would have made the man live before us as a noble representative of the *fire-streaming Vesuvian* family of which he was a member, to the editor's disconnected running commentary; the strictly biographical element being inserted in the introductory delineation of the philosophical character of the hero of the book. There is some interesting matter in the letters of Feuerbach and his friends, and the essays and detached reflections scattered in different parts of the two volumes of which the work consists contain some striking and even beautiful thoughts.

The contemplation of the beautiful suffices to itself, is the sentence of Hegel, as rendered by the author of the "Introduction to Schiller's *Æsthetical Letters and Essays*," a new translation of which appears in

Philosophischen Charakterentwicklung dargestellt. Von Karl Grün. In two vols. Leipzig und Heidelberg. 1874.

Bohn's Standard Library.⁴⁷ Kant undertook to show how sense and idea are united in art, and Schiller attempted to solve the problem of the reconciliation of the two principles by means of aesthetic education. Our impression of the value of these essays, which we read many years ago, is such that we strongly recommend those who cannot read German to study them through the medium of the English translation.

The Philosophy of Hamlet, according to Mr. Tyler, is pessimistic. Uncongenial, however, as are the conditions of human life, and frightful as is the general depravity, all events are under the control of a superintending Providence; but what is the purpose or destined issue which man, the instrument of a Higher Power, is compelled to subserve, is shrouded in mystery.⁴⁸ Calamity and disaster fall upon men without regard to individual character, and, though a posthumous retribution is possible, the future destiny of mankind is obscure and doubtful. Hamlet's madness, Mr. Tyler thinks, is assumed.

Unscientific notions, says Plato, fly about in the soul, and, by chasing and catching, at one time a knowledge, at another an ignorance, we come to have true and false opinions. What is knowledge, is the question asked in the *Theætetus*, from which we have taken this comparison.⁴⁹ The nearest approximate answer, says the learned translator of a dialogue interpreting his text, would seem to be right opinion for which one can give reason. Mr. Paley's Introduction places the reader in a position which will aid him in understanding the subject-matter of the dialogue; and the foot-notes, which are felicitously brief, explain the occasional passages which need elucidation.

"The Principles of Economical Philosophy,"⁵⁰ by Mr. Henry D. Macleod, has attained to a second edition. In the first part of the second volume, now in our hands, the author continues his dissertation on Rent in the opening chapter. In the following chapters the subjects of exposition or discussion are Profits, Labour or Immaterial Wealth, Wages, Rights or Incorporeal Wealth, the theory of the Exchanges, certain theories of Currency, and the Definition of Currency. The final chapter has for its leading topics the organization of the Bank of England and the Bank Charter Act of 1844. In dealing with these questions Mr. Macleod often controverts the opinions of Ricardo, Mill, Malthus, Lord Overstone, Colonel Torrens, and others. He admits that his work is subversive of the dominant views, but maintains that it restores the great line of orthodox opinion so rudely

⁴⁷ "Essays Aesthetical and Philosophical." By Friedrich Schiller. Newly translated from the German. London: George Bell & Sons. 1875.

⁴⁸ "The Philosophy of Hamlet." By Thomas Tyler, M.A., of the University of London. Author of "Ecclesiastes," &c. London: Williams & Norgate.

⁴⁹ "The *Theætetus* of Plato." Translated with Introduction and brief explanatory notes. By F. W. Paley, translator of "Philebus," and Professor of Classical Literature in the Catholic Training College, Kensington. Bell and Sons. London. 1875.

⁵⁰ "The Principles of Economical Philosophy." By Henry Dunning Macleod, Esq., M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Inner Temple, &c. Second edition. Vol. ii. part i. London: Longmans. 1875.

broken of recent years. With rejections of doctrines of previous Economists that surprise us, Mr. Macleod combines real information and valuable comment, or corrects long prevailing and popular misconception. "It is almost universally supposed," he remarks, "that the resumption of cash payments was forced on the Bank by Peel's Act of 1819, whereas the Act did not compel payments in coin till the 1st May, 1823, and, owing to the accumulation of treasure in the Bank, the Directors themselves applied for and obtained an Act permitting them to resume payments in coin on the 1st May, 1821." Claiming for the Roman lawyers the merit of bringing the system of Credit to perfection, Mr. Macleod remarks on the singular non-appreciation, in so practical a people, of the convenience of recording Credit or Debts on written instruments till a very late period.

"The only written documents of debt which the Romans used were cheques; there is no trace of their having invented bank notes. Bank notes were invented by the Chinese about 807 A.D., in the reign of Hian-tsoung, of the dynasty of Thang. There was a great scarcity in the country, owing to political troubles and their usual concomitant—a debasement of the coinage. The Emperor ordered all the merchants to bring their specie to the Treasury, and in exchange for it gave them bills of exchange or notes, called fey-tsen, or flying money, payable at the principal towns of the provinces."

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

SIR HENRY MAINE, in his newly published "*Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*,"¹ has fully maintained the remarkable reputation he won by his lectures on "Ancient Law," and on "Village Communities." The form of lectures which Sir H. Maine adopts for the enunciation of his views readily lends itself to the characteristic action of the writer's genius. He rejoices in freedom, and seems rather to follow a subject out as it chances to lead him, than to prescribe to himself rigorously beforehand where he will go and by what path. In an immature or superficial writer such a habit would be full of peril, and even in Sir H. Maine it cannot be described as an unmitigated advantage. Nevertheless, he is really well acquainted with his subject, is bold and sagacious in criticism, and is, at times, philosophically profound. In the present volume the lines of thought worked out in the "Ancient Law" are carried distinctly farther, and that, not only by the discovery of fresh illustrative instances, but by a fresh process of reflection working upon the results previously attained. The direct object of the bulk of the lectures in this volume is to call attention to the recently published tracts on the early Irish or "Brehon" laws, and to claim their testimony in favour of the per-

¹ "*Lectures on the Early History of Institutions.*" By Sir Henry Sumner Maine, London; Murray. 1875.

manence and universality of certain ideas and practices among the most westerly, as among the most easterly sections of the Aryan race. The two largest of the ancient Irish Law tracts, now officially translated and published, are styled the *Senchus Mor*, or Great Book of the Ancient Law, and the *Book of Aicill*. The actual period at which these works assumed their present shape is extremely uncertain, but there is good authority for the belief that the former work was compiled in, or perhaps slightly before, the eleventh century, and the latter in the century preceding. The *Senchus Mor* claims, indeed, to have been compiled during the life, and under the personal influence, of St. Patrick. The main interest rightly held by Sir H. Maine to attach to these compilations is, that they combine to represent a body of law in existence prior to, and independent of, any centralized system of government. They, therefore, genuinely reproduce the spontaneous customs of a branch of the Aryan race before conscious and systematic revision had begun. They have much the same value as the fragments of the XII. Tables have in Roman law. It need scarcely be said that these early relics of Irish law have a further interest for Sir H. Maine from the positive support they give him for his well-known theories of the antiquity of family life, the nature of primitive tenures, and the characteristics of early judicial procedure. The work abounds with allusions to the treatises of recent explorers in these and like fields, and some of the purely philosophical disquisitions (as those on the paucity and slow growth of ideas in the world, and on the superior attention paid in English judicial proceedings to questions of fact over questions of law) are extremely valuable. The criticisms contained in the last two chapters upon Bentham and Austin will be especially interesting to the law student.

It is well known that the main difficulty in studying the late Mr. John Austin's² writings on jurisprudence consisted in the repulsive shape in which they were originally presented to the public. This was to a certain extent unavoidable, as the materials left in the late Mr. Austin's hands were in a very fragmentary shape, and consisted of little else than incomplete notes for lectures. The last edition in two volumes, prepared by Mr. Robert Campbell, was a great improvement upon the first one, and had the advantage of good marginal indices, headings to chapters, and useful annotations. Mr. Robert Campbell has now carried the process of emendation one step further, and has prepared a compendious "Student's Edition" of the lectures which will, no doubt, largely supersede the use of the larger editions.

Mr. William Markby's³ "Elements of Law" have also passed into a second edition, and the work is one which may conveniently be read side by side with Mr. Austin's Lectures. It is cast in the same logical

² "Lectures on Jurisprudence." By the late John Austin. Abridged from the larger work for the use of Students. By Robert Campbell. London: Murray. 1875.

³ "Elements of Law: considered with Reference to Principles of General Jurisprudence." By William Markby. Second Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press Series. 1874.

mould, and is, in some respects, more organically complete in its conception. It is also enriched by a variety of interesting illustrations drawn from Mr. Markby's experience as a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta. It is to be noticed that both Mr. Austin⁴ and Mr. Markby's view of their subject is exclusively logical, and in fact leads, indirectly, to an undue suppression of the historical and ethical aspects of law.

The familiar adage to the effect that if only enough abuse be lavished on a person or an institution, some at least will not fail of its purpose, is especially applicable to the sort of indiscriminate reproaches with which law reformers who walk in the steps of Bentham delight to bespatter both the Bench and the Bar. Mr. Forbes Johnson⁵ is scarcely behind Bentham himself in his estimate of the public spirit and intelligence of the legal profession. Our only fear is lest, in not caring to be philosophically exact in his appreciation of persons, he fail to conciliate the attention really due to many of his practical suggestions. It is true of course that, as a class, Judges and Barristers are likely to prefer, and therefore do prefer, a steady and easy walk in old and familiar paths to bold and decisive innovations. It is true, too, that the professional training of a lawyer renders him a real lover of the past and the present, and, at the best, only a cold student of reform. But English and Irish judges and lawyers are only worse than all other judges and lawyers because the unwritten system of law they have to administer evokes into special activity the conservative temper, otherwise the system itself would lose its essential coherence. The practical suggestions made by Mr. Forbes Johnson are some of them deserving of attention. But among them is the resumption of its Appellate Jurisdiction by the House of Lords.

It may be taken as a somewhat hopeful sign of the resurrection of philosophy in England that Hume's⁶ Essays are republished in a form likely to insure them circulation in the most refined circles of society, by editors of the highest repute. The real position of David Hume in the line of moral and political thinkers is very imperfectly recognised at the present day. Indeed, it is still believed that his main functions were to supply a text for Paley, and to write a long, one-sided, and somewhat dreary History of England. It is not known, or it is forgotten, that he was one of the first in the great school of modern Political Economists; that he was the last in the line of English metaphysicians proper, and that Kant was his European successor and heir, and that he was the first of the school of critical or analytical politicians of whom Bentham and the two Mills are the most familiar representatives. The present edition of the Essays is prefaced by a highly interesting historical account of the previous editions, an account which in some parts is a curious testimony to the intolerance

⁴ "An Essay on the Science of Law, in Two Parts." By W. Forbes Johnson, one of Her Majesty's Counsel. Dublin: Hodges, Foster and Co. 1874.

⁵ "Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary." By David Hume. Edited, with Preliminary Dissertations and Notes, by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose. In two volumes. London: Longmans. 1875.

by which the fame of the great Scotch philosopher was tarnished, or, at the best, was prevented from emerging.

We have great pleasure in calling attention to Major-General Marriott's⁶ "*Grammar of Political Economy*." It is a work built upon the best authorities, and yet possesses a certain freshness and original force of its own. The author says that, "with unabated respect for the teaching of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, and others, he offers this *Grammar* as likely, in proportion to its scope, to give more concise and accurate guidance to the student than the other elementary works with which he is acquainted." The author has indeed achieved his aim, as he himself describes it; firstly, to restrict the treatise to the truly elementary considerations in each branch of the subject; secondly, to adopt a perfectly precise and unambiguous use of terms, in the sense which most nearly agrees with common use; thirdly, to offer reasonable proof of every proposition; fourthly, to use the utmost brevity consistent with proof, so as to invite and facilitate the judgment of the student as well as of the critic. It is a valuable feature of the work, that at the close of each chapter the propositions which have been established in the course of the chapter are re-stated in a distinct and compendious form.

We regret we cannot so confidently recommend Governor Musgrave's⁷ "*Studies in Political Economy*." The work is eminently controversial, and we are of opinion that the result of many of the controversies will not be found to be in the writer's favour. The writer says that during twenty years of official life in seven Colonial Governments, it has been his duty to deal with many public financial and economical questions, and it has often occurred to him that facts and circumstances did not coincide with principles of political economy which he had been taught to believe well established. He thereupon, in this little treatise, sets himself to controvert what he conceives to be some of Mr. Mill's leading propositions. Some of these alleged propositions of Mr. Mill are only parts or fragments of his real propositions, and others of them are only practical or ethical conclusions which certain persons have most unwarrantably annexed to his propositions, and imputed to him. This imputation of ethical doctrines to political economists who are engaged solely in tracing the necessary and general effects of definitely assigned causes on national wealth, is the most vivacious of all fallacies in reference to the subject, and has done more than anything else to bring political economy into disrepute. The present writer imputes to Mr. Mill a demand that society should put an end to the production of all articles of luxury, and asserts Mr. Mill's "determination not to admit—although gold is a commodity—that it can have any substantive value as exchangeable property." In fact, nothing can be more unsatisfactory than to select isolated paragraphs of a great writer on a great subject, and attempt to obtain

⁶ "*A Grammar of Political Economy*." By Major-General W. F. Marriott. London: Henry S. King. 1874.

⁷ "*Studies in Political Economy*." By Anthony Musgrave, C.M.G., Governor of South Australia. London: Henry S. King. 1875.

credit for demonstrating the short-comings and inconclusiveness of the reasoning.

The "Policy of Liberalism,"* like that of "Politics" in Count Smorltork's estimate of it, is a large subject, and we cannot say that Mr. Daniel Grant in his essay, or published lecture, on that subject, has done very much to clear away the clouds that hang over it. Mr. Daniel Grant says nothing that is untrue, but then he says only a small part that is true, and a still smaller part of what has not been said elsewhere, and far more forcibly. The fact is that the Liberal party will never be reconstructed so long as the present lines of party are maintained as the only common meeting ground of that policy. It is all very well to recall attention to what Mr. Gladstone's Government achieved in respect of Education, the Army, and Ireland. But it is not by reminiscences that men live, or parties are kept together. Each of these great reforms was the mature fruit of long maintained, and at the first most unpopular principles. A Liberal party can only exist and hold its own by advocating principles which, for a long time, are recognised and admitted by a very few. The present Liberal party in the House of Commons is mostly occupied in contending with its antagonists in advocating measures which even the stupidest part of the community cordially hail. The Liberal party of the future must be formed entirely afresh, and the nucleus of such a party will be found among that knot of proscribed incendiaries who are now advocating the most objectionable, but also the most vegetative and thought-out of political nostrums.

The contributions of "the Member for the Chiltern Hundreds" to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, reprinted, form a most amusing volume for those to whom our public men are familiar figures, and a really instructive one as well to the mass of readers who probably attribute the speeches of last night's debate to persons of much more grave and reverend bearing than it seems truth would bear them out as having. The portraits are very neat, if somewhat caricatures. First we have those who lost their seats at the General Election passed in review. Sir John Pakington used to be treated "with a consideration which English gentlemen are, happily, always ready to pay to mediocrity when it is well off, is highly connected, and can express its absence of ideas without violation of the rules of grammar or the principles of accent." Mr. Ayrton is regretted as an able man, who lost popularity through an insolence of manner which the House of Commons itself fostered at first, by treating it as funny. "It was the fashion to laugh at Mr. Bernal Osborne's thrusts, though reviewed in cold blood it is often difficult to discover either wit or humour in them." Mr. Bright's estimate of Sir Charles Wetherell as "a dull man," is strongly endorsed. Mr. Montague Chambers, "the chirping Q.C.," was the best possible "embodiment of Mr. Micawber" in dress,

* "On the Policy of Liberalism." By Daniel Grant. London: William Ridgway. 1875.

† "Men and Manner in Parliament." By the Member for the Chiltern Hundreds. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1874.

manner, and speech. Mr. Auberon Herbert gets an amount of appreciative praise such as rarely falls to his lot. Then follows a chapter on the orators of the House, who are said to be two in number, Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone, unless Mr. Disraeli be, for Parliamentary purposes, added; but he has ceased to speak at length since office has freed him from the necessity of great exertion. Even at his best his speeches are to be measured "just as the merits of the pudding at a school dinner are gauged by the frequency of the plums which occur in a slice." His manner is to sit apart in "grim loneliness" in the House, and when he speaks "the attitude which he finds most conducive to the happy delivery of points is to stand balancing himself upon his feet with his hands in his coat-tail pockets." Mr. Bright is described with warm admiration, and Mr. Gladstone with discrimination. The present Cabinet next come under review. Mr. Cross lingers round the performance of his duties like a child over its last sugar-plum. Mr. Ward Hunt is "a very big man, and yet he is a scold." Lord Sandon is praised for clear speech, conciliatory manner, and great earnestness of mien. A possible great future is attached to Mr. Lowther's name. The "Independent" members are brightly sketched in, Mr. Fawcett being evidently a favourite with the sketcher, while Mr. Mundella is an amusing object of aversion. Sir Charles Dilke, with a manner of "more than mortal monotony," "generally has something notable to say, and has a fearless way of saying it, which, to those who have souls capable of being stirred by the fire of political knight errantry, covers a multitude of sins of manner." "Mr. Roebuck is a good lover and a good hater, chiefly the latter;" his gesture in speaking is said to be peculiarly vexatious. Among the "talkers" of the House, Sir George Balfour leads the van. Mr. Melly is said to prejudice his real value by self-assertive manner; Mr. Charley is "busy and fussy;" Mr. Osborne Morgan is peculiarly depressing, though his matter is clever and even brilliant; Mr. Beresford Hope is the "embodiment of Batavian grace;" Mr. Jenkins is conceited, and predestined to fail in gaining the ear of the House, his manner being as "loud" and as aggressive as his attire; Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Mr. Trevelyan, and Mr. Julian Goldsmith, are a New England party by themselves. The Irish members are fairly portrayed, and a chapter on the candidates for the Liberal and Conservative leaderships is well worth reading.

Captain Maxse's¹⁰ writing and speaking are always clear, vigorous, and to the point, and if loud preaching about the practical anomalies of the existing system of Parliamentary representation can be of service, that service is certainly realized by him. We regret extremely that Captain Maxse should have pronounced himself an antagonist to women's suffrage, and we are at a loss to make out how he does not see that all the arguments he uses against the extension of the suffrage to

¹⁰ "Whether the Minority of Electors should be represented by a Majority in the House of Commons?" *A Lecture upon Electoral Reform.* By Captain Maxse, R.N. London: H. S. King. 1875.

women, are capable of being retorted against his own measures for extending the suffrage to an increased number of men. He says :—

“It is true that women have, as men have, many wrongs, but their remedy lies, not in their political hostility to men, but in their emancipation from superstition and in the exercise of their natural influence. We must not regard the few radical women who come forward in this movement as the genuine representatives of their sex. The overwhelming majority of women in this country are indifferent to or are opposed to woman suffrage.”

Have not precisely the same arguments been always used against extending the suffrage by the most inveterate Conservatives, and are they not still used on every side to exclude the agricultural labourer? The excluded classes, it is said, are not suffering from evils which political power can remedy; the few prominent leaders in no way represent the rest; the great body of the class does not wish for enfranchisement. It is instructive to see how prejudice and intolerance lurk in the most emancipated breasts.

Dr. Tellkamp's¹¹ “Essays on Law Reform, Commercial Policy, Banks, and Penitentiaries in Great Britain and the United States,” will be read with interest in this country, as containing the observations of a thoroughly accomplished foreigner on matters of pressing importance in this country at the present day. The writer is the “Professor of Political Science” in the University of Breslau, and we may say, by the way, that the institution of Professorships of such subjects as this would be a great gain to the cause of public instruction in England. It is remarkable that the subject of “politics” is most taught and lectured upon in the countries in which there is least political freedom and activity among the people. In England, except in the somewhat circumscribed region of “political economy,” it is simply never taught at all. The Essays in the present volume contain facts as well as arguments which it is well worth while looking at afresh. Thus, in the Essay on “Commercial Policy,” the frequent disasters to Atlantic steamers are brought into alarming relief, and the moral to which Mr. Plimsoll has drawn public attention is insisted on in the following language :—

* “The conveyance of passengers and goods by these steamers being a lucrative business, causes the *gain* of the shipowners or of the members of the steam navigation companies to be their main aim. There exists consequently in the very nature of such a lucrative business the great danger that gain may be preferred to the security and safety of the passengers who entrust their lives and fortunes to those steamers. To obviate this danger as much as possible is the duty of Government, whose principal end is the security of the life and property of the people.”

All the Essays will thoroughly repay careful reading.

The subject of what may be called “Descriptive Politics,” is one which might advantageously be worked at a great deal more than it is.

¹¹ “Essays on Law Reform, Commercial Policy, Banks, Penitentiaries, &c., in Great Britain and the United States of America.” By J. L. Tellkamp, LL.D., Ph.D. Second Edition. Berlin. 1875.

English people need to know how foreign States are governed, not only in order that they may be discreet and intelligent in commenting on the public acts of those States, but that they may not suppose that they themselves have exhausted in this country all the possible shades of political experience, and that outside England nothing is to be found but a dreary repetition of changes upon the old strings of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. A work such as Mr. Nicolson's "*Sketch of the German Constitution*"¹² is singularly suited to dispel such self-complacent ignorance. Mr. Nicolson is the third secretary in the English Embassy at Berlin, and he writes with a thorough, indeed with an accomplished, knowledge of his subject. He not only describes precisely what is the German constitution at the present moment, but he traces the gradual steps in the development of the constitution since 1815. The whole is done with brevity and point, so that a reader can almost at a glance cull what he happens to want. Mr. Nicolson's closing allusion to the peculiar characteristics of the present régime deserves to be quoted:—

"The form of the constitution is peculiar—an Emperor, who combines some of the attributes of an absolute with those of a constitutional sovereign, ruling over States more or less independent, and who is hemmed in and rendered powerless in many respects, while in others he has unlimited scope; one responsible Minister, the Chancellor, whose responsibility is not very clearly defined; a Council of Representatives from the several States, with the functions of an administrative and of a legislative body, responsible to no one, acting upon instructions from their Governments, without reference to the representative assemblies of their respective countries; a Parliament elected on as broad a basis as possible, and yet not exercising to the full the functions which ordinarily belong to a great representative body. He would be a bold prophet who would venture to foretell the future of this constitution."

A somewhat striking pamphlet by an anonymous writer has appeared under the title "*Prussia in Relation to the Foreign Policy of England*."¹³ The writer points out the importance of England securing the permanent neutralization both of Holland and Belgium. He shows the grounds for apprehension that Prussia may, when the opportunity offers, attempt to incorporate Holland in the German system, and insists that such a step must be highly detrimental to England. The case is well and carefully argued.

Herr A. F. Grohmann's pamphlet on "*Social Science*"¹⁴ exhibits a mode of thought which, through the influence of Mr. Herbert Spencer and other thinkers of a like school, is becoming increasingly dominant in this country. The writer represents the process by which human society is built up out of the original material elements of which the individual human being is composed. Man's peculiarly fine and complex nervous system, and especially his capacity for speech, fit and prepare him for a social destiny. His social tendencies and his capacity

¹² "*A Sketch of the German Constitution, and of the Events in Germany from 1815 to 1871.*" By A. Nicolson. London: Longmans. 1875.

¹³ "*Prussia in Relation to the Foreign Policy of England.*" London: Hatchards. 1875.

¹⁴ "*Soziales Wissen.*" Abhandlung von A. F. Grohmann. Berlin. 1875. .
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of acquiring and accumulating knowledge fit him further to exercise a systematic influence over the conditions of his life. Law and the State become his necessary environments and the expressions of his true condition. Here a difficulty is encountered from a fresh tendency to isolation, consequent on the growing division of labour, and the tyranny of mere aggregate numbers. Herr Grohmann alludes to Mr. Mill's minority representation schemes, but without approving of them or seeing in them the true remedy. This is to be sought in such a general education as shall correct the tendencies of special and technical education to drive men apart from each other.

A new edition of Dr. Nichols' ten-years-old volume on America¹⁵ contains much fresh material, and omits some parts of the former edition the interest of which was ephemeral. Southern in his sympathies—at least to the extent of objecting to enforce union at the point of the bayonet, as it seemed to him that the North was doing—Dr. Nichols found it best to leave the States at the outbreak of the war of 1860, and come to England. He is able, therefore, to write of America as a former sharer in her life, and to judge of her with somewhat of an Englishman's cool judgment. An interesting, instructive, and precise book is the result. The blot on the book is one so great that it almost overshadows the great accompanying merits. It is a persistent, quiet, or outspoken approval of slavery. But since the book is a repertory of facts and opinions on almost all phases of American life, this topic is one which is in large measure in the background. It may be regretted, however, that after the lapse of many years Dr. Nichols has not thought it well to suppress the later chapters on Slavery and the Rights of Secession, and those on the War.

Mr. Wahl¹⁶ observes most justly, that a knowledge of the history, popular traits and habits, geography, and resources of Russia and the Russians has not yet come to be considered a part of English education. He rightly ascribes this common want of interest to the non-existence of any compendious books on these subjects. He seeks to fill up this gap in our literature, and details with the interest of an admirer and the knowledge of a long sojourner the most striking features of Russia and its populations. He first deals with the physical features—geography, geology, zoology, and climatology; then tells us what the different races excel or are most deficient in, including most naïvely the Serbians, Bulgarians, Poles Lithuanians, and Wallachians among Russians. Mr. Wahl is a warm Russophile; he sees no harm in the Khivan expedition; nothing greedy in the Crimean war; nothing undesirable in the Czar's despotism; nothing suspicious in including foreign populations under the name of Russians. With this fact well kept in mind, his chapters on Russian history may be most highly commended, and his account of the various sects in the Empire, and of Russian literature, may be accepted in lack

¹⁵ "Forty Years of American Life." By T. L. Nichols, M.D. London: Longmans. 1874.

¹⁶ "The Land of the Czar." By D. W. Wahl. London: Chapman and Hall. 1875.

of less one-sided narratives. Mr. Wahl believes that the wary outlook of England on Russian doings has been robbed of its suspiciousness by the recent marriage of Prince Alfred and the Grand Duchess; but such an idea is more natural to a land whose despotic Emperor is looked upon as the earthly representative of God, than to a land ruled over by a constitutional and limited monarch.

The completion of Captain Krahmer's translation¹⁷ from Russian into German of Colonel Wenkujow's work on the Borderlands of Russia and Asia, calls for few remarks. It has small interest for the general English reader, but may serve as a model to English military students and writers. It would also be a valuable book of reference to any one compiling information on the roads and military resources of Russia and of Khiva, and on the condition of the Turkomans, whose country is a typical continental region, dry, and suffering the extremes of cold and heat, poor in its Flora and Fauna, a very desert, except on the Caspian and along the upper courses of the Atrek and Gjurgen rivers. An ethnographical map of Russia in Asia, and a map of the Borderlands between Russia and China, have been imitated from Wenkujow's, compared with English linear standards, and appended to the volume.

Baron Thielmann¹⁸ learned Russian during a few months' residence in St. Petersburg, and then felt himself emboldened to travel in the Caucasus. A friend urged him to return by Syria, and two travelling companions induced him to visit the nearer borders of Persia. Desiring, like a wise man, to inform himself as well as might be beforehand, he sought for books and found so few about the Caucasus that he resolved to make the preparation of a compendious volume for the help of future travellers one object of his expedition. He has ably carried out this idea, and has united the usual German thoroughness to a certainly unusual lightness and even brilliancy of style. His German is so little involved that he supplies a handbook for any one who can at all read that language, and when the stream of tourists—that most capricious and varying of currents—sets towards the Caucasus, it will be well to translate it for the benefit of the mob. He says that the inseparable European aspect of the traveller in the Caucasus acts as a passport, though a positive Russian paper produces grand results in difficulties even when it cannot be read. "Weapons are so necessarily a part of clothing in the East that the traveller, even though he be no sportsman, will do well to take a rifle with him, for it creates around him always a certain nimbus." For the encouragement of others, he assures us that the difficulties he met with were by no means extreme, and every page of his book shows that the interest of these little-known regions was great.

Granted that so called "sport" is a fit subject for boasting and for

¹⁷ Oberst Wenkujow: "Die russisch-asiatischen Grenzlande." Aus dem Russischen übertragen von Krahmer. 4 Lieferung. Leipzig. 1874.

¹⁸ "Striefzüge im Kaukasus, in Persien, und in der Asiatischen Türkei." Von Freiherr Max von Thielmann, Dr. Juris. Leipzig. 1875.

bookmaking, the volume published by a late Customs' Officer¹⁹ is not a bad average specimen of its genus. It is a little less bloodthirsty than some; a quality it possibly owes to the fact that the incidents narrated in its pages did not occur as told, but are a collection of stories of "sporting" supplied by the author, or his brother, or their friends, and strung upon a thread of fiction which has led to their being interspersed and so toned down by company with tales of Indian tradition, which possess some more human and less gory interest. This fictitious element affords also some room to hope that the story of horse-whipping an unruly servant and of threatening to leave him all night tied to a tree in the jungle belongs to the dark ages of India, and that no modern Indian civilian would have impudence enough to inform the British nation, in whose service he had been sent, that such had actually been his own practice towards his fellow-subjects in India. Happily that isolation from any representative of public opinion which has tended to make our officials in many parts of India forget that they are bound to set an example of English courtesy and kindness, is being put an end to by the enlargement of the railway system, and by a growth of interest in India and of knowledge of the people which even such books as this—tempting Englishmen to go out to find food for their powder—must somewhat help to spread abroad in England.

M. Jules Verne²⁰ collects into a very good book for young people all the incidents which either have happened or might probably happen to the crew of a brig venturing by itself on Polar exploration. All the difficulties with a suffering and insubordinate crew destitute of enthusiasm, with a specially hard winter, are well worked out; and any child who had read the book with the absorption it is certain to create would not only be able to pass a very good examination in Polar geography and history, and in the requirements and methods of travel in Polar regions, but would also surely watch with most intelligent interest the progress of the new expedition. A sequel is promised, in which the four men who are deserted by the rest of the crew are, it may be presumed, to be made successful in reaching the Pole. The science is very adroitly administered to the reader through the medium of a stout good-humoured Scotch doctor. Altogether the book is, without reservation, one which it will be well to circulate freely among juvenile libraries, and which will, at the very least, refresh the memories of older people whose attention is likely to be recalled to Polar research during the next few coming years.

The translator of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian's²¹ new work is "anxious to declare, as the fruits of his own personal knowledge of our authors, between whom and himself there has now existed a friendly

¹⁹ "Past Days in India." By a late Customs' Officer, N.W. Provinces, India. London: Chapman and Hall. 1874.

²⁰ "The English at the North Pole." By Jules Verne. With Illustrations. London and New York: George Routledge and Sons. 1875.

²¹ "Brigadier Frédéric: a Story of an Alsacian Exile." From the French of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1875.

and most agreeable correspondence for thirty years, that they are men of peace and lovers of peace," and that Alsacians as they both are, "it is the agony of suffering" at the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine that forces the rough "tones of anger and vindictiveness from hearts framed for very different emotions." After reading the tale, and admiring afresh the pathos and simplicity which always characterize the writings of these authors, any one must be forced to hope that there is some further excuse than even this plea of suffering to be urged for them. Else they are deeply blameworthy. For instead of using their great literary influence, both at home and in foreign lands, to soothe the extreme irritation which, if fomented, is certain to break out into fresh war and misery, they have used their powerful pens to stir up wrath and to encourage their countrymen in turning away their eyes from all the terrible errors which are at the real root of French disasters. They picture the corrupt officials of a corrupt government as conscientious simple men; they hide the vice which had eaten up the strength of the nation; they curse the dead man as the sole cause of French misfortune; they take for granted and paint in lovely colours the universal immorality and greed which make a rich peasantry, with one child and inheritor in the place of each pair of parents. While their duty would be to tell the people whence came the defeat of France. The fact that the side they take is the one certain to make them popular at home; the fact that they are personally irreconcilable to German dominion in Alsace; the fact that what they say has a vast amount of truth in it; all these things do not make a defence for men who know themselves to be to a great extent leaders of political feeling if not of political opinion, and who use their power to embitter the relations between Germany and France. It is noteworthy that amidst all their bitterness of hatred towards the German occupiers and troops, they do not hint at any of the crimes of personal brutality or of licentiousness which have been by some so freely attributed to the Germans in France. Their habitual, conscientious, and artistic truthfulness is always supreme, and this makes their attitude of mind the more sad to onlookers, and the more dangerous to France. Perhaps the deepest lesson to be learned from the book is the enormous reach of the evil done by a great wrong. For though MM. Ereckmann-Chatrian have always been very Frenchmen in being dazzled by military glory, yet it has needed the grasping greed and intolerable unscrupulousness of Germany to drive them to forget that they are urging their countrymen on to fresh woes, whether they do or do not succeed in freeing the soil from the usurping power.

Viscountess Strangford's "*Book of Travels*"²² has long been a handbook for those who follow in her tracks, and a new edition seems to have been called for. Apparently no addition or alteration has been made since its earlier publication, which is somewhat to be regretted, since an added chapter or two bringing up the volume to the level of our present knowledge of Egyptian antiquities and explo-

²² "*Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines.*" By Emily A. Beaufort (Viscountess Strangford). London: Macmillan. 1874.

ration in Palestine would have saved some travellers the carrying of a second book. The merits of the book consist, as is commonly held, in its fresh, vivacious, and faithful descriptions, and its well digested historical and traditional information. It leads the reader up the Nile to Assouan, among the Drues, to Damascus, Tadmor, Jerusalem, and Greece.

Mr. Marcus Allen²³ was attached to the Ashantee Expedition, and wrote a book "to relieve the tedium of gunboat service." He believes himself to view the subject of Ashantee from a point of view different from that of other persons, and therefore publishes the work written under such depressing circumstances. He appears to be deeply imbued with a sense of L. E. L.'s poetical merits, and with the liability of her memory to fade from the mind of the British public. She therefore haunts these pages. And in consequence, probably, the writer "weens," and "limns scenes," and laments thus:—"Few of the kindred spirits whom he loved so well, may drop affection's tear upon his tomb, but his fame shall last in story, and the name of Francis Eardley Wilmot shall live for ever on the beard-roll of the brave." Mr. Allen's professional training induces him from time to time to give some information on hygienic and medical matters which are of some interest, though they are apt to appear in the technical slang which so frequently hides the good common sense of medical prescriptions, and exposes them to a suspicion of relationship with Mumbo-Jumbo. It is always a pity when the less educated and scientific members of any profession succeed in setting an example of hiding reason under a jumble of Latinized words, whose equivalents are easy to be found in the mother tongue.

Mr. Gaskell²⁴ is an artist living at Salzburg, where he invites his readers to call upon him (Villa Gaskell, Mönchberg) in order to see one of the most magnificent views of Europe or the world. He appears to have a very thorough knowledge of Algeria, and conveys it agreeably to the readers of his volume. He prefixes an historical notice up to the year 1830, the date of the French conquest, and in a later chapter he details the history of the insurrection of 1871. Mr. Gaskell speaks favourably of the present condition of Algeria under French dominion, and prognosticates all possible prosperity for the future. And certainly, if a fertile territory, a lovely climate, and easy access to markets can make a country prosper under foreign government—and that government French—Algeria must do well. Still greater opportunities are promised, however; for a directer route with fast steamers is projected, and there is a scheme of digging a canal which will let in the waters of the Mediterranean into the Sahara, and so change the wilderness into a garden. The land lies thirty to fifty yards lower than the sea-level, and the canal would not need to be long. So he would be a bold man who, in these days, should venture

²³ "The Gold Coast." By Marcus Allen, Surgeon R.N. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

²⁴ "Algeria as it is." By George Gaskell. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1875.

to say that this scheme will never be carried out. Meanwhile, Algeria, as it is, is full of beauty, and of old world as well as modern interest, and is as charming in climate and as comfortable for travellers as can well be.

The subject of Cremation is making more and more imperious demand upon public attention, and if we rather demur as to the wisdom of Mr. Haweis'²⁵ early attempt to ingratiate the topic by making it matter for a volume which would be necessarily classed as a novel in a library catalogue, it is not because we think it an unseemly or over young subject for common discussion, but because burial can never be the turning point of an artistic plot, and because the evils which it is sought to combat are too gruesome and hideous to be fitly surrounded by anything connected with the ordinary decencies of life. But though Mr. Haweis' taste is at fault, his book may yet do good service, for it is a collection of authenticated facts as to the horrors of the present system, such as must break down much opposition to the proposed system. The most indecent parade of the processes of cremation, outraging the feeling of the public, and of the faithful husband who carried out his wife's wish to be burned after death, cannot outweigh such facts as that a suburban cemetery exists, in which it is a practice to remove a coffin shortly after the mourners are gone home, and to put it into a crowded part of the graveyard, leaving the space saleable again for the next private funeral. The hideous perfunctory arrangements of a funeral are familiar, and may with advantage be quoted against all advocates of the ordinary custom. The arguments are ably summed up in the course of the slight narrative.

Mr. Eassie's²⁶ book furnishes, in small compass, a complete repertory of facts and arguments for all who wish to study the matter in order to make up their own minds or to convince others. It is well planned and well executed.

A gentleman of the name of Green²⁷ has thought it well to print once more all the dullest truisms that have floated about the world ever since Noah found the time hang heavily on his hands in the ark. He says that "things are never old, but thoughts are ever new: this is the only reason I give for the appearance of these Fragments." He forgets that things also are quite new to the undeveloped powers of each child; only the child learns to see that he is merely acquiring a share in the common property of the world, and so does not insist upon it that his discoveries are discoveries to his elders and superiors in knowledge and wisdom. He hopes that his readers will not put aside the volume "because they do not happen to agree with the first passage they read." But such a chance is out of the question. These are settled things. Take a few at random. "As bread is the

²⁵ "Ashes to Ashes; a Cremation Prelude." By Rev. H. R. Haweis, M.A. London: Daldy, Isbister and Co. 1875.

²⁶ "Cremation of the Dead: its History and Bearings upon Public Health." By William Eassie, C.E. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1875.

²⁷ "Fragments of Thought." By Thomas Bowden Green. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1875.

staff of bodily life, so common sense is the staff of mental life." "*Nevertheless*; what a depth of meaning is contained in that one word, and what a deal of significance it possesses!" "The hearing of some people is so acute that they are able to *overhear* what is not intended for them, and—suffer in consequence." The volume is enough to cause an outcry for a censorship of the press, to save good paper and printers' wasted energies.

It is not a frequent pleasure to meet with English essay writing so fresh, forceful, and terse as Mr. Wilkinson's;²⁸ and especially rare is it to receive from the other side of the Atlantic writing so good, and evaluation of English authors so sympathetic and appreciative, as George Eliot finds in this volume. Mr. Wilkinson writes from a distinctively orthodox point of view, but finds much in common with George Eliot even in this aspect, and thinks that he sees in her works an intellect standing "as in a suspense of doubt and awe toward Christ," but with a heart that "demurs and rebels" against a materialistic creed. He considers her "more than simply a great writer. She is a prime elemental literary power," and "scarcely less in ethics;" though "her ethical interest has grown somehow less practical and more theoretic." Three papers on Mr. Lowell may prove not only interesting but useful to a public which is apt to connect Mr. Lowell—as the University of Oxford did when it presented him with an honorary degree—principally with the "Biglow Papers." Mr. Wilkinson exhibits him as a poet of great originality and beauty, while he highly disapproves of him as a critic, and laments his publication of a grotesque volume called "The Cathedral," a work overladen with the vulgarities, but unredeemed by the high purpose, of the "Biglow Papers." Mr. Bryant's blank verse is little known in England, but Mr. Wilkinson's praise of it may go far to introduce it more widely. His translation of the *Iliad* is pronounced to be "by eminence the *Iliad* of the English-speaking nations."

Dr. Buchheim,²⁹ to supply the need of a variety in German reading-books for those who do not use their knowledge of the German language but rather consider it in the light of an accomplishment in itself, publishes extracts from Humboldt's *American Travels* and from his "Aspects of Nature," accompanied by notes and comments to aid in the understanding of more complex sentences, and to give some scientific explanations. The book appears to be well and carefully prepared, and will no doubt be found valuable to advanced pupils in schools, by way of change from the usual class of reading-books. A biography is prefixed, in which Humboldt's liberal political views are insisted upon with great satisfaction. Of the material commented upon nothing need be said, except that it is not as well known in England as it might well have been expected to be.

Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Jesse have done good service to lovers of

²⁸ "A Free Lance in the Field of Life and Letters." By W. C. Wilkinson. New York: Albert Mason. London: Sampson Low and Co. 1874.

²⁹ "Humboldt's Natur und Reisebilder, with a Commentary by C. A. Buchheim, Phil.D., F.C.P. London: Norgate. 1875.

birds, by translating from the German of Dr. Brehm³⁰ this bulky volume on the "Physical Life, Spiritual Life, Home and Functions, Domestic and Social Life," of Birds, together with man's relation to the bird, and a series of sketches of fifty of the commoner birds. A few very charming full-page coloured plates illustrate the letter-press. It is not written for the scientific reader, but is intended and well fitted to strengthen a love of nature among those who are fortunate enough to come in contact with Dr. Brehm's fanciful and delicate writing. One great object is by the spread of knowledge to check the wanton destruction of birds, whose personality in Dr. Brehm's eyes is dignified enough to stamp unnecessary slaughter as murder. "The intellectual being of the bird," he says, "occupies a vastly extended field. Man himself can scarce show us greater diversity in the workings of his spirit. Taken strictly, no single trait of character is common to all birds." The translators have, mistakenly it may be thought, omitted some portions of the author's ideas about reason in animals, which he rates very highly. The volume takes high rank among the not strictly scientific books of the day on Natural History.

Mr. Hare³¹ continues his most invaluable volumes of guidance to visitors to Rome. In this case he opens a quite new field of interest to those who are not to be deterred by little difficulties and discomforts. He invites them to share his researches into the regions lying among and beyond the hills which skirt the plain girdling Rome. "There is no town in the world whence such a *variety* of excursions may be made as from Rome," he says; and if it be, as it is, impossible to give in a few lines any hint of the roads he traverses, it may suffice to allure readers to his pages as well as travellers to his tracks, if we assure the readers that their pleasure will be only second to the pleasure of the travellers. For Mr. Hare is content to supplement his own information and delicate description by extracts from writers of all nations who love Italy as he loves her, and who rival him in knowledge of her secrets and her history. And the more to put readers and travellers on a par, Mr. Hare contrives to put the spice of travelling jars and discomforts into his volume by his running fire of indignation at the Italian Government for existing at all, for being at Rome, for suppressing monasteries and nunneries, for its sanitary reforms, and for other things about which his readers will differ whether they are or are not the gross sins and enormities which he holds them to be.

The attention paid by Italian administrators to the topic of statistics is a good index of the sound basis on which the new Italian Government is being built up. The Government have published a second edition of the Statistical Report furnished to the pleventh Congress that met at Rome in 1873.³² The work is a most interesting and

³⁰ "Bird-Life." By Dr. A. E. Brehm. Translated. London: John van Voorst. 1874.

³¹ "Days near Rome." By Augustus J. C. Hare. London: Daldy, Isbister and Co. 1875.

³² "L'Italia Economica nel 1873." Seconda Edizione riveduta ed ampliata. Roma. 1874.

exhaustive one, containing as it does a comprehensive account of the political activity of the State in all its departments, and of the physical and social materials to which that activity is directed. It is a well-arranged synopsis of facts, which in England are distributed over a medley of wholly unconnected Blue-books. The chief heads under which the information is arranged are such as Meteorological and Geographical Observations, Population, Public Industrial and Professional Education, Civil and Criminal Justice, Prisons, Charitable Institutions, the Army and Navy, Public Works, Finances, and Electoral Statistics. A vast amount of information, by the way, is included in the explanations and brief comments by which the tabular statements are accompanied.

We have also received a Report on the population of Italy³³ presented by the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce to the Italian Government.

The "First Lessons on Business Matters"³⁴ supply a quantity of information on everyday matters which, if a person does not pick up accidentally, he has a great difficulty in obtaining through the medium of books. The subjects are such as the mode of keeping accounts, of communicating with a banker, of drawing cheques, of making a will, effecting insurances, and the like. The information is given in the most compendious and yet exact and practical form possible.

An "Essay on the Best Mining Machinery,"³⁵ dealing (among other things) with the question of lighting mines with gas, will be found to give useful instruction on a matter of ever-increasing importance to human life and material wealth.

An alphabetical list of the "Upper Ten Thousand"³⁶ in England, though reproducing a somewhat "Yankee" view of society, will be found useful for purposes of reference.

SCIENCE.

ENGLISH writers on various branches of pure mathematics have so frequently acknowledged their obligations to the works of Professor Schlämilch, that the name of this distinguished German mathematician is one of the best known to students in this country. His "Outlines of a Scientific Exposition of Geometry"¹ are characterized by much originality, and we think that a general adoption of his syllabus would constitute an undoubted advancement in geometrical teaching. Professor Schlämilch proceeds in this work somewhat on the following

³³ "Popolazione. Movimento dello Stato Civile." Anno. 1872. Roma. 1875.

³⁴ "First Lessons on Business Matters." By a Banker's Daughter. London: Macmillan. 1875.

³⁵ "The Best Mining Machinery." An Essay, by Ralph Goldsworthy. Printed by Earle, Falmouth, for the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society.

³⁶ "The Upper Ten Thousand." Compiled by Adam Bisset Thorn. London: Routledge. 1875.

¹ "Grundzüge einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der Geometrie des Maasses." Von Dr. Oskar Schlämilch. Leipzig: Teubner. 1874.

plan : Given at the outset the extension of space in three dimensions, its infinity, continuity, and uniformity, we begin by observing the geometrical form of a physical body as a separate definite portion of space, and this observation leads at once to geometrical forms of three, two, and one dimension respectively, and to the conception of the mathematical point. The real study of the properties of these various geometrical forms begins naturally with the single line, and proceeds to two, three, and more lines. Thus the study of one line involves the ideas of magnitude and direction solely; that of two lines leads to the generation of an angle, and the discovery of parallelism. Three lines bring us to the theory of parallel lines, and to the simplest geometrical figure, the triangle; four lines carry us to the various forms of four-sided figures, and so on. It will be seen that instead of the apparently arbitrary, but essentially purely logical structure of the ancient arrangement of geometrical facts, we proceed here in the manner in which most probably the facts of geometry have been originally discovered, and the absolute gain to the mind of the student is precisely the perception that geometry is a purely experimental science, in which by a method of trial, re-arrangement of the existing materials of the science, and novel combinations of them, new extensions are added to the facts already known. It is to be regretted that Professor Schlömilch has not given us a preface from which his own views of the ultimate advantages of such a course of studying geometry may be gleaned. He has given us his Geometry, and nothing but practical experience can enable us to judge in future whether his plan is the best that recommends itself at the present time, when the existing modes of studying and teaching geometry are subject to much criticism and controversy. We cannot help thinking that it but requires a more widespread acquaintance on the part of English students with such original productions of the best Continental mathematicians as this of Professor Schlömilch, to place the more important points in dispute upon a satisfactory basis for an ultimate agreement about them. Whether such a rational and experimental method as that of the author be the best or not; whether his elegant though somewhat symbolic modes of demonstration are more adapted for beginners than those of the ancient method or not, we do not venture to decide; but this we may assert, that no student will take up Schlömilch's Geometry without being interested and even fascinated.

The "Exercises in Higher Analysis,"² by the same author, contains a vast amount of new and original matter for students in advanced mathematics. There is perhaps no better collection of examples on the processes and applications of the differential and integral calculus in existence, especially since Gregory's well-known collection has long been out of print. A novel feature of this work is, that most of the examples on the integration of differential equations are given in the form of geometrical problems. It is surprising how often apparently tedious operations thus gain in real value and lead to beautiful results.

² "Uebergabuch zum Studium der höhern Analysis." Von Oskar Schlömilch. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner. 1874.

The whole is progressively arranged, and the order is extremely judicious, giving almost on every page proofs of the author's great experience as a teacher. We are, however, at a loss to understand why our English notation of inverse trigonometrical functions is not yet adopted by German writers. A glance upon pages 40 and 41, for example, ought to convince even the most stolid German of the cumbersomeness of the old notation, if he compares the mere appearance of the corresponding integrations in their English dress.

Professor Spitz, of the Polytechnic School at Karlsruhe, has sent us a copy of his *Geometry*,³ and also a very brief pamphlet,⁴ in which he shows a new method, due to Boulyai, of treating the fundamental properties of triangles and the theory of parallels. The *Geometry* differs in no essential respect from the general form and plan of geometrical text-books by Continental writers. The first portions are founded on the conception of motion, and the primary geometrical forms are generated in this manner by the motion of a point, a line, a surface, and so on. Inasmuch as motion of the organs of sense is necessary for the very perception of the forms of external things, this appears so natural a basis of geometry that the objections to it made by the adherents of the methods of Greek geometers can scarcely prevail in this country much longer. The geometry of pure logic is very well, but the geometry of experience includes the former and advances far beyond it. Besides, as a mere matter of tuitional advantage, the Continental methods of geometry are far preferable to those still maintained in this country. How, for example, can the generation of an angle greater than two right angles, or of negative angles, be clearly taught, if not by motion of a line? And as this method is after all introduced in this country at a more advanced stage of the study of mathematics, it is simply unintelligible why the eye of the beginner should be persistently kept closed against it at first, before he arrives at that stage. Further, since motion involves direction, the theory of parallels can be discussed on the supposition of equality and inequality of direction with great ease and elegance, and much more extensively than is possible by the Euclidian method, while at the same time it is at once permitted to add a few chief theorems on divergence and convergence, which are afterwards so useful in modern geometry. This has been done by Professor Spitz with great elaborateness, and it adds considerably to the value of the book.

The author's pamphlet on the fundamental theorems in geometry is of the greatest importance. It is well known that Euclid has founded his proofs of the properties of parallel lines on an axiom, which in the opinion of modern mathematicians and philosophers cannot be said to conform to the metaphysical characteristics of an axiom—viz., first, that it should be a real proposition, not a definition; and secondly, that it should be independent of any other principle within the science.

³ "Lehrbuch der ebenen Geometrie." Von Dr. Carl Spitz. Leipzig und Heidelberg: O. F. Winter. 1875.

⁴ "Die ersten Sätze vom Dreiecke und die Parallelen." Nach Boulyai's Grundsätzen bearbeitet von Dr. Carl Spitz. Leipzig: Winter. 1875.

The beautiful chain of reasoning by which the truths of the pure geometry of the ancients are connected, have always been considered as wanting in a link, because in the theory of parallel lines we are by Euclid reluctantly compelled to assume as an axiom what has been made by modern geometers, by Legendre, for example, a matter of demonstration. Now, if the theory of parallels is deficient in rigour of demonstrative proof, it follows that all those propositions which are derivatives of it become liable to the reproach of being uncertain and obscure. One of the geometrical facts essentially dependent on the theory of parallel lines is the equality of the sum of the angles of a triangle to two right angles, and the primary aim of the exertions of Boulyai, combined with the investigations of the famous Riemann, and also of Lobatschewsky, has been for a long time to place this whole portion of geometry on what we have already previously, in speaking of Schlämilch's Geometry, called an experimental foundation. A geometry of this kind may be called an absolute geometry, and in order to prevent any misunderstanding on the part of our readers as to the bearing of these new views, we will give briefly the outline of the order of the proofs. Let us first suppose the propositions of the congruence of triangles and a few consequences from them established, say in Euclid's manner. We arrive then at the point of departure between the old and the new geometry. The former proceeds to the well-known theorems on the relation of the exterior and interior angles and the theory of parallels; while the latter, at least according to the method expounded by Professor Spitz, proves—1st, that any triangle may be transformed into another of equal area in which the sum of the two least angles is equal to the least angle of the original angle; 2nd, any triangle may be transformed into one of equal area, in which the sum of the two least angles is as small as we please to make it; 3rd, the sum of the three angles of a triangle cannot be greater than, but is either less or equal to, two right angles; 4th, that if in *any* triangle the sum of the three angles is equal to two right angles, it will be the same in every other triangle; and now, finally, 5th, in a definite triangle the sum of the angles is equal to two right angles, hence it is in every other triangle. How beautifully and strikingly logical the theory of parallels is now built up on what has been established, our readers must glean for themselves from this most important and remarkable addition to modern geometrical methods. We have only two remarks of a critical kind to make. One is, that the demonstrations will, we fear, be too abstruse for beginners, but we think that they are capable of simplification; secondly, that by some strange oversight the proposition on the equality of vertical angles is altogether left out. This must be rectified at once.

We have to congratulate Mr. Cross⁵ on his excellent treatment of the more difficult chapters in elementary Algebra. His work satisfies not only in every respect the requirements of a first-rate text-book on the subject, but is not open to the standing reproach of most English mathe-

⁵ "Algebra." Part II. By E. J. Cross, M.A. Rivingtons: London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1874.

mathematical treatises for students: a minimum of teaching, and a maximum of problems. The hard work and considerable thought which Mr. Cross has devoted to the book will be seen on every page by the experienced teacher; there is not a word too much, nor is the student left without genuine assistance where it is needful. The language is precise, clear, and to the point. The problems are not too numerous, and selected with much tact and judgment. The range of the book has been very rightly somewhat extended beyond that assigned to simpler treatises, and it includes the elementary principles of Determinants. This chapter especially will be read with satisfaction by earnest students, and the mode of exposition will certainly have the approval of teachers. Altogether we think that this "Algebra" will soon become a general text-book, and will remain so for a long time to come.

We have received some further instalments of several scientific works, which have been adequately noticed in previous issues of the *Westminster Review*. Professor Fiedler⁶ has completed his edition of Salmon's analytical geometry of space. The last part of the work deals with curves in space and algebraic surfaces; and the editor's additions to the original constitute again in themselves a vast amount of material of the greatest value, embracing not only the result of the recent investigations by Cayley, Klebsch, Kummer, Bour, and Jacobi's, but extensive new chapters embracing the latest researches on surfaces of the fourth order, complex and characteristic surfaces, and several others of which the original would make no mention. We have also found many facts of much interest dispersed in notes and appendices; in the latter, for example, a very concise chapter on quaternions. All this makes the German edition almost an independent work, and one which gives a complete digest, up to the present, of some of the most modern systems and methods of mathematical inquiry.

The second portion of Dr. Classen's analytical chemistry gives a very well selected number of practical examples in quantitative analysis. As the general plan of this work has been already previously characterized in these pages, we need only point out that the quantitative analytical methods of the author are extremely suitable for smaller laboratories and even for private students. This appears to us a feature of Dr. Classen's work which is extremely valuable, and one scarcely possessed by any of the existing analytical treatises. If Dr. Classen would add to a future edition a short chapter on manipulation, his work would soon be as completely appreciated as it deserves to be in every other respect.

Of the two publications on the Transit of Venus which are before us, it is not too much to say that they respectively represent the very lowest and the very highest types and aims of scientific writing. Mr. Budd's⁷ pamphlet is certainly an extremely superficial and unsatisfactory

⁶ "Analytische Geometrie des Raumes." Von George Salmon. Deutsch bearbeitet von Dr. Wilhelm Fiedler. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1874.

⁷ "Grundriss der analytischen Chemie. Quantitative Analyse in Beispielen." Von Dr. Alexander Classen. Stuttgart: Enke. 1875.

⁸ "The Transit of Venus, its meaning and use." By T. H. Budd, F.R.A.S. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1875.

attempt to explain the geometrical principles of the transit of Venus, although we have no doubt about the earnest desire of the author to render genuine service to the public. But let him place his explanation, especially the final portions, say page 19, all those sentences after: "It is obvious," &c.,—which ought to have been perspicuity itself—before an average reader of the class for which Mr. Budd has written, and he will undoubtedly discover that his is not the proper way to enlighten general readers on the meaning and use of the transit. Mr. Budd should have remembered that short sentences and concise statements are the first conditions of success where the teaching is quite elementary.

Professor Friesach's* work on the transit gives us the mathematical theory of the event, and he takes not only the very highest stand in its exposition, but he has also introduced some important improvements by taking ecliptical co-ordinates. This facilitates the calculations considerably, and most probably his formulæ will be used throughout in the fundamental discussions. Unless we are much mistaken, it was Hansen who first introduced these co-ordinates, but Professor Friesach seems to have rendered the whole much more accessible to astronomical students, and he has undoubtedly removed some difficulties inherent in the previously known methods. We are surprised to see the venerable Grunert's merits quite overlooked by Professor Friesach. His well known work on the subject, which preceded that of Hansen by three years, is full of refinements which might with great advantage have been critically examined on this occasion.

In the International Scientific Series we have to notice two books of the highest importance. One of these is Professor Draper's "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science,"¹⁰ or as we should prefer to word the title, between "Dogma and Science," seeing that it is in every case those formulas which have been invented for ecclesiastical purposes, rather than the religious sentiment, pure and simple, with which science is in antagonism. In this most valuable and outspoken treatise, Professor Draper shows, as indeed he has already done in another work, that the contest, of which he here gives a history, commenced at a very early period, although it did not rage with much vehemence until the establishment of the Christian Church in power and place. He sketches the rise and progress of Christianity, indicates the political conditions which, more than anything else, enabled its professors to grasp at imperial power; and then shows that in the very nature of things, having adopted the Jewish sacred writings as the standard of all knowledge, the new Church was compelled on a principle of self-preservation to put down as far as possible all those philosophical ideas which had grown up under the freer conditions of

* "Theorie der Planeten-Vorübergänge vor der Sonnenscheibe." Von Dr. Karl Friesach. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1874.

¹⁰ "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science." By John William Draper, M.D. 8vo. London: H. S. King & Co. 1875.

thought afforded by the paganism of ancient Greece and Rome. But even within the pale of Christianity all did not go on quite smoothly, and the Nestorian controversy on the Unity of the Godhead and the worship of the Virgin Mary gave rise to a schism which spread numerous nonconformists over all parts of the East. It was the influence of some of these scattered Nestorians that brought about the conversion of Mohammed from paganism to Monotheism, which led to what Professor Draper denominates "the first or southern reformation." This resulted in the establishment of a religion which, while it certainly made its votaries sufficiently bigoted and intolerant in matters purely religious, left them perfectly free to investigate scientific matters unhampered by any scriptural dogmas, and enabled the Mohammedans in Asia, Africa, and the South of Europe, to renew the spirit of the old Greek investigations, and keep alive the flame of science, while the rest of Europe was enveloped in the thick darkness which emanated from papal Rome. The author notes the various questions which arose in Europe during the Middle Ages, chiefly, it would seem, from the influence of Arabian leaning; and the direct contest which took place between the two parties in Spain, ending with the expulsion of the Jews and Moors from that country. In another chapter he gives the history of the conflict respecting the nature of the earth, and shows how, by irrefragable proofs, the Church was gradually compelled to grant that the earth is spherical, and that it is not the central body of the system. In the later controversy with regard to the age of the earth, which may be said to belong almost to our own day, and that relating to the antiquity of man upon the earth, which is quite recent, a similar result has been obtained, and happily without any such violent measures on the part of the orthodox against their opponents as rendered the earlier conquests of science rather dangerous for her supporters. Coincidentally with the general progress of knowledge in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there rose in the minds of men a not unnatural spirit of criticism upon the position in which the Church was placed by the action of its rulers, a false position which "was directly traceable to the alliance she had of old contracted with Roman paganism." Whatever may have been the special causes which led directly to it, the second or northern reformation, regarded by Professor Draper as the fourth conflict, raised the question of the "criterion of truth," which in its turn involved that of the right of personal judgment. Of the result of this conflict, it is hardly necessary to speak; it left the partisans of the Church to maintain the infallibility of its decisions, and the Protestants to assert the inspired authority of the Scriptures, and sometimes to use them very narrowly-mindedly; but it opened up for science a clear road along which she has advanced with rapid steps.

"We are now," says Professor Draper, "in the midst of a controversy respecting the mode of government of the world, whether it be by incessant divine intervention, or by the operation of primordial and unchangeable law. The intellectual movement of Christendom has reached that point which Arabism had attained to in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and doctrines which were then discussed are presenting themselves again for review; such are those of evolution, creation, and development."

That such a position of matters is disagreeable to all adherents of the stereotyped ecclesiastical systems is a matter of course, and Professor Draper does not in the least exaggerate when he declares that we are on the eve of a severe crisis. He criticises at considerable length the recent action of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, and especially the late encyclical letter and syllabus issued by them to the faithful, but at the same time he does not allow the Protestants to pass altogether without blame. He says :—

“A reconciliation of the Reformation with science is not only possible, but would easily take place, if the Protestant Churches would only live up to the maxim taught by Luther, and established by so many years of war. That maxim is the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures. It was the foundation of intellectual liberty. But, if a personal interpretation of the book of Revelation is permissible, how can it be denied in the case of the book of Nature? When Calvin caused Servetus to be burnt, he was animated, not by the principles of the Reformation, but by those of Catholicism, from which he had not been able to emancipate himself completely. And when the clergy of influential Protestant confessions have stigmatized the investigators of nature as infidels and atheists, the same may be said.”

With regard to those chapters in which Professor Draper contrasts the effects on modern civilization of Catholic Christianity and science, we need only say that he regards the influence of the former as having been highly prejudicial, and that of the latter as most beneficent. His book, in the present state of the public mind, is one that must produce a great effect.

The second volume of the International Series alluded to above is one of quite a crowd of books more or less directly relating to the Doctrine of Evolution which have recently appeared, namely “The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism,” by Professor Oscar Schmidt.¹¹ The author is too well-known as a scientific zoologist of eminence, especially in the department of the Sponges, not to make any expression of opinion coming from him possess considerable weight, and in his present work he has discussed in full the general questions relating to descent with modification, and treated them in a thoroughly scientific fashion. How far his utterances will please the orthodox reader is another matter,—he certainly does not show much favour to super-naturalism. After a general introduction Professor Schmidt considers the present condition of the animal world, describes the phenomena of reproduction presented by animals, and notices briefly the gradual development of the forms of animal life in geological time. In his fifth chapter he commences the immediate subject of his book, and discusses the two conceptions of the order of things in nature,—the doctrines of miraculous interposition, and of development in accordance with fixed laws. This chapter naturally includes a historical review of the different views which have been entertained as to the nature of species by various naturalists, in which the author seems to us to place the conception of species on rather too low a footing. In

¹¹ “The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism.” By Oscar Schmidt. 8vo. London : H. S. King & Co. 1875.

the succeeding chapter we have a history of the doctrine of the origin of forms by descent with modification, which leads Professor Schmidt to an acceptance of Darwin's theory, or something very like it. He evidently regards life as a purely mechanical affair, and recognises no intrinsic peculiarity in organized beings. The relation between ontogenesis, or the development of the individual, and phylogenesis, or the development of the type to which it belongs, is pointed out, and the extent to which the notion that the various stages in the latter are reproduced in the former carefully indicated by the author, who afterwards treats of the geographical distribution of animals in accordance with the theory of derivation, and of the application of the theory to man. Throughout the book he is most uncompromising in the expression of his views, and certainly cannot be accused of acting after the fashion of the "trimmers" whose conduct he stigmatizes at p. 123.

It has been so much the fashion to maintain that there is no evidence from palæontology in favour of the doctrine of the origin of animal forms by development with modification, that some readers will probably be surprised to find Professor Schmidt speaking as he does upon the subject. Considering the way in which palæontological species are made, and the nature of palæontological evidence, especially the difficulty of deciding from what precise horizon a given fossil may be derived, it is perhaps no wonder that a strong argument has been supposed to be furnished by palæontology against the theory of descent. But taking these matters into consideration it seems to us that every unprejudiced naturalist who makes himself familiar with some groups of fossils will easily recognise that there are strong indications of transitions from species to species, and that the general argument from palæontology, like that from the geographical distribution of animals, is in favour of the above theory. With the general tendency of Professor Schmidt's work we most cordially agree, and recommend it strongly as an excellent text-book on the subject. Before quitting it, however, we would remark that, owing probably to errors of translation, it is disfigured by some defects which should be removed by careful editing before a reprint of it is published. Thus we find "bifurcation" used repeatedly for the "segmentation" or "cleavage" of the vitellus, "crabs" for "crustacea," and "chalk" for "calcareous." At p. 69 the Trilobites are said to "recall the present group of the Lamellibranchiata," with which they certainly have nothing to do; at p. 72 we find "Placoids" for "Ganoid's," and on the next page the "mailed Ganoids" are said to have disappeared in secondary times; in the table p. 250, and on p. 252, we have "Testacea" instead of "Tunicata;" and on pp. 270-272, the word "ovary" is employed repeatedly instead of "uterus." At p. 96, we find "Tellina" as the translation, we presume, of "Tellerschnecke" for a species of *Planorbis*; and at p. 291, "cornu" for "cornu." Many plurals of generic and other names also are erroneously given, a defect which is peculiarly offensive to the eye of a zoologist.

An English edition of Professor T. Ribot's work on "Heredity"¹³

¹³ "Heredity; a Psychological Study of its Phenomena, Laws, Causes, and Consequences." From the French of T. Ribot. 8vo. London: H. S. King and

has just been published. It furnishes a general discussion of the manifestations of heredity in man, which have been so often gone over that we need not dwell upon them here, and then proceeds to discuss the laws of heredity, and finally its causes and consequences. Professor Ribot maintains that the influence of heredity affects the human individual in every way, both in his physical and mental characters, he holds that there is a complete correlation between physiological and psychological states,—that consequently “psychological heredity has its cause in physiological heredity,” and as “this in turn has its cause in the partial identity of the materials constituting the organism of both parent and child, and in the division of this substance at reproduction, heredity is really partial identity.” But whilst holding views which will by many be thought to savour of gross materialism, Professor Ribot is not quite satisfied with the purely mechanical theory of life and morals; he says “it seems impossible to see in mechanism anything else than the sum of the bare conditions and purely logical conditions of existence: so that to accept mechanism is to accept the form instead of the reality. We firmly believe that wherever there are facts, of whatever kind, there is determinism; that wherever there is determinism there is science; and that science can neither go beyond determinism nor fall short of it: But is there not beyond science a something that does not come under its law, high above all that science can know? . . . We can only say that this unknown is the reality that lies concealed beneath psychological determinism—the end towards which the vital processes tend in every being, and the obscure tendency which is manifested even in the absolute determinism of inorganic matters.”

Mr. E. W. Cox also goes into the question of Heredity,¹³ starting from the fundamental propositions—“1st, that *two* parents are required for the construction of organized beings, and 2nd, that organized beings are of *duplex form*, that is to say, not shaped as one whole, but of two distinct halves joined together, and those two halves differing from each other more or less.” Mr. Cox is aware of the existence of the hypothesis of the *aura seminalis*, and also that it has been maintained that the germ of the new organism is contributed by the male parent, and that the ovum is merely a place for its development. He now puts forward as a new discovery the notion that the young animal is formed by the combination of the male and female elements. We should have thought he need hardly have put this forth as a “suggestion” at the present day.

Mr. Francis Galton's new book¹⁴ covers only a small portion of the ground occupied by M. Ribot's, and relates exclusively to the manifestations of heredity in the families of English men of science. It is in fact a supplement to his work on “Hereditary Genius;” and contains a collection of statistics, for the most part

¹³ “Heredity and Hybridism; a Suggestion.” By Edward W. Cox. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1875.

¹⁴ “English Men of Science; their Nature and Nurture.” By Francis Galton. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1874.

obtained directly from the persons themselves, showing how far the element of heredity may be considered to have had anything to do with the development of the character of the leading scientific men of this country, and to what extent this character has been modified by other influences. The results obtained are curious and in some respects interesting, and although, as might be expected, they are not particularly definite, they certainly are favourable to the doctrine of the heredity of mental qualities. The autobiographical statements, although given without names, are curious and interesting.

In Dr. Drysdale's "*Protoplasmic Theory of Life*"¹⁵ we have a further development of Dr. Fletcher's views, in which, as the author has maintained in former works, so much of modern physiological speculation was anticipated. Dr. Fletcher held that the property of vitality is "restricted to a universally-diffused, pulpy, structureless matter, similar to that of the ganglionic nerves and to the grey matter of the cerebro-spinal nervous system." This opinion is here developed by Dr. Drysdale, who insists that the matter here referred to is identical with the protoplasm of Dr. Lionel Beale. This protoplasm, according to him, is the sole living matter of the body, a matter of which vitality or irritability is the distinguishing property, all the structures of the body being really composed of dead matter. "*Life*," says the author, "is not an entity, nor a force, but an action—and moreover *that action alone which is involved in the consumption and regeneration*, from pabulum, of a material compound entirely *sui generis*, called irritable matter or *protoplasm*, under certain conditions and stimuli."

By the publication, in 1862, of Mr. Darwin's researches on the fertilization of orchids, and his subsequent papers on the fecundation of certain dimorphic and trimorphic flowers, the attention of naturalists was called to the important part played by insects in the reproduction of plants, and as the result numerous memoirs on these phenomena have appeared in various languages, all tending to show the intimate relation in which insects and plants stand to one another. So strongly has this interdependence impressed at least one naturalist, Dr. H. Müller, that he has worked out the developmental history of the family of the bees in accordance with their gradually increasing adaptation for the function of pollen-carriers, and it must be confessed, with very interesting results. Our British plants cannot show anything in this respect quite so striking as the phenomena presented by some of the exotic orchids so admirably described by Mr. Darwin in his work on the fertilization of that group, but they nevertheless furnish a great number of facts of high interest to the student of nature, who will be thankful to Sir John Lubbock for the excellent little handbook of the subject¹⁶ which he has just published in the "*Nature Series*." He commences with some general considerations on the

¹⁵ "*The Protoplasmic Theory of Life*." By John Drysdale. Sm. 8vo. London: Baillière, Tindall, & Cox. 1874.

¹⁶ "*On British Wild Flowers, Considered in Relation to Insects*." By Sir John Lubbock. Sm. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1875.

relations between flowers and insects; on the necessity, or, at all events, proved desirability of cross-fertilization in plants; and on the modifications of the structure of bees, which seem specially connected with their peculiar habits as flower-haunting insects; he then describes the general characters and modifications of the structure of flowers which have a special influence on the possibility of self-fertilization or crossing; and finally passes briefly in review the natural orders of British flowering plants, with indications of those species in which peculiar contrivances for insuring cross-fertilization may be observed. This little book, which is well and copiously illustrated, will probably do good service by opening the eyes of residents in the country to a most interesting group of phenomena manifested by some of the commonest objects surrounding them, and will probably lead to the observation of many new facts.

Dr. Bastian has published a further contribution to the literature of archebiosis, under the title of "Evolution and the Origin of Life."¹⁷ His present little volume consists of essays reprinted with additions and alterations from the Proceedings of the Royal Society and the *Contemporary Review*. It is greatly to be wished that the question of the occurrence of what is commonly known as spontaneous generation could be finally settled one way or another, but of this unfortunately there seems to be little chance. Dr. Bastian's present volume does not seem likely to do much towards it; argument in such a matter is of no use; and as we understand the present position of the question, it is the conclusiveness of Dr. Bastian's experiments that is doubted by the opponents of his views, and not the soundness of the consequences deduced from them by him.

Of an introduction to the natural sciences adopted by the secondary schools of the Canton of Zurich,¹⁸ we have received a second edition. It treats of the following sciences in the following order:—Botany, zoology, physics, chemistry, and mineralogy,—and seems in most of the departments which it covers to furnish a very good guide for the first steps of the young student. It is copiously illustrated, and remarkably cheap.

The Rev. F. J. Holland has done good service to his father's memory by publishing the volume of "Fragmentary Papers"¹⁹ now before us. They show the retention by their distinguished author to a period of life when men are generally content to place their happiness in quietude, of an active habit of mind, and vigour and clearness of thought, such as would do credit to much younger men. The papers here published, which were left in manuscript by Sir Henry Holland, relate chiefly to scientific matters, and they indicate that their author took great pains to keep himself well informed on the progress of

¹⁷ "Evolution, and the Origin of Life." By H. Charlton Bastian. Sm. 8vo. London: Macmillan, 1874.

¹⁸ "Leitfaden für den Unterricht in der Naturkunde an Sekundarschulen." Von H. Wettstein. Zweite Auflage. 8vo. Zurich: Wurster & Co. 1874.

¹⁹ "Fragmentary Papers on Science and other Subjects," by the late Sir Henry Holland, Bart. Edited by his Son, Rev. Francis J. Holland. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1875.

science, and was by no means inclined to take up an attitude antagonistic to new opinions. The articles relating to recent views on the evolution of organic forms, the nature of man, materialism, &c., which may be regarded as tests in the case of an aged scientific man, are written in a very liberal spirit, and all the papers are thoughtful and interesting. The volume contains three articles contributed by Sir Henry Holland to the *Edinburgh Review*.

The banks of our rivers and ponds are haunted by numerous four-winged flies, of a peculiar moth-like aspect, which are well known to anglers under the general name of caddis-flies; and their larvæ, which dwell in the water in small cases constructed of various materials, are equally familiar as caddis-worms. Ten years ago Mr. MacLachlan published in the Transactions of the Entomological Society a monograph of the British species of the group, which, under the name of Trichoptera, has been variously regarded as a Sub-Order of the Neuroptera and as a distinct Order, and he has now commenced the publication as a separate work of a similar treatise on the European forms,²⁰ being incited thereto by the recognition of certain imperfections in his former memoir, and by the desire to communicate the results of his further investigations. The group to which this work is devoted, although not extensive, is one of great interest, not only on account of the curious habits of the insects composing it, but from its systematic position, for it seems undoubtedly, as Mr. MacLachlan has maintained, at the expense, he tells us, of "severe castigation," to hold a near relation to another Order of insects, that of the Lepidoptera. The external resemblance of some Trichoptera to certain moths is often perfectly delusive: the wings are covered with scale-like hairs, which at least make an approach to the scales of the moths, and the structure of the mouth also seems to lead in the direction of the Lepidoptera. The classification and determination of the species of this group is a matter of some difficulty, and requires careful and minute descriptions and figures of the parts from which the characters are drawn. To supply these desiderata is Mr. MacLachlan's present object, and in the first part, which appeared in December last, he has given very full descriptions of a portion of the European genera and species of caddis-flies, illustrated with five plates of outline figures drawn by the author himself. We recommend this elaborate work to the notice of entomologists, in the hope that many who perhaps take no special interest in its subject may be willing to assist the author in its production by subscribing to what, when completed, will be one of the most creditable of British entomological publications.

There are probably no plants of which less is generally known than the Fungi, and yet in many respects they are exceedingly interesting. The neglect with which they are treated, even by working botanists, is probably due in part to the difficulties attending their study, but still more to the fact that they are not easily preserved, and thus

²⁰ "A Monographic Revision and Synopsis of the Trichoptera of the European Fauna." By Robert MacLachlan. Part I. 8vo. London: Van Voorst. 1874.

repel, rather than attract, the attention of the student of plants during his incipient collecting stage. The treatise on the Fungi, by Messrs. Cooke and Berkeley,²¹ which constitutes the fourteenth volume of the International Scientific Series, will, we hope, do much to promote the study of these curious plants. Of course it contains no descriptions of species, but a considerable number of the commoner forms are referred to in such a way as to render their identification easy, and the author is careful to indicate to his reader the best works to be referred to for purely systematic information. The different sections of the present volume treat successively of the nature of Fungi, their structure, classification, and uses, and some peculiar phenomena, especially luminosity, presented by certain species; and then of their spores, their germination and mode of growth and reproduction, of their relations to the world at large, their cultivation and geographical distribution. The last chapter relates to the collection and preservation of specimens. In this, as in other works on Fungi, attention is directed to the numerous species of the group which may be safely used as food; but Mr. Cooke goes still further, and strongly urges upon country residents especially, the desirability of devoting some care to the cultivation of the edible species, which, as he points out, may be very easily effected. This volume is abundantly illustrated with very good wood engravings.

In this part Dr. Auerbach²² pursues his minute inquiries into the first activities of living organisms. As he justly points out, nuclear proliferation lies at the root of the growth of plants and animals, as well as of the healing of wounds and of morbid tissue development. With close industry and a microscopic technic presenting some new features the author succeeds in adding very much to our knowledge of this intimate process. The essay is one which does not admit of abbreviation, and being very special in character will appeal only to advanced biologists, who cannot, however, afford to overlook it.

The beautiful plates published some time ago by Dr. Braune²³ from sections of frozen parts are well known to all anatomists. The present volume is an elegant reproduction of that atlas on a smaller scale, and, we presume, at a very much smaller price. There are thirty-two plates, very delicately and faithfully executed, upon a small quarto page; and there are also fifty admirable woodcuts interspersed throughout the text. Each plate has its own letter-press, and the press-work is worthy of Leipzig. No representations can vie with Braune's plates in displaying the exact mutual relations of parts to each other, and such representations are, for instance, most important to clinical teachers, to whom a knowledge of the relative positions of parts in the

²¹ "Fungi: their Nature, Influence and Uses." By M. C. Cooke. Edited by the Rev. M. J. Berkeley. Sm. 8vo. London: H. S. King & Co. 1875.

²² "Organologische Studien." Von Dr. Leopold Auerbach. Heft II. Der Zellkerne, 8te abschnitt, pp. 177-262. Breslau. 1874.

²³ "Topographisch-Anatomischer Atlas." Von Dr. W. Braune. Leipzig. 1876.

abdomen and thorax is essential. We can strongly urge upon teachers, pupils and scientific anatomists alike to possess themselves of this atlas, unless they are able to do better by buying the larger edition.

To be happy in the choice of a subject is one of the first conditions of success in publishing a book. Dr. Fox²⁴ has been peculiarly fortunate in this respect, and as the ability shown in the execution of the work is equal to the attraction of its title, we predict for it a solid and enduring popularity—enduring, we mean, in the sense in which any work is likely to endure which is built upon the shifting sands of modern scientific attainment. One who writes now upon the nervous system knows that his observations must be imperfect and his conclusions provisional, so recent are the beginnings of positive knowledge in neurology, and so intricate are its secrets. For the present decade, however, Dr. Fox's handbook must be invaluable. Many observers, both at home and abroad, have been active in the investigation of nervous diseases, and a great deal of work has been done in many and varied ways. But for the most part the results are scattered through endless files of journals, archives and transactions, so that it is really hard to say where a modern physician obtains his knowledge in this department. Vulpian, Charcot, Bernard, Duchenne and others in France have published substantial volumes, but the labours of many leading German writers, such as Meynert, have not been collected, and the same must be said of our own chief, Lockhart Clarke, who is perhaps the chief of all modern neurologists; so that Dr. Fox has really met a great need in this volume, and he has executed his task admirably. It is no figure of speech to say that the volume is one which no medical man can afford to be without, dealing as it does with affections so common and so dangerous, so complex and so little understood. Dr. Fox himself is too well known as a physician and clinical observer to need any introduction from us; to his own large experience he has added an extensive knowledge of the work of his predecessors and contemporaries, and he leaves us little to desire, unless it be in the department of German literature. With the exception of a few well-known writers, such as Rindfleisch whose treatise is tolerably familiar to all physicians, we find that Dr. Fox has too much neglected the rich materials which lie hid in the depths of the German medical periodicals.

The book before us is perhaps the most thorough work which has yet been published on the subject of physical diagnosis.²⁵ A keen insight into phenomena is one of the best possible guides to diagnosis, and there is no doubt that the great advances of modern medicine are largely due to the habit of mind engendered by such instruments of precision as the laryngoscope, the ophthalmoscope, the stethoscope and the rest. Dr. Niemeyer uses the term physical diagnosis in the widest sense. He begins with a consideration of meteorological and hygienic conditions; first investigating climate, then the qualities of the air, soil,

²⁴ "Pathological Anatomy of the Nervous Centres." By E. Long Fox, M.D. London. 1874.

²⁵ "Physikalische Diagnostik." Von Dr. Paul Niemeyer. Erlangen. 1874.

water, &c. In the next place come the methods of discovery by mensuration, palpation, percussion, auscultation and so forth. After this is a careful section on microscopic diagnosis, including a botanizing excursion on the surface of the body. The third book deals with clinical observations, with remarks upon temperament, nutrition, skin colouring, &c. After this again come tests of the nervous states, bodily temperature, perspiration, blood-tension, and ejecta. In another section are contained all needful instructions for the direct examination of the various parts of the body, of the bony frame, of the various orifices, of the organs of special sense and so forth. Excellent as this volume is there are many defects which we hope the author will remedy in a new edition. We chiefly lack a chapter on the important diagnostic applications of faradic and voltaic electricity. The author moreover falls into the common error of describing as direct observations certain indirect results, such as those obtained by means of the compasses. Observations of cutaneous sensibility made by compasses depend, after all, on the statements of the patient, and these are liable to wide variations which are quite beyond control. We have known the same patient to give a totally different set of answers before and after dinner. But the faults of this very valuable book are but small in comparison with its many and great merits. It well deserves to be translated into English.

This book is one of those serious efforts which give so high a tone to modern medical literature. Dr. Burckhardt²⁶ has endeavoured to apply the graphic method in order to record the rapidity of conduction in the nervous centres and nervous strands, and also in order to record the phenomena of spasm. By this means he has been enabled to compare the ratio of conduction in normal and pathological states, and has also thrown much additional light upon the conditions which govern conduction in both states. The first chapter describes the electric apparatus used and the recording instruments, and the second is given up to a careful description of the author's method and of the many sources of fallacy which tend to vitiate such inquiries. Thereafter follow the chapters in which his results are given with much minuteness and apparent accuracy, many clinical cases being noted at length with the results obtained in each. The volume is illustrated by several sheets of graphic tracings. It is impossible within our present limits to give any succinct account of the author's work; if we have succeeded in indicating the character of it and the accomplished manner in which Dr. Burckhardt has fulfilled his difficult task we doubt not that his volume will find a cordial welcome among those able physiologists to whom medical science is daily more and more indebted, and with them the final judgment upon it will lie. We cannot pretend of course to have subjected the validity of Dr. Burckhardt's results to any sort of test.

In the treatise or large pamphlet before us Dr. Amann²⁷ enters upon

²⁶ "Die Physiologische Diagnostik der Nervenkrankheiten." Von Dr. G. Burckhardt. Leipzig. 1875.

²⁷ "Ueber den Einfluss der weiblichen Geschlechtskrankheiten auf das Nervensystem." Von Dr. Amann. 2nd Edition. Erlangen. 1874.

a minute inquiry into the effects of each affection of the female sexual organs upon the nervous system. In this way he endeavours to attain to some general view of the relations between these parts and the nervous system. Dr. Amann is of opinion that hysteria is a manifestation of local disorder in the organs of reproduction, and thus takes the side of the gynæcologists against the physicians who will not allow that the connexion is a necessary one. The subject is one which admits of much interesting discussion, Dr. Amann displays a great deal of clinical experience and acumen, and writes clearly and pleasantly. For our own part we disagree with his conclusions. We repeatedly see such neuroses, both distinctively hysterical and of like order, in male subjects, and we see them in women who suffer only from disease elsewhere in the body, or who have no local disorder or disease. Hysteria, and the neuroses which resemble it, depend upon a certain mobility of the nervous system, which is visible in some measure in healthy women, and hysteria is often produced in healthy women by some cause wholly asexual, such as alarm or depression. But while we differ from the exclusive doctrines of the obstetrician we gladly admit that Dr. Amann's essay is conceived in a broad spirit, and well deserves perusal and careful study.

Dr. Hermann Beigel,²⁸ for some years a physician in London, and now Director of the Maria-Theresa Hospital in Vienna, has given to the profession in his mother-tongue, two handsome, well illustrated volumes on the diseases of women—a subject which of late years has suffered nothing from neglect. We were by no means reassured by the dedication to that vigorous person, Dr. Marion Sims, and we find as might be expected that very great reliance is placed upon mechanical therapeutics; at the same time the work commends itself to us as the product of extensive experience and of much thoughtfulness and learning. We do not pretend to have read one thousand pages carefully through, but we have been much interested in the perusal of many parts of the treatise, and have satisfied ourselves that its merits are considerable. For the English reader, perhaps, for whom such admirable manuals exist in his own tongue, this work may be less needful; in Germany, however, gynæcology is not so well represented, and there it will take a place among indispensable possessions. At the same time no obstetric physician, even in England, can afford to neglect so valuable and so systematic a work as this, which is beautifully illustrated with many new drawings, from Hyrtl's museum and elsewhere, and which bears upon its face the marks of mature and independent judgment. The pathological sections seem to us to be worthy of especial praise.

Few practitioners have been so fortunate as to protect all their patients from toothache and neuralgia during pregnancy. "For every child a tooth," is an old proverb which has more than the common weight of truth in it. Mr. Coles²⁹ in the present essay

²⁸ "Die Krankheiten des weiblichen Geschlechtes." Von Dr. Hermann Beigel. 2 vols. Stuttgart. 1874-5.

²⁹ "The Mouth and Teeth in Pregnancy." By Oakley Coles. London. 1874.

discusses intelligently the changes and general conditions of the teeth during pregnancy, the condition of the gums, the oral secretions, with their changes and influences upon the teeth, the neuralgia of pregnancy, and lastly, the remedies useful during pregnancy. The paper is a reprint from the Transactions of the Odontological Society.

This is a closely printed volume of nearly five hundred pages, written for the guidance and instruction of health officers. It is impossible to go through so full a volume chapter by chapter; on the whole, it seems to us to be fairly well done, but not excellently well. The subjects treated upon are numerous and well selected, but on turning to test paragraphs we do not find always the best kind of knowledge nor the most recent points of view. To take a few examples out of many. Under "Arsenic" we find reference to green papers only; but it is known that arsenic is not unfrequently found in papers of a neutral tint; and the coralline dyes, which are referred to as injurious without explanation by the author, are now known to be in themselves harmless, but to be often found in bad company, arsenic and other irritants being commonly used in the process of fixing or preparing these colours. The serious question of sewage disposal again scarcely receives a discussion proportioned to its importance, and Mr. Bailey Denton's promising plan of intermittent filtration is barely named. Dr. Cameron⁸⁰ coincides with almost every competent sanitarian in recommending water carriage for excrements.

In 1872 Mr. Lewis⁸¹ published in the Tenth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India his discovery of innumerable immature nematode entozoa in the blood of persons suffering from chyluria, and his belief that chyluria is due to the presence of these. This discovery is full of interest, and it is with much gratitude to Mr. Lewis for his labours that we welcome the present essay containing corroborative matter, and comparing the filaria of chyluria with other nematodes known to exist in the dog. Mr. Lewis, in conjunction with Dr. Cunningham, has also republished a second series of reports of microscopical and physiological researches with the agent or agents producing cholera, which attracted attention in the tenth annual report before referred to. The results of their inquiry were mostly negative, save the curious discovery that the virulence of the cholera poison, capricious as it is under many conditions, nevertheless was not affected in 47 per cent. of cases by boiling at 212° F.—a percentage of success at least as large as with unboiled fluids.

The ever-growing literature of cholera has herein received a fresh contribution at the hands of Dr. Vogl,⁸² who has paid especial attention to the variations of temperature in the human body during the various stages of this disease; so that this essay is more welcome

⁸⁰ "Manual of Hygiene." By C. A. Cameron, M.D., &c. Dublin and London. 1874.

⁸¹ "The Pathological Significance of Nematode Hæmatozoa." By T. R. Lewis, M.B. Calcutta, 1874.

⁸² "Erfahrungen über Cholera." Von Dr. Anton Vogl. München, 1874.

than many of the too numerous speculative and polemical pamphlets which darken counsel. This is really a practical summary of much clinical experience, and deserves perusal. Nor does Dr. Vogl forget our duties as physicians. Believing that drugs can do little to arrest or modify this fell plague, he lays great stress on separating the sick from the healthy, and on burying their excretions after disinfection. His opinion is adverse to the use of opium in the first stage, though he advises morphia injections in case of muscular cramps. His own practice consists in the use of packs and other external applications, for the precise account of which we must refer the reader to the essay itself.

Dr. Seitz,⁸³ whose work on Tubercular Meningitis in the Adult, and whose papers in the Archives of Clinical Medicine and elsewhere, have won for him a high place among rising physicians of the clinical school, in Germany, has been much attracted by the recent observations made on the effects of physical labour upon the heart. He has himself made this the subject of a series of careful papers of his own, and in the present volume he has reprinted the essay in which Dr. Clifford Allbutt, of Leeds, brought this subject before the profession, together with his own essay, an essay by Da Costa on over-irritation of the heart, another by Myers on the frequency and the causes heart-disease among soldiers, and a short communication by Thurn upon exhaustion of the heart and establishment of valve-failure. These essays together make a body of doctrine on a subject which has been much neglected by the profession both at home and abroad, but which is of the first importance both in respect of prophylaxis, diagnosis and treatment. We very strongly urge upon our readers the duty of pursuing this inquiry, and we would ask them to obtain Dr. Seitz's volume and read it carefully. His own essay is a masterpiece of minute, thorough and cautious investigation.

To speak of any medicine as cutaneous seems to us a doubtful application of words, but it is notoriously difficult to decide upon a title. Dr. Purdon⁸⁴ has put together in an unpretending little volume a number of lectures and essays on diseases of the skin and their treatment, which certainly bear the marks of personal experience and of intelligent observation and thought. There is nothing either in the merits or demerits of this book to call for an extended notice, but we may fairly commend it to those who wish for a brief practical handbook on a very troublesome class of affections.

We have been wont to look upon diseases of the ears as of two kinds only—the curable and the incurable. The curable are those which get well of themselves, or are relieved with the syringe; and the incurable are all those which do not take either of these courses. Of late years, however, even the ear has been thought worthy of minuter investigation and care, and a very considerable advance has been made

⁸³ "Die Ueberanstrengungen des Herzens. Sechs abhandlungen." Von Clifford Allbutt, u. a. herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Seitz. Berlin. 1875.

⁸⁴ "Treatise on Cutaneous Medicine." By H. S. Purdon, M.D. London and Belfast. 1875.

upon old diagnosis and old therapeutics. Mr. Keene's³⁵ present essay is written clearly and intelligibly, and moreover shines with the light of common sense. Toynbee, by his beautiful dissections, made "otology" possible, but he cannot be said to have applied his knowledge in any efficient way. Mr. Keene, on the contrary, gives a great deal of thought and space to the department of therapeutics, and we cordially commend his teaching to all medical practitioners whom it may concern.

Our first impression on opening this work—a book we cannot call it—was that some medical Red Lions had issued a professional game, a sort of anatomical Chinese puzzle. It turned out, however, that the neatly-jointed and over-laid cards represent the brain and the parts of the brain, and form altogether a very useful device by which Professor Fick's³⁶ pupils familiarize themselves with these parts more readily than by means of pictures. As this is the "fourth edition," we presume that the little scheme is welcomed by many other schools besides that of Marburg.

Dr. Weber³⁷ has done a great kindness in editing a translation of Braun's work on *Balneology*. This work has for several years been held in high repute abroad, but has not been well known in England. It is perhaps the best extant work on the subject, and is especially to be commended for the scepticism which distinguishes it from most books of the kind. Dr. Braun does not feel bound to discover a final cause for any chance mineral solution which may occur in nature, nor has he a commission to write up the virtues of any particular spring. He recognises the truth which most cautious physicians acknowledge—namely, that change of scene, society and climate is a large if not the chief factor in spa cures. When Dr. Braun does recommend a spring we feel therefore that he has probably some strong grounds for his faith. Not the least valuable part of the volume is a chapter on the treatment of phthisis by baths and climate, by Dr. Rohden of Lippspringe. The whole is well translated by Miss Bunnett.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. PATTISON'S biography of Isaac Casaubon¹ occupies the front place amongst the biographical works which we have received this quarter. It is interesting and important for its author and its subject. The rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, is a man always worth hearing, and in his recent work he illustrates a worthy and congenial subject. Casaubon is a name with which every one feels that he should be

³⁵ "On Defective Hearing." By James Keene, F.R.C.S. London, 1875.

³⁶ "Phantom des Menschenhirns." Von Dr. Ludwig Fick. Marburg. 1875.

³⁷ "Handbook to the Spas of Europe." By Dr. Julius Braun. Edited by Dr. Hermann Weber. London. 1875.

¹ "Isaac Casaubon." By M. Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Longmans and Co.

familiar, and of which few know much. Mr. Pattison has attached to this name a vivid and dignified personality. Casaubon is the best example of a learned man of the sixteenth century. Born in its latter half, he was conspicuous for early talent, and spoke Latin fluently at the age of nineteen. At the age of twenty-two he occupied the chair of Greek Literature in Geneva. He married the daughter of Stephanus, and was elected professor at Montpellier. Afterwards, in 1598, he was called to Paris by Henri IV., whose librarian he became. After the death of this monarch he came to England, died at London in 1614, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His writings were both theological and critical. As theologian he wrote the "*De Libertate Ecclesiasticâ*," and as critic he translated and commented upon Aristotle, Theophrastus, Suetonius, Persius, Theocritus, Athenæus, Pliny, and other classical writers. We shall plunge at once into the heart of Mr. Pattison's work if we turn to the chapter which describes Casaubon's visit to Oxford—for Mr. Pattison writes it *con amore*, and can write on Oxford better than any one else. In 1613 Casaubon visited the university. It was the month of May, when Oxford is unusually beautiful. He was much pleased with the Master of Balliol, "who," says Mr. Pattison, "*though* he had a brother who was Archbishop of Canterbury, and *though* he had been able to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, was not unworthy of the position he held." He was *fêted*, as it is the custom of Oxford to *fête* illustrious strangers, and endured a succession of sumptuous repasts which took place day after day between the inconvenient hours of twelve and two. Unlike most illustrious strangers, Casaubon refused to accept an honorary degree, but made good use of the Bodleian Library. After staying a month—the best month for Oxford—he returns to London. The following remarks of the Rector of Lincoln on Oxford are important:—

"It (the glimpse we get from Casaubon's visit) shows us in clear relief, the old and well-established features of the place, a character which was imprinted on it before the Reformation, and which belongs to it still. . . . We find a school where much activity prevails in the routine instruction, and where the time and force of the resident instructor is much consumed in the formalities of official duty, and the management of their affairs. Of any special interest in science, learning, or the highest culture, there is not the smallest trace. The conception of classical learning as Casaubon conceived and attempted to realize it, was unknown. What science there was in England was in an attitude of hostility. Neither Selden nor Bacon were ever fellows of a college. The great marking fact of the university within, was the antagonism of the two Church parties—the Puritan-Calvinistic party in present possession; the Arminian-Ritualistic rising by aggressive acts and words. St. Mary's pulpit the arena, the sermons the event of the week. The ecclesiastical interest absorbs or overwhelms every other. Outside the whole institution is regarded by the Government as an instrument of party to be supported and to be used against the two oppositions, the Catholic and the Puritan. The professors and governors are all clerics, who look for their provision and promotion in the Church from the Government and the bishops, and endeavour to qualify themselves for it by writing pamphlets and preaching against Popery and Puritanism" (p. 417).

Although we readily assign a very high place to Mr. Pattison's book, we cannot pass over unnoticed the provoking peculiarities of his style. It is not without a prick of astonishment that we find him dismissing the customary capital when he writes about the "hospitable english way" of entertainment (p. 312), the "greek and latin writers" (p. 405), "the wealth of greek" (p. 407), "the rabbinical hebrew" (p. 408); but this astonishment would be less if our author were consistent in his use. We find him on the same page (413) writing "Hebrew" and "latin" and "spanish," (p. 407) "greek," (p. 264) "Arabic," and have tried to find the law regulating these variations. We cannot find it. Why, on the mysterious page 413, he should speak of a "young Hebrew" and "Jacob the jew," we know no more than we know the grammatical principle of the sentence (p. 417), "Neither Selden nor Bacon *were* ever fellows of a college." It is an ungracious task to find fault with so good a book as that of Mr. Pattison, but there are spots on the sun, and there is some curious English in Mr. Pattison's "Isaac Casaubon."

The "Life of John Epps, M.D.,"² edited by his wife, scarcely comes into the same category as the work we have just mentioned. Indeed, a reviewer hardly knows how to deal with an affectionate memorial such as the book before us. As an affectionate memorial it is touchingly written; slight family episodes are gracefully recorded; we feel that to his friends and those who knew him Dr. Epps must have been an object of love and admiration. This does not, however, justify the publication of a large biography of seven hundred pages. The book has absolutely no claim upon public attention, and it will not win it. The commonplace observations of Dr. Epps show an amiable and commonplace mind. Good he was, kind he was, devout he was, but so is many another man who has just as much claim upon public attention as Dr. Epps. That a man is a homœopathic doctor with benevolent feelings towards the Poles and oppressed nationalities, is a fact of some significance to his friends, but it is not a fact of such general significance that his childish fancies, his hobbledohy economies, his crude attempts at versification, his immature green yearnings, should be wheeled, as in a barrow, and upset before the public eye. We regret therefore that Mrs. Epps has sought the solace which the editing of the present volume may have afforded. It is with no unkindly feeling that we express the hope that she and her publishers may not have cause to lament the erection of a disproportionate memorial.

From time to time in these pages we have set forth our dislike to biographies, written and edited by the sons and widows of the objects of the biography. As a general rule the critical reviewer knows in each case what to expect. If the author is the widow, he knows well the kind of diary entries, memoranda, notes of health, tender memories, instances of kindness, and so forth, which will inevitably be produced; if the author is the son, there will be the usual preliminary discussion about the origin of the family, its remoter and (generally)

² "Diary of John Epps." Edited by Mrs. Epps. London: Kent and Co.

ennobled branches; there will be the well-considered account of school and college days, the pious and reticent story of parental love-making and marriage, and the enthusiastic summary of general excellence which a son properly pays to him whose peculiarities he inherits. It would be unfair to deny to Mr. E. Blackburne the credit of filial piety. This piety is conspicuous in every page of the biography³ which he has written of his father. His father's life was uneventful, but Mr. Blackburne has recorded in a handsome volume the various important offices which he held. Lord Chancellor Blackburne was an excellent Irish judge; he was also an excellent father, but he has not been fortunate in his biographer.

An admirable memoir of the Italian patriot Mazzini⁴ is before us. Though anonymous, it is evidently written by a personal friend of Mazzini, and does affectionate justice to his sweet character. The sketch of his life is brief, but, unlike so many biographies, it is worthy. We have not the space here to follow out the sketch, brief and good as it is. It rises in the concluding paragraph to real poetry, and we commend the work, from which quotation would be unfair, to every lover of freedom. It contains also two valuable essays by Mazzini, addressed to the working classes, to whom the editor, Mr. P. Taylor, dedicates the book. The editor's remark about Mazzini is so true that we repeat it. "We can find no way to honour his memory so worthily as by seeking to prolong the echo of his noble thoughts—to repeat the story of his noble life."

A series of vivid pictures is presented to us in the two volumes by Herr Strauss.⁵ The first volume is the better of the two, and contains of course the better known names, such as those of the Emperor, Moltke, and Bismarck. Each picture is admirably drawn, and the dramatic power occasionally shown is great, especially in the story of the surrender of Sedan (vol. i. p. 72). The chapter, too, which describes the position of the Romish Episcopate in relation to the Old Catholic Movement is very good (vol. i. p. 258). The second volume deals with the lesser stars of the imperial constellation. Some of these are well known in England, and amongst them are General Goben, General Hindersin, Field Marshal Steinmetz, and Field Marshal Von Wrangel. For the literary style of the book, whether it be a translation—of which there is no indication—or an original English work, we have nothing but praise. It is clear, concise, impartial, and full of life and movement. The touching memorial it contains to the memory of the late King John of Saxony (vol. ii. p. 109) is in keeping with its dignified tone.

The biography of James Everett, Wesleyan minister and bookseller of Sheffield,⁶ is a pompous and inflated volume. Everett was the son

³ "Life of the Right Hon. Francis Blackburne, late Lord Chancellor of Ireland." By his son, E. Blackburne. Macmillan and Co.

⁴ "Joseph Mazzini." A Memoir. By E. A. V., with two Essays by Mazzini. H. S. King and Co.

⁵ "Men who have Made the New German Empire." By G. L. M. Strauss. Tinsley Brothers.

⁶ "James Everett." A Biography. By R. Chew. Hodder and Stoughton.

of poor parents, and was born at Alnwick. This gives his biographer an opportunity for making some foolish observations about the birth-places of "great men." Having forgotten Mrs. Glasse's advice to "first catch" his "great man," Mr. Chew's remarks are about as ill-placed as it is possible for remarks to be. Mr. Everett is no more interesting a person to the general reader than any other Wesleyan minister imperfectly educated and possessing an amazing amount of self-assurance would be. Some additional interest is perhaps lent to his character by the fact that as a boy "he was not a stranger to the ordinary vices and frolics of youth. When he could conveniently absent himself from home, a portion even of the Sabbath was very often devoted to the work of seeking birds' nests and gathering nuts," &c. A habit also of swearing and lying was contracted at an early period (p. 17). "He became connected with a family notorious for profanity and bad habits, comprised of father, mother, and son" (p. 18). "He engaged in poaching" (p. 19). He grows worse and worse: at least the symptoms are more serious. "His soul was tremulous with delicate susceptibility, and he readily responded to outward forms of beauty, of grandeur, or of majesty" (p. 22). He becomes apprentice to a Mr. Scott, a tallow-chandler of Alnwick, in whose service "he wrote boyish rhymes with a sprinkling of low juvenile wit, not forgetting to link his own name of *Scott* with that of *pot* in association with the smell of the tallow in hot weather, when a whole neighbourhood was annoyed with the nuisance" (p. 27). Soon after this event he was called to the Wesleyan ministry. His first essay in preaching was not successful. An old member of the congregation exclaimed aloud, "Young man, you go to Jericho and wait till your beard is grown." We have, however, quoted sufficient to show the style and tone of the book. We will not do the Wesleyan community the injustice of supposing that this biography will find a large sale.

Dr. Hiller, of Cologne, was an intimate friend of the late musician Mendelssohn, and has retained as memorials of his friendship many letters which are now made public. Mendelssohn was peculiarly happy as a letter writer. The world already possessed many of these letters, but Dr. Hiller's addition to the public stock will be welcome since it throws further light upon the sweet, unique character of the great "tone poet," as it is now customary to call a musician. The book will be read, and those who read it will get as near as it is possible to come to the mind of a great genius, but the impalpable something which constitutes genius, and baffles scientific analysis will still remain impalpable, unapproachable, and undefined.

If Mr. Jerrold thinks he has succeeded in investing Napoleon III. with any attributes worthy of admiration by that farther development of his history which this second volume⁸ contains, he is, we venture to say, mistaken. During Napoleon's stay in London in 1839-1840 the

⁷ "Mendelssohn. Letters and Recollections." By Dr. F. Hiller. Translated by M. von Glehn. Macmillan and Co.

⁸ "The Life of Napoleon III." By Blanchard Jerrold. Vol. II. Longmans, Green and Co.

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Prince was a mere spendthrift man of pleasure. Mr. Jerrold is evidently anxious to clear him of this charge, but whether he has been able to do so or not may be inferred from these admissions (p. 89)—“Prince Louis was no saint either before or after his residence in London. He had his full share of some of the fashionable vices. He kept a mistress. He fell in with the fashionable young men of the day, and if he was dissipated it was among gentlemen.” This “gentlemanly” course of life, which afterwards flowered into the Imperial dissipation of the Second Empire, is not redeemed by the “Napoleonic Tradition” to which Mr. Jerrold somewhat rapidly passes. The episode of Napoleon’s imprisonment in the Château of Ham occupies a large portion of the volume. What the Prince did there, his historical and political studies, his futile project of the Nicaragua canal, are dealt with at tedious length; and his escape is related in minute detail. The present volume closes with his election as deputy and return to Paris, “called thither by 200,000 voices that could not be disowned. He went quietly to the Hôtel du Rhin in the Place Vendôme, from the windows of which he could see towering over the capital the figure of the great man whose genius had been the guiding star of his life.”

Mr. Legge has told the story of the life of Pius IX.⁹ in simple and interesting language. The pictures he draws are well and vividly coloured, and leave a definite impression of the strange and eventful life of the present Pontiff. The gentle benevolence of the Pope’s early life, and his hapless passion for an unnamed lady, stand out in clear relief, and win unaccustomed interest. Mr. Legge dedicates his work to Mr. Gladstone, whom he addresses as “Honoured Sir.” This dedication is the worst bit of English in the book, and should not deter readers from perusing an excellent work.

Mr. Swinburne’s essay on the dramatist George Chapman¹⁰ has in its opening pages some exceedingly just remarks in reference to the charge of obscurity which is brought against many poets, and especially against Mr. Browning. Although long and discursive, this digression is not irrelevant to the subject which Mr. Swinburne has in hand—for Chapman is really obscure. His first poem accumulates allusions which require a glossary to explain them, and the poet appends somewhat scornfully to the glossary a note wherein he says that “for the rest of his own invention figures and similes, touching their aptness and novelty, he hath not laboured to justify them, because he hopes they will be proved enough to justify themselves, and prove sufficiently authentic to such as understand them; for the rest, God help them.” Mr. Swinburne then proceeds to a searching investigation of Chapman’s merits and position as a poet. The essay is a piece of artistic work, and bears that high mark of good work which is to be found in all that Mr. Swinburne does. Of

⁹ “Pius IX. The Story of his Life.” By A. O. Legge. 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall.

¹⁰ “George Chapman. A Critical Essay.” By C. Swinburne. Chatto and Windus.

the style we may say that it is more chastened than that which Mr. Swinburne generally employs. It retains, however, that note of bitterness which is found in all Mr. Swinburne's prose writings, and which separates his prose so abruptly from the best modern writing; from that of Milton, and that of Italian authors. There is defiance in every sentence which Mr. Swinburne writes, there is none of the gentle courtesy, and stately humility which mark each essay and each *novella* of an Italian writer. It is impossible to picture Mr. Swinburne using the superbly deferential language with which an Italian presents his book to the world. "Accetate dunque il mio buon volere e la sincerità dell' animo mio; e se l'opere o il suo effetto non corrisponde al desiderio ch'io aveva, incolpatene il mio poco sapere e la debole capacità del mio ingegno." Yet doubtless Mr. Swinburne is familiar with the writings of Matteo Bandello.

Colonel Malleson's "Studies in Genoese History"¹¹ are as good as could be expected by any one who regarded the circumstances under which they were written. They were written in India without the aids which a historian can generally command, but in spite of this drawback this small volume is well written, and presents the outlines of the history, and the chief characteristics of the great families in clear relief to the reader. The book claims no greater merit than that of being a good compilation, and as a compilation it certainly is more than usually good.

M. Sainte-Beuve, amongst his various essays,¹² includes some that have reference to English personages. These personages are such as Lord Chesterfield, E. Gibbon, the historian, W. Cowper, and Pope. He has also written papers on Mary Queen of Scots, B. Franklin, and on the History of English Literature by M. Taine. These are now offered to the English reader in an English dress, and are prefaced by an excellent introductory chapter on the life and writings of Sainte-Beuve. The book is in every way likely to be pleasing to the English reader.

Many people will be surprised at the appearance of a History of England by Von Ranke.¹³ He has already taken a high position as the historian of the Papacy, and the natural disinclination which readers cherish to see a man an authority in several branches of a subject may render them unwilling to welcome Herr von Ranke as an English historian. There could be no greater mistake than this. Ranke's History of England is in every way excellent. He modestly says that his history is concerned chiefly with the seventeenth century, and there can be no doubt that this portion of his work is exceptionally good. But so too is the introduction to it. He rapidly runs through our history, throwing upon it the light of his great learning, and illustrating in unexpected ways its course and its significance. He takes a

¹¹ "Studies from Genoese History." By Col. G. B. Malleson, C.S.I. Longmans, Green and Co.

¹² "English Portraits." By C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Daldy, Isbister and Co.

¹³ "A History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century." By L. Von Ranke. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.

different view of King Henry VIII. from that which Mr. Froude takes, and he is kinder to King James I. than are most writers. Herr von Ranke has gone to the fountain-head in writing this history; many authorities have been consulted, and, in ascertaining facts, no one has been more careful than the German historian. He deals perhaps somewhat hastily with Cromwell, and he gives Charles II. more credit for astuteness than is commonly given him. The present work is a translation; Herr von Ranke writes in German. It has been translated by certain Oxford gentlemen, each of the eight volumes having been translated by a separate interpreter; the translators are for the most part well-known men, including amongst them Messrs. Boase, Creighton, George, and, not least, Kitchin. Their work has not been faultlessly performed, but upon the whole it is good. It occurs to us, however, that this special translation is in a great measure curious. For what special class of readers is it designed? Of course, if it is to be an Oxford text-book in the history school, it has a *raison d'être*. Otherwise it seems to us this translation is not calculated to forward historical studies. The general student of history *must* make himself familiar with the German language, and will prefer to read his authorities in the original German. Students may, of course, claim to read the book, but it seems to us that in this particular case the Clarendon Delegates have been unusually kind. Ranke's books, though good, have no supreme merit, and this formidable apparatus of eight translators and two editors, is somewhat out of proportion to other branches of the Clarendon Press work. It has been excellent practice to eight amiable and intelligent gentlemen to translate these eight volumes. So far good. They have not done it especially well. So far bad. But the University of Oxford should do more than this. These well bound, well printed eight volumes are more a reproach than a credit to the great English University. Let the eight gentlemen do some original historical work. Mr. Watson, of Brasenose, and Mr. Boase, of Exeter, Mr. Jackson, of Exeter, and Mr. George, of New College, are we believe, fellows of their colleges. They are really not very good translators, they have time upon their hands, there is much to be done. Nowadays that man is out of the running who depends upon translations. Let them devote themselves to research; and when the leisure comes to them which comes to hard-worked and well-paid examiners, let them strike out for themselves some new line of investigation, and produce works which will be read in England, and haply be translated by eight German professors into the language of Herr von Ranke.

We shall not hesitate to say that Mr. Gardiner has done more for history than Messrs. the Eight Translators. His book¹⁴ is a bit of honest original work, and might be coveted by the Clarendon Press. He has taken the period extending from the death of Elizabeth to the assassination of Buckingham in 1628, and he has illustrated it in three excellent works. The present work is the last of the trilogy. A hundred and fifty pages are occupied with events that precede the

¹⁴ "History of England under the Duke of Buckingham, 1624—1628." By S. B. Gardiner. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

accession of Charles, the ascendancy of Buckingham, and the French Marriage Treaty. But, as Mr. Gardiner observes, much is gained for the understanding of the events by telling the story of the last year of James's reign in close connexion with the first year of the reign of his son. "To make the division at the accession of Charles is to separate effect from cause, and to account for the reaping of the whirlwind without taking into consideration the sowing of the wind." Mr. Gardiner's view of the character of Charles is judicial and extremely just. As an instance of historical narrative few stories are better told than Mr. Gardiner's account of the assassination of Buckingham by Felton (p. 336 *et seq.*). Those who have followed Mr. Gardiner in his masterly delineation of the characters of Charles and Buckingham will not wonder at the fate of the unhappy monarch. The popular feeling at the time is well depicted—"Who rules the kingdom?" were the words of a pasquinade found nailed to a post in Coleman Street; 'The king. Who rules the king? The duke. Who rules the duke? The devil. Let the duke look to it' " (vol. ii. p. 305).

Mr. Fulton's little book¹⁵ and big preface go ill together. The book is in itself a deserving Manual full of useful information; the preface is intolerably pretentious. The preface finds fault with Hallam, Stubbs, Cobden, Creasy, and others. The book is a creditable compilation from their works and is likely to be of use of students of the law, if they can put aside the disagreeable tone which the author assumes towards them. The Manual deals only with the general outlines of constitutional history, but the outlines are drawn clearly and effectively.

The present volume of Mr. Adams's "History of Japan"¹⁶ is, like the first, an extremely disappointing book. It is not in any sense of the word a history of Japan; it is a mere record of the foreign relations in recent years of that country. Of such relations it is a good record, but it is no more a "history" of Japan than any half dozen blue-books is a history of England. It is a pity that Mr. Adams, who could have done so much, should have done so little to throw light upon the inner and social life of a nation which becomes increasingly interesting. His present work is a dull chronicle of official proceedings.

Messrs. Cassell, whose name was once a guarantee for good tea, have long since become the publishers of popular works. They issue books upon cheap paper, with cheap engravings, with type generally trying to the eyes, and engravings distracting to every æsthetic sense. Under their auspices the gossiping antiquary, Mr. Thornbury, has produced a narrative of the history, people and places of London.¹⁷ It is nothing less than amusing, and the engravings are not so bad as some which Messrs. Cassell have dealt out. We must admit also that the type is readable, and does not recall the "Popular Educator"

¹⁵ "A Manual of Constitutional History." By F. Fulton. Butterworths.

¹⁶ "The History of Japan." Vol. II. By F. O. Adams. H. S. King.

¹⁷ "Old and New London." By Walter Thornbury. Cassell, Petter and Galpin: London, Paris and New York.

or the "Franco-German War." As an author, too, Mr. Walter Thornbury has merits which are seen to advantage in this book. There is no lack of engravings, such as they are, and to those familiar with London, and to those who take an interest in its archæology, it may be pleasant to spend an hour in turning over these pages. Some of the portraits however are execrable, and some of the blocks seem to have been worn out in long and faithful service before they were called upon to do duty in this gaudily-bound "history."

Another work of archæological interest is Mr. Marshall's "Supplement to his History of Woodstock Manor."¹⁸ It gives original letters of the Earl of Halifax to Bishop Burnett, and an unpublished letter of Sarah, Duchess of Malborough, which both for orthography and style appears to be the original of the imaginary letters which in modern novels are attributed to housemaids. The little volume is unpretendingly and pleasantly written, and contains a curious old map of Woodstock Park and Blenheim Palace. It subjoins also an account of the church and rectory of Wootton, in which parish is situated the township of Old Woodstock.

The two colleges St. John's and Christ's at Cambridge have undertaken the publication of a memoir of their patroness and founder, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby. The memoir¹⁹ was written by the late Mr. C. H. Cooper, and it is now edited by Mr. J. B. Mayor. The book besides being interesting, as it must be, to members of her own foundations, contains much curious information about early English customs, habits, and manners of life. It has also extracts from the funeral sermon preached by Bishop Fisher, which will serve, the Editor hopes, to call attention to that prelate's prose, which has been unduly slighted. "Contrast with the chaste and manly pathos of this 'honest chronicler,'" says Mr. Mayor, "Bossuet's stilted panegyrics, or the fawning addresses wherewith Laud and Williams approached kings and their minions. Undazzled by the glare of majesty and right divine, Fisher portrays the woman bowed down by the burden of greatness, keenly alive as Ecclesiastes or Herodotus (why, may we ask, Herodofus?) to the vanity of human wishes, weeping 'mervaylously' in all the 'grete triumphe and glorye' of her son's coronation, keeping under her body by a discipline which, however we may now question its wisdom, could then plead the authority of Howe and Fisher—even of the wordly-wise Wolsey."

The old quarrel between philosophy and poetry of which Plato speaks has never ceased. In our days however it has taken another name: the *παλαια πικ διαφορα* is now rather that which rages so rancorously between religion and science. Herr Hellwald's "History of Civilization"²⁰ will not help to bridge the interval. Our author is

¹⁸ "A Supplement to the History of Woodstock Manor." By the Rev. E. Marshall. Oxford and London: Parker and Co.

¹⁹ "Memoir of the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby." By the late C. H. Cooper, F.S.A. Cambridge: Leighton, Bell and Co.

²⁰ "Culturgeschichte in ihrer natürlichen Entwicklung bis zur Gegenwart." Von F. von Hellwald. Augsburg: Lampart.

intolerant of compromise, indifferent to consequences and confident of the issue. His calm unimpassioned pen traces the history of civilization from the time when our present world was a nebulous revolving vapour to the present day, and predicts the final extinction of life and force upon its surface at a time when the earth itself shall circle airless and waterless in moon-like desolation around a sun which no longer shines for terrestrial occupants. It is, however, with the development of civilization in past times that this somewhat bulky volume chiefly deals. The author has taken as his stand-point the vantage ground of natural law, and has attempted to apply to ethical history the principles which have been illustrated by Darwin in those works which express and enunciate his system. It is the natural development of civilization that Herr Hellwald has worked, with the distinct admission that he was applying to social phenomena the principles which have credibility when applied to the phenomena of physical development. In doing this it is evident that a writer must challenge comparison with one who to some extent occupied the same ground—the late Mr. Buckle. The comparison is not, however, in Herr Hellwald's favour. The chief characteristics of Mr. Buckle's work were careful exhaustive study, and steady intense preparation. The present work is hurried. It begins with the earth's embryotic nebula, it races through the stone period, the civilizations of Egypt, Greece, Rome, and the Middle Ages, and it concludes with a forecast of the time when all life shall be extinct upon the earth. This is not the worst fault of an interesting work. The religious, literary, and artistic side of humanity it practically ignores. The exigencies of life, the storm and press of necessity, the struggle for existence, are factors in life, but they are not all. If they were, painters would have little, and music nothing to which they might appeal. The time must shortly come in which a just reaction against superstition, and vague credulity will find its proper limit, and when it does come, there will be no place for a "History of Civilization" like that of Herr Hellwald. This reaction has in the present history exceeded all due bounds, and has led our author into exaggerations which need nothing more than to be noted. It has led him indeed to be false to the principles which he professes to sustain. If the culture of the Hebrews and the civilization of the Greeks had been such as he describes them to have been, the influence of these civilizations could not in any system, wherein the survival of the fittest plays even a minor part, have formed a ripple upon the surface of universal history. Herr Hellwald does not write like a careful historian when he says of Hebrew civilization under Solomon—"The intellectual resources of this people, poor as they were in ideas, was soon exhausted, Priests and Levites through jealousy allowed none of their problematical knowledge to reach the laity, farther civilization was not to be thought of, the kingdom broke in two and all the national wisdom narrowed itself to produce a phenomenon peculiar to the Semitic race—prophetic inspiration whose mournful disregarded warnings were still for a while heard" (p. 175). Now whatever faults the Hebrews had it is certain that no epithet could be less fairly applied to them

than that which Herr Hellwald has chosen—*ideenarm*. It was not for want of ideas that the book of Job arose a monument of antiquity, nor that the writings of Isaiah were penned. The internal subjective development of the Hebrew character was no less rich in ideas than the more gorgeous external development of Rome. The history of the Hebrew nation cannot be treated as Herr Hellwald wishes to treat it. From the other Asiatic nations with which he connects it, it stands out. Babylon, Nineveh, Phœnicia are little to us; Hebraism still has hold of us; it is mixed with modern thought; it is rooted in modern art, it is the ground-tone of the best music of modern times, we feel it in the musical words of Heine, and the wordless music of Mendelssohn, and when Herr Hellwald dismisses the subject with a curt—"Damit ist der Culturwerth des alten Judenthums erschöpft,"—we regret that so much learning as he possesses should not have the little imaginative insight which is required by a scientific writer. Unfairly as Judea is treated by Herr Hellwald, so unfairly is Greece dealt with by him. He strips her of her glory, he sneers at her art, he despises her statesmanship, he almost ignores her literature. He looks upon Greece as a "striking proof that Democracy, if it does not check, certainly does not advance, scientific development" (p. 254). As far as architecture is concerned, Greece was a mere borrower (p. 255). The time of Pericles was a bright period, that showed however signs of decay (p. 257). It owed nothing to Cimon, nothing to Pericles, nothing to Themistocles. Herr Hellwald dwells with something approaching to "unction" upon the decline of every nation with which he deals. He is unctuous upon the decline of Greece. Prostitution is a favourite subject, and he treats the subject of Greek prostitution in a masterly manner. He takes leave of the Greeks in the following words: "In the intellectual province they have bequeathed us many theories, and little of practical importance, they have left us many ideas and few facts; as far as material progress is concerned they have not handed down to us one single discovery worthy to be mentioned." More interesting, however, will be found our author's remarks about the position of England as regards the history of civilization. He looks upon England as the country which has worked out its development most quietly and gradually. It may be encouraging to some readers to know that in England the "dangers" of democracy are at present very far distant. "In a country," says Herr Hellwald, "where a naturalist of the rank of Alfred Russell Wallace does homage to spiritualism, where another spiritualist, William Crookes, edits the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, whose contributors are the best scientific writers of England; in a country where a Darwin and a Huxley are accused of atheism, where the great Tyndall" (why he should deserve the epithet more than Mr. Huxley or Mr. Darwin we leave Herr Hellwald to explain) "could raise a storm amongst the educated but credulous classes by his free-thinking speech at Belfast; where the Sunday church-going is not only fashionable but fixes a man's respectability—in such a country, amongst such a people, the dangers of a democracy are far away." The fact that the present "history" begins with the primeval "fire-mist," and brings down events to the last meeting of the British Association,

speaks much for its comprehensiveness, but separates it by an immense interval from the great work designed, alas! only, by Mr. Buckle. We have spoken of the present work at length, and we feel that we have dwelt more upon what have seemed faults than upon its great learning, its great grasp, its dauntless, energetic determination to truth, but we have done so because the whole book has seemed to us to fall in many respects below the ideal which the reader can see the author has before him. "This book strives," says the author in his "Ankündigung," "to belong to no party of the present or the past." Then it has failed in its effort; it follows one thread of truth honestly, fearlessly, nobly, but it is a narrow thread, and the writer is not a man who is warmed with the enthusiasm of humanity, or with any enthusiasm at all save, if we may use a homely phrase, of that of following his own nose. He is like a man who carries a dark-lantern; he paces the wavering illuminated streak fearlessly wherever it falls, but he forgets that to-morrow he will see other ways and wider roads. Such a man is not a safe guide for students of history, he is not a follower, if he will allow us to add the epithet, of the "great" Darwin.

Dr. Honegger's contribution to the history of civilization²¹ traces the line of French influence upon surrounding nations. The present volume is a kind of supplement of his great work, which we noticed some time ago—"Grundsteine einer allgemeinen Culturgeschichte," and deals much more minutely with the period of the French Revolution than was in accordance with the plan of that work. The description of universal corruption in French society which preceded the revolution is powerfully written, and the history of the "Aufklärungsliteratur" is the best with which we are acquainted.

All the information in reference to the education of youth which can be collected from the classical writers has been brought together by Dr. Grasberger in his interesting work.²² The first half of his first volume is devoted to the athletic education of the ancients, and is concerned with the games which occupied the leisure hours of their boys. It is interesting to see that "Blind Man's Buff" is of extreme antiquity, and that under the name of "Brazen Fly" it was played by, perhaps Pericles, certainly by his countrymen. "Hunt the Slipper," "Forfeits," and "Fives," are classical in their origin, and there are a multitude of other games, whose loss we may well deplore, as for instance the pretty game ἡ κλειψύδρα (p. 96-8), or the lovely little game played by the Greek girls, χελιχελώνη (p. 133). In this game the girls sat in a circle, and one, the χελώνη, went into the middle, and the others danced round her, singing—

χελιχελώνη, τι ποιεῖς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ?

to which she replies—

ἔρια μαρύομαι καὶ κρόκην Μιλησίαν.

²¹ "Kritische Geschichte der Französischen Cultureinflüsse in den letzten Jahrhunderten." Von J. Honegger. Berlin.

²² "Erziehung und Unterricht im Classischen Alterthum." Von Dr. L. Grasberger. Würzburg.

And then the others ask—

ὁ δ' ἔγκονός σου τί ποιῶν ἀπώλετο?

while she, poor child, must say—

λευκᾶν ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς θαλάσσαν ἄλατο;

and with this last word the circle is broken up in tumult of dancing and kisses, and blending of white arms, and "O, the happy days, the happy days, when the world was young." The second half of the first volume deals with the athletic discipline which the youths received, the education of the Gymnasium and the Palæstra; the second volume which now, after an interval of nine years, has just appeared, is to be followed by a third, which will complete this valuable and interesting work. The second volume therefore exhibits the elementary instruction of the ancients, the school in fact in its narrower sense, the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The final volume will be accompanied by a series of plates, to illustrate the whole work, from the graceful games mentioned in the first volume to the exercises of the youths, which will be discussed in the third.

Professor Arnold, of Marburg, has contributed an important monograph to the subject of the migration of German races.²² It illustrates two points, the degree of culture possessed by the Germans before their contact with Roman influences, and the beginning of territorial lordship, and the foundation of the modern state. The line of investigation which Professor Arnold adopts is that of the examination of local names, and the results are both valuable and surprising. Grimm and Vilmar have both worked at the subject, but the present work employs, as its author says, the microscopic method. Other writers, such as those already mentioned, Wiegand, Roth, and Kulner, have confined themselves to a mere explanation of the names; in the present case this explanation is the means to an end, and that end is the increase of historical light upon the condition of the early races. It is, therefore, not a philological but a historical study upon which Professor Arnold has been engaged. The names with which he deals are those in Hesse, the home of the Chatti in old times, and, as he maintains, their home still. Amongst them then the oldest purely German names are to be found. "I verily believe," he says, "that a list of their topographical names would contain names that date from the settlement of the race when they halted here first after their migration from the original Asiatic home, probably in the third and fourth centuries B.C." From the frequency of such names as Haddenberg, Hattenbach, Hattendorf, Hattenrot, and Hatterode he concludes that Hatto, a softened form of Chattus, was a common personal name amongst the earlier people of Hesse. He takes the names Bieber, Beverungen, Bebra, and Biber, and shows that these places were once frequented by beavers. At Bebra a beaver skeleton was lately found. The otter has given its name to Otterborn,

²² "Ansidelungen und Wanderungen deutscher Stämme zumeist nach Hessischen Ortsnamen." Von W. Arnold. Marburg.

Otterbach, and Ottergrund. The horse is commemorated in Pferdsbach, Pferdsdorf, Rosssbrunn, Rossdorf, and Hengstberg; and Bingarten Ober- and Unterbimbach recall the bee-keeping of ancient times. The majority of river names are Celtic. So are many mountain names—inhabited places less frequently keep the Celtic name. In speaking of this Celtic nomenclature in Hesse, Professor Arnold mentions an interesting fact. On both sides of the Schwalm, as far as the boundary of Darmstadt, live a population remarkably different from the people who surround them. They are about 20,000 in number, and keep their own dialect, dress and customs. Whilst their neighbours have the light hair and blue eyes of Hesse, these Schwälmers, as they are called, have dark hair and brown eyes; they are taller and narrower-chested than the Hessians; they marry and live amongst their own people, and are tenacious of old customs. Who are they? They are not Slavonic, nor do they at all recall the Slavonic type; they have not immigrated during historical times. Professor Arnold believes them to be a remnant of the Celtic inhabitants. To what interesting results the profound knowledge of his subject leads our author can be seen only by a perusal of the work. He has made a study, tedious in itself, and little attractive to the general reader, one which the general reader can enjoy. The present volume is to be shortly followed by a second which will contain a register of names and an index. A good map would make the work complete. It is dedicated to Herr von Ranke, who urged his pupil (the author) to undertake his present task, and it is not unworthy of the name with which it has been connected.

We are compelled to be brief with the other books that are before us. Mr. Marshall's *Horace*,²⁴ which at present gets no farther than the epodes, seems to be decidedly good for schools. Where we have tested it, it has not been found wanting. The notes and introductions are scholarly, but are marked by the usual amount of scholarly fatuity. To illustrate what we mean, we take Book I. c. v., the well-known ode translated by Milton, "*Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa*." Says the note "*'multa in rosa.'*" This may mean '*a bed of roses*' or '*a garland of roses*;' Orelli prefers the former." Let him prefer it. What can it matter, so long as one has the desirable and musical phrase? Mr. Marshall also prefers the "*bed of roses*." As if there ever was a "*bed of roses*," or reference to one in the classics. A bed of "*rose leaves*" there might be, as Mr. Wickham, in his edition of Horace points out. Then Mr. Marshall makes this foolish observation: "*The uses to which roses could be put are obviously so various that we never get any precise information about them in Horace.*" Evidently Mr. Marshall fancies that Horace should have given details for making his "*bed of roses*." We will supply the omission, and Mr. Marshall may find the appropriate metre. "*Recipe D. rosas; quantantur: abjice spinas: jace.*" But, indeed, we like Mr. Marshall's book, which is well edited and has good notes not beyond a schoolboy's capacity.

²⁴ "Quinti Horati Flacci Opera." By J. M. Marshall. Catena Classicorum. Rivingtons.

Mr. Stormmouth's *School Dictionary*²⁵ is an honest little volume without pretension, and carefully written. Perhaps Mr. Stormmouth is right in acknowledging the American word "reliable" and the hideous word telegram, but why then should he omit the words "squirm," and "to wire" in the sense of "to telegraph?" The type is neat and clear.

The services of M. Quetelet as anthropologist and geometer are well-known.²⁶ A graceful tribute is paid to his memory by the publication of M. Mailly's essay. M. Mailly is an enthusiastic pupil of M. Quetelet, and has written an elegant and worthy memoir. "Le professeur," he says, "ne sera jamais oublié, tant qu'il restera de ses élèves." The little volume contains a handsome portrait of M. Quetelet.

We can only briefly acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Prendergast's laborious *Concordance to the Iliad*,²⁷ some additional numbers of M. Guizot's *French History*,²⁸ translated by Mr. Black, two more volumes from the Record Office,^{29 30} Messrs. Sargent and Dallin's excellent work on *Latin Composition*,³¹ and a Rugby book,³² whose author, after burning the usual pinch of incense before the shrine of Dr. Temple, proceeds to a careful history of the English rebellion.

BELLES LETTRES.

SOME day the critic of the future will probably institute a comparison between the drama of the Elizabethan period and the novel of the Victorian. Without venturing to conjecture what he may say on the first, we can easily surmise what he would say upon the latter, as far as the year 1875. He would find one great satirist, trenchant, masculine,—Thackeray; one great humorist, fanciful, grotesque,—Dickens; and one great prose poet,—George Eliot. We need not stay to speculate how he would group the rest. What, however, would chiefly astonish the critic of the future, would be the enormous mass of rubbish which was published under the name of fiction, and the large sums which, in certain instances, were paid for it. In taking up any of the forgotten plays of the minor Elizabethan dramatists we are struck by the great command of language, the vigour of the thoughts, and the teeming wealth of imagery. In

²⁵ "The Handy School Dictionary for use in elementary schools." By Rev. J. Stormmouth. Blackwood and Sons.

²⁶ "Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de L. A. J. Quetelet." Par Ed. Mailly. Bruxelles: F. Hayes.

²⁷ "Concordance to the Iliad of Homer." By A. F. Prendergast. Longmans.

²⁸ "The History of France." By H. Guizot. Translated by R. Black, M.A. Sampson Low, Marston, Lowe and Searle.

^{29 30} "Matthæi Parisiensis, Chronica Majora." Edited by H. Luard. Vol. II. London: Trübner. "Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1702—1707." By J. Redington. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Trübner.

³¹ "Materials and Models for Latin Prose Composition." By J. Y. Sargent and T. F. Dallin. 2nd Edition. Rivingtons.

³² "King and Commonwealth." By B. M. Corder, and J. S. Phillpots. Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

taking up an average Victorian novel we are struck by the poverty of the thought, the want of invention, and the lack of style. We look in vain for any trace of dramatic power, artistic drawing, individuality of character, and nobleness and elevation of tone. These are the qualities which mark any great literary movement, but they are utterly wanting in the average novel of the day. One of these novels resemble another as much as two peas. They generally deal with the conventionalities of modern life, and go no further than a courtship and a wedding, or a divorce. Those that do break the seventh commandment are quite as stupid as those that do not. This quarter has brought us an unusual number of stupid average novels. The best of them is, perhaps, Holme Lee's "This Work-a-Day World."¹ But then unfortunately Holme Lee from the very first never had anything very original to tell us, and she has long since exhausted herself. She can write commonplace conversations between ordinary people by the ream. Now and then we get a pleasant bit of description of country scenery, but it is washed-in in the thinnest of water colours. Yet we suppose that there are people who will take an interest in Winny and Mrs. Broom, and Mr. Durant and the rest, or else Holme Lee would not go on half year after half year pouring forth her stories. Holme Lee is not, however, wholly inartistic. She has had too much experience in novel-writing not to know how to keep the reader's interest alive by the complications of her story, and this, in its way, is art, though of a low order.

If Miss Helmore² possessed one-half of Holme Lee's experience, and understood what may be called the technical art of novel-writing a quarter as well, she would write a far better story. As it is, her tale possesses all the faults which usually attend a first novel. The characters jostle one another, and the reader's mind is too often wearied instead of amused. Still there is far more promise in "Cap and Bells" than in ninety-nine novels out of a hundred. Such little touches, and they are not few, as in the description of a flirt who had only one other idea besides coquetry—namely, "a morbid hatred of the man who had many years ago made love to her, and then married another woman," show that Miss Helmore understands one side of woman's many-sided nature. Her little touches, too, in her clerical conversations, such as that about "christen" and "baptise," show, too, that she understands the nature of the modern High Church parson. In France it is said that there are three genders—men, women, and priests. The third gender is being fast introduced into England.

"For Sceptre and Crown"³ was a decided success in Germany. The reasons are obvious. We fear that it will hardly interest English novel readers. It reads too much like "Our Own Correspondents,"

¹ "This Work-a-Day World." By Holme Lee, author of "Sylvan Holt's Daughter." "Beautiful Miss Barrington," &c. &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1875.

² "Cap and Bells." By Margaret C. Helmore, author of "Luna." London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1875.

³ "For Sceptre and Crown." A Romance of the Present Times. Translated from the German of Gregor Samarow. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

letters do, when taken up long after the event has taken place. His brilliant conjectures have not always been fulfilled. History refuses to be read by his high lights. Still, if English novel readers want to read a page of German history, and a good many pages of German fiction, and also wish to know the private life of Bismarck and the Emperor of Germany, they should by all means order "For Sceptre and Crown."

The people who used to come to Mademoiselle Josephine Langier's⁴ weekly parties were decidedly somewhat Bohemian. They were artists who could never get their pictures exhibited, and journalists whose articles were constantly refused. Yet out of this motley assemblage Miss Betham-Edwards contrives to make a good deal of interest and amusement. We think, however, that Miss Betham-Edwards is happiest in her descriptive sketches. In her last story she gives us a really powerful winter-scene on the Cumberland Falls. Again, in a tale called "At the World's End," she sketches a lovely little French settlement on the Mediterranean, with its green hills, and orchards flushed with almond and peach blossom, with its deep blue sea, and here and there broken columns and arches of some old Roman town long since ruined. There the air comes blowing from the sea, mingling itself with the odour of wild mignonette and violet; there ever is profusion of colour and sunshine; and there the climate is so fair and lovely that the people live to a wondrous old age. We most certainly wish that Miss Betham-Edwards had given us a more exact description of the precise whereabouts of this land of lotus-eating, where coals would not cost much, and where Life Insurance Companies would be ruined if they used their present tables.

Given Mr. Trollope's⁵ name and a pretty binding, we may be sure that the story will run through two or three editions in a very short time. We can see nothing whatever in "Henry Heathcote of Gangoi" but another proof, if that were needed, of Mr. Trollope's great versatility. We can find nothing in it which raises the tale above the average of boys' books. It cannot for one moment be placed on the level of Mr. Henry Kingsley's books of the same class. Still we have no doubt that it will be popular with young people, who like tales of adventure, and are not critical about the quality of the incidents as long as there are plenty of them.

We are glad to see stories in one volume on the increase. There is no possible reason why a novel should be spun out into three volumes, except to put money in the publishers' pocket. The great fault of "The Village Surgeon"⁶ is a tendency to mistake smartness for wit. The author is never actually vulgar, but he sometimes borders upon it in his attempts at humour. The author must be con-

⁴ "Mademoiselle Josephine's Fridays," and other Stories. By M. Betham-Edwards, author of "Kitty," "Dr. Jacob," &c. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

⁵ "Henry Heathcote of Gangoi." A Tale of Australian Bush Life. By Anthony Trollope. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle. 1875.

⁶ "The Village Surgeon." A Fragment of Autobiography. By Arthur Locker, author of "Sweet Seventeen," "Stephen Scudamore," &c. &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle. 1875.

gratulated on having invented at least one new character, who has a taste for oology. Some of his sketches, especially of women, are particularly good. Mrs. Pratt, professionally Madame Franchetti, is neatly hit off. The scene, too, between the hero and Isabella is described both with spirit and a sense of humour.

Mr. Browne's name will, we suspect, be new to most readers of poetry. Yet Mr. Browne is a true poet. He has acted wisely in giving a second title of "*Moods of Mind*" to his very remarkable volume of sonnets. Mr. Browne is endowed with the true poet's eye, which sees many sides of a question. Of the Bible it has been said that you may prove anything from it. The same may be said of any great poet. "That noble casuist," as Shakspeare has been called, takes a subject and plays with it, showing turn by turn all its sides and lights. In this versatility of power may the true poet be detected. He runs through the whole scale of moods and passions of our human nature. He identifies himself with all, with the young, the old, the lover, the saint, or the soldier. He sympathizes with them all by turns. He apprehends and does justice to each of their moods. "*Moods of Mind*," therefore, thoroughly explains the character of Mr. Browne's volume. Although Mr. Browne has chosen the sonnet form in which to express his thoughts, it is not hard to see that if he had lived in a different age, in the day, say, of Elizabeth, that he would have been a great dramatic poet. He possesses both the imaginative power to create character, and the realistic power to give completion to what his imagination has boded forth.* Here, however, in these sonnets we can perceive not so much these special powers as another, without which no poet can rise to the highest rank—that spirit of reflection deeply meditating and brooding upon everything, at times in one mood, at times in another. This is the characteristic of these sonnets. They are literally in this sense "*Moods of Mind*." Mr. Browne takes every scene as it comes before him. He is indifferent to what it may be. All interests him from a human point of view. Here we see the dramatist, not in action, but in thought. Mr. Browne's standpoint is contemplation. He watches and marks.

So much has lately been written upon the sonnet, that we do not feel inclined to add any comments of our own upon its structure. Mr. Browne knows not only the theory of the sonnet, as may be seen from his notes, far better than most of his critics, but can turn theory into practice. He is a skilled artist. The English language becomes plastic in his hands. Light plays upon his lines. He understands, too, the mechanism of the sonnet. He moulds his thought into the allotted space with the ease of a master. His, too, is the art of the great poets, who reserve the secret, the full burden of their thought, till the last line. He understands that the sonnet, like

"The setting sun, and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last."

In a word, Mr. Browne writes from a full mind. He is brimful with

* "*Stones from the Quarry ; or, Moods of Mind.*" By Henry Browne. London : Provost & Co. 1875.

stores from the ancient and modern world. He can appreciate both Sappho and Mrs. Browning, that modern Sappho. Here is the conclusion of a sonnet to the first :—

“Large-hearted Woman ! with the articulate
And perfumed breath of thy most passionate song
Thou didst a flame of Love so pure create,
Didst fan it up so high, blow it so strong,
That the mere reflex warms the world thus late,
With after-glow so lingering and so long.”

Here, too, is the beginning of a sonnet to Shakspeare, equally worthy of the subject :—

“Soul like the sea ! tidal, circumfluent,
Manifold, oceanic ; flowing all around
The shores of our Humanity ; profound,
Self-lawed ; all who go down to and frequent
Thy waters, fishers of men, as is their bent,
Divers for pearl, or such as further try
Their fortune, round them the great blank of sky
And thy great main, voyage and are content.”

This, it will be admitted, is writing of no ordinary force and character. In the flow of the measure and the stateliness of the thought we are reminded of the movement of our own Elizabethan poets and the language of the Bible. Whenever Mr. Browne treats of Shakspeare, he rises to the height of his great theme. Here, for instance, is another sonnet to him :—

“As on some morning of assured Spring,
When Winter spends himself ; with peevish wind
Puffs out his cheeks, vexed to be left behind,
While yet his last rude efforts do but fling
The leafy curtains wide, and help birds sing
His sweet farewell, the Sun his ways unkind
Rebukes, and scattering clouds of sky and wind,
Sweet airs from heaven and golden looks doth bring !
So on the rearward clouds of troublous times
Our Shakspeare sun-like rose, towering in the van
Of mighty spirits, while the morning chimes
Rang out of day more than Virgilian.
Chaucer, our lark—fit harbinger—sang primes,
And matins, and that fuller day foreran.”

This sonnet leads us to notice Mr. Browne's love for the country and nature. He abounds in exquisite little touches of description. For him the swallow “makes music to the eye.” Motion and sound with him are correlates. So, in the same way, he paints

“The infant Spring in tiny hand
Bearing pale crocus, and the snowdrop cold ;
As if her gentle touch, transmuting-bland,
Made snow-flakes in their flower-likes expand.”

There are few poets who would here have ventured to have applied

such an epithet as "pale," instead of the ordinary "yellow," or "golden," or "purple," to the crocus. But the poet wishes to make the scene as cold and colourless as our early springs really are. Still fewer poets are there who would have been bold enough to have coined such an exquisite word as "flower-likes" (formed like Shakspeare's "flower-soft"), those correlates unknown to science, but seen only by the poet's eye. Mr. Browne, too, abounds with quaint illustrations. He is, if we understand him rightly, a Platonist and a transcendentalist. He not unnaturally therefore speaks of ideas, as Wordsworth might have done :—

"Seeds dropped by angel-hand,
Of scent and huc, and yield beyond the range
And reaches of our soul. From Holy Land
The sacred soil e'en so of growths brought change,
And Pisa, wondering, saw strange flowers expand."

This is, as poetry, equally happy and equally beautiful. Vaughan or Herbert would have envied with delight such an illustration. We think, however, as we have before said, that Mr. Browne's genius lies in his dramatic power. He burns and flames with passion. He is indignant over the wrongs and injustice which are perpetrated in the world. He hates the Mammon-worship of the day. He despises the fashionable follies of the hour. He glows with a noble patriotism, a patriotism which means not foreign but self-conquest. He thus speaks out his policy in a sonnet to England :—

"O greatest of the Oceanides !
Well may the mighty Neptune let thee lay
Thy hand upon his locks, and with them play,
Whilst he, caressing with his loving seas,
Encircles thee, and studies still to please.
For thou no mermaid's song, no siren-lay
Has chanted to the isles; but shown the way
Of toil, in song and deed, not sloth and ease !
Oh ! still thy lofty-chanted part fulfill,
And true choir-leader, lead off in all toil
And song for good, that he may love thee still,
Still cleanse thy garments from earth's stain and moil,
And like a spotless bride watch o'er thee, till
He can present thee without spot or soil."

We have quoted much more largely from Mr. Browne than we generally do from any volume of poetry. But we have been obliged to do so, to show the world that there is a new poet worthy of a poet's calling. Mr. Browne's name is, we suspect, utterly unknown. We have not sought to criticise his book in the ordinary way. A critic often does far more good in being the first to point out a poet's beauties, rather than his defects. Plenty of critics are able to find fault. Mr. Browne will not escape criticism. He will raise much antagonism, for he cuts right across many prejudices, and has no mercy for established beliefs. Lastly, we must call attention to the notes. They belong to the school of scholarship, which passed away with Landor. It is often

said that a good book is sure to find readers. We are not so sure. We will not attempt to prophesy whether Mr. Browne's sonnets will become popular with the multitude, or only prized, like Landor's own works, by a few scholars and thinkers. *Habent sua fata libelli.*

There is a story that Rossini, being asked to write an opera, sent back instead some sausages. Mr. Barlow⁸ has acted in much the same satirical way. Being asked by his admirers, of whom he has not a few, to write a poem worthy of his undoubted powers, he has given them a long preface, in which he defends himself against various foolish charges. Some time ago, when noticing his "Poems and Sonnets," we made some remarks on the general style and tendency of Mr. Barlow's poetry. We thought, and we still think, that it reproduces, in a very remarkable way, many of the thoughts and perplexities which are agitating the minds of the younger generation. To accuse Mr. Barlow of plagiarism is the height of folly. We think that it would have been far better for Mr. Barlow to have left his critics unanswered. Time will decide between him and them. His duty is to be true to his Muse, and not to engage in controversy. "Flee from storms" was the wise advice of Leonardo da Vinci. The artist who engages in controversy is lost. When Goethe used to hear foolish critics quarrelling about his own and Schiller's merits he would exclaim, "Fools, you ought to be thankful you have got us both." Mr. Barlow should treat his critics with the same indifference. His present volume shows a great advance in technical skill. Mr. Barlow still treats subjects from the same spiritual point of view. He appeals not to the mass of men, but to those who are more or less influenced by the spiritualism of the day, such as is found in the writings of Emerson and Theodore Parker. Whether this is only a transient phase of opinion, we will not pretend to say. The best pieces are such as "What Think You?" "The Spirit of Beauty," and "The Old and the New." What Mr. Barlow's poetry wants is repose. He must give his thoughts longer time to settle themselves. Above all things, too, let him dismiss his critics from his mind, and wait for four or five years before he publishes anything new. He will then write something worthy of his powers.

Mr. Egerton-Warburton's "Looking Glass for Landlords"⁹ is of a very different character to Mr. Barlow's "Under the Dawn." He writes as Somerville probably would write, if he lived in these days. Mr. Egerton-Warburton is imbued with a hearty love for the country, but it is not the poet's love so much as the country gentleman's. The spirit of the squire is stronger in him than that of the poet. We should, however, be doing him great injustice if we did not add that his poem is marked by great good sense, good feeling, and a thoroughly liberal spirit. But a great deal more than this, as we feel confident Mr. Egerton-Warburton would be the first to admit, is required to con-

⁸ "Under the Dawn." By George Barlow, author of "Poems and Sonnets" and "A Life's Love." London: Chatto & Windus. 1875.

⁹ "A Looking Glass for Landlords." By R. E. Egerton-Warburton. London: Basil M. Pickering. 1876.

stitute a poem. We should fancy, from his habits of close observation, his poetical feeling, his humorous touches, and cultivated taste, that Mr. Egerton-Warburton would write a really good novel, dealing with country life in its best aspects.

We have on one or two occasions called attention to the poems of the late Mr. William Leighton. We are glad to see a cheap reprint¹⁰ of some of them. They are somewhat feeble in execution, but their tone and spirit will make them welcome in many families where "Sunday poetry" is required.

A drama on Charles I. from Oriel!¹¹ What would Hurrell Froude have said to a fellow of his old college writing such a play as the present? No greater sign of the change which has passed over Oxford could be seen than in Mr. Butler's temperate and sensible preface. We are afraid, however, that he has wasted his labour. The multitude will not appreciate his polished lines. Charles I. and Charles II. are both heroes still, one with the upper ten thousand, and the other with the lower ten thousand. Ladies will go to the theatre to weep over Mr. Irvine's representation of their Royal Martyr, and the mob still vigorously celebrate the 29th of May, in which they confound the restoration of their hero with his escape in the Boscobel oak. But Mr. Butler writes over the heads of both. Sydney Smith used to talk of "a pocket-handkerchief preacher." Now Charles I. is a kind of pocket-handkerchief hero. As to his being a martyr, we can only say, with the old radical, he was martyr in the same sense that a man is martyr to the gout. Now Mr. Butler is far above all such stage tricks as to represent the King as a pocket-handkerchief hero, and far too well read in the history of the period to paint him the saint of our Prayer-book. Mr. Butler can appreciate the nobleness of Charles's opponents. His play is one of the best modern plays which we have read for a long time, abounding with weighty lines, and marked by clearly conceived and individualized characters and dramatic situations. Further, Mr. Butler is not wanting in those light touches which are so absolutely necessary in a play where Cavalier is strongly contrasted with Puritan, and where cakes and ale are to be found as well as virtue.

The remaining volumes of poetry are very poor. Some few of them, like Mr. Jacque's "Hope,"¹² show some poetical feeling, but most of them, however, are evidently first productions, and possess all the faults of immaturity. Miss Kennedy—we take it for granted that Cora is a female surname—tells us that her "Legends and Memories of Scotland,"¹³ a volume of over a hundred and fifty pages of closely-

¹⁰ "Baby Died To-day." And other Poems. By the late William Leighton. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1875.

¹¹ "Charles I." A Tragedy, in Two Acts By Arthur Gray Butler, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1875.

¹² "Hope, its Lights and Shadows." With other Poems. By the Rev. George Jacque, author of "The Clouds," &c. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1875.

¹³ "Legends and Memories of Scotland." By Cora Kennedy Aitken. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1875.

printed matter, was written during a few weeks' residence in Scotland. What does Miss Kennedy expect to produce by a few weeks' labour? Great poets have devoted years to far less work than this, over which a mere rhymster bestows a few days.

Miss Rossiter resembles Miss Kennedy. She informs us in her preface that "Mildred Gower,"¹⁴ in its manuscript form, was read by "a severe critic, who strongly urged its revision." Miss Rossiter has not taken the advice of the severe critic, and we can only hope, therefore, that she will meet him in print.

This is the way in which "Mainoc"¹⁵ begins:—

"Lo! where the pouted earth hides sulkily,
Entered the tearful sky it lowers in threads
To thicken the ocean's garb, there is a storm.
What speeds the air?"

This, we suppose, is poetry on the principle of "*Ἄνευ μανίας οὐδείς ποιητής*."

"Restormel"¹⁶ is of the flabby order of fourth-rate poetry. There has lately been a great outcry raised about critics reviewing books without having read them. We candidly confess that we have not read "Restormel," and we do not think that anybody else will.

After the principal star-shower of the November meteors, there generally fall one or two smaller showers on subsequent nights. So, too, after the great brilliant shower of Christmas books in December, there generally fall one or two smaller showers during the next month or two. We must regard "Lotos Leaves"¹⁷ as forming a portion of the great Christmas-book shower. Although published by an English firm, its principal contributors are American authors. The States is certainly not the land where we should have expected lotos-eating to have flourished. It is generally supposed that another plant is more commonly eaten, or rather chewed, in that country. However, we are all mistaken. Lotos-eating it seems is an institution in New York. A Lotos Club has an actual existence there, and its members have written a big book. In the frontispiece we are introduced to a Lotos-eating Yankee girl, loafing on her back by the side of an American Nile. It is difficult to describe her. Instead of a mild-eyed lotos-eater, she looks like a cross between a ballet-girl and an acrobat. This may be the Transatlantic personification of lotos-eating. Beneath the illustration stand two lines from Tennyson's "Lotos Eaters." We would have suggested, considering the large size of the book, two lines from a more classical authority—

*Νήπιοι, οὐδ' ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἤμισυ πάντ' ὄνειαρ,
Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλαγῇ τε καὶ ἀσφοδελῷ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.*

¹⁴ "Mildred Gower." And other Poems. By Mary Rossiter, author of "The Gathered Lily," and other Poems. London: Provost & Co. 1875.

¹⁵ "Mainoc Eveline." London: Basil Montague Pickering. 1874.

¹⁶ "Restormel. A Legend of Piers Gaveston, the Patriot Priest." And other Verses. By the author of the "Vale of Lanhorne," &c. &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1875.

¹⁷ "Lotos Leaves." Stories, Essays, and Poems. By Members of the Lotos Club. With numerous illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus. 1875.

Still there are some good things in "Lotos Leaves," and some better illustrations than the Lotos-eating Yankee girl. Mark Twain's "Encounter with an Interviewer" is, in its way, amusing enough. Still better is Mr. Greey's "Miss Ts'u." Amongst the more substantial essays, Mr. Elderkin's paper on "The Theatre" may be mentioned with praise. He does not, however, go very deep into the causes of the decline of the drama. We are much afraid, too, that on this side of the Atlantic at all events, that there is not the slightest possible chance of the revival of the glories of the stage. The course which the drama has run in the history of every nation which has yet existed forbids us to hope for such a thing. A law of growth and decay governs the drama as much as anything else. The poetry in "Lotos Leaves" is very poor. Hesiod would in this case have been satisfied with a good deal less than half. Of course no volume of American miscellanies would be complete without an article upon Poe. This writer might have opened up the question whether poor Poe was not the first original American Lotos-eater, and so have given him, and not the Lotos-eating Yankee girl, the place of honour in the volume.

Another work, a portion of the great Christmas-book shower which has fallen out of its proper course, is the late Mr. Tom Hood's "From Nowhere to the North Pole."¹⁸ We take it for granted that every one will admit that "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland," and "Alice through the Looking Glass," are the two masterpieces amongst children's Christmas books. Yet we think that Mr. Hood's nonsense is quite as good as Alice's nonsense. His songs are quite as insane as Alice's. We use "insane" of course, in a Christmas sense of the word. But in the illustrations "Nowhere" falls lamentably behind "Wonderland" and the Country of the Looking Glass. Perhaps, too, Mr. Hood is just a little bit too clever for children, but in these days children are so very clever that perhaps we are wrong. For anything we can say to the contrary, children know all about Mr. Marzials's poetry, Darwinism, and the spectrum analysis. Whether they do or do not, Mr. Hood's fun will be appreciated by those who do. One of the best chapters contains an account of what the hero beheld in Fairyland. Every one will remember the machine for writing books which Gulliver saw at the University of Lagado. Although Swift gives us a drawing of the machine, yet he gives us no specimens of its work. Mr. Hood goes a step further. He introduces us to a machine which writes poetry, and gives us whole poems of its work turned out on the spot before our eyes. The machine is somewhat complicated, but is soon understood. The hero is shown some little boxes, in which a number of words are found rhyming together. The machine is thus after all only based on our old friend Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, which we believe is still in great request amongst young poets. We will omit the details of wheels, cogs, levers, and cranks, and quote the words of the exhibitor and patentee—

¹⁸ "From Nowhere to the North Pole." A Noah's Ark-zoological Narrative. By Tom Hood. With Illustrations, by W. Brunton and E. C. Barnes. London: Chatto & Windus. 1875.

"'Above,' he says to Frank, 'you will see several large reservoirs. Each is filled with words printed on small pieces of wood, just like these rhymes. Each contains words suited for the different styles of measure you have to choose from. When you have fixed on the style you connect the feeder of its reservoir with the machine by pulling out this damper.'"

Frank's first attempt is a lamentable failure. He cannot understand a line. But, as the inventor truly remarks, "Poetry isn't meant to be understood. There are the words, and the reader must find out their meaning." Now we have so often experienced precisely this feeling when reviewing the little thin octavos of verse every quarter, that we can thoroughly sympathize with the unhappy Frank. However, he makes a second attempt, and this time successfully produces

"A SONG.

Merrily roundelay happiness blue,
Sicily popular meet tumtiddy,
Poppinjay Calendar fiddlestrings grew,
Capering mulberry feet tumtiddy."

"'Now,' said the inventor, 'observe the ingenious system of double-feeding. You see the word "tumtiddy,"—which is mere nonsense, and therefore easily distinguishable from the rest of the words—that is supplied by the second feeder, which is turned on by a small pin in the wheel, which at the same time applies a break to the other feeder. When all is done, you have only to remove the "tumtiddies,"—thus; and there is the poem.'"

This is, we think, admirable fooling. We can only say that not one-tenth of the poetry which is sent to us for review is so good as Frank's machine-made song. That at all events has rhyme, but the former often have neither rhyme nor reason.

"Toyland"¹⁹ is another Christmas book, which will, however, do for children at any time of the year. One of the best stories in it is "Our Theatre." By means of it a pantomime may be enjoyed at any time, and transformation scenes with golden fairies may be produced at five minutes' notice, at the cost of a farthing a fairy.

The best thing about the late Mr. John Timbs's "English Eccentrics and Eccentricities"²⁰ is the arrangement and the index. Mr. Timbs, we should suppose, never conceived an original idea in his life. We in vain look for anything like criticism, and almost in vain for any new anecdote. All is paste and scissors. Nor are the anecdotes particularly well selected. We turned amongst the "Literary Eccentrics" to Porson. This is the sort of stuff which is given as a specimen of Porson's wit:—"Gillies was one day speaking to him of the Greek tragedies and of Pindar's odes. 'We know nothing,' said Gillies emphatically, 'of the Greek metres.' Porson answered, 'If, Doctor,

¹⁹ "Toyland." By Arthur and Eleanor O'Shaughnessy. London: Daldy, Leister & Co. 1876.

²⁰ "English Eccentrics and Eccentricities." By John Timbs, author of "The History of Clubs and Club Life in London," &c. &c. With numerous illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus. 1875.

you will put your observation in the singular number, I believe it will be very accurate.' " This is not wit, but downright boorishness akin to a schoolboy's "you're another," and the *lusco dicere, lusce* of Persius. Mr. Timbs probably had never seen Porson's marvellous translation of "Three children sliding on the ice upon a summer's day," nor the wonderful Cornix riddle, and probably would not have understood them if he had. The anecdotes given under the head of Dr. Parr are of much the same character. Mr. Timbs should have left scholars alone, and have confined himself to millionaires, giants, dwarfs, and such people.

A complete revival of Shakspearian literature is taking place. This is in a great measure owing to the New Shakspeare Society, and the New Shakspeare Society is in a great measure owing to Mr. Furnival. The English translation of Gervinus's "Commentaries on Shakspeare" has long since been out of print. The present edition²¹ owes its existence to the zeal of Mr. Furnival. Of Gervinus's work it is not now necessary to speak. Its merits are well known, and its place in Shakspearian literature firmly established. The present edition, however, is enriched by an introduction by Mr. Furnival. Such an introduction was much needed. Many facts concerning Shakspeare have come to light, and many new and important views concerning his life, and especially his art, have been put forth since Gervinus wrote his great book. Upon all these points Mr. Furnival touches in a most satisfactory manner. One of the most important things in studying Shakspeare is that the student should have a clear conception of the order in which the plays were written. In most editions they are placed haphazard, the "Tempest," of all others, very often standing first. One of the most valuable portions of Mr. Furnival's introduction is a table of the dates of Shakspeare's plays. It is of course impossible for us to go into Mr. Furnival's various tests, such as the unstopt line and pause tests, the extra syllable and weak-ending tests, and other metrical tests. He does not himself put forward his table as final, and there probably may be reasons to modify it, though not to any great extent. Mr. Furnival's remarks on the sonnets, on the plays themselves, and on various criticisms, are all characterized by insight and sound judgment. For the general reader he has left nothing undone. He shows him how Shakspeare should be studied, and gives a list of the best helps and guides for reading the poet. Of Shakspeare's personal life of course there is nothing new to say. Mr. Furnival, however, quotes from Halliwell's New Place an extract from the Corporation books of Stratford-on-Avon, showing that it is more likely that Shakspeare died from fever brought on from the filthy condition of Chapel Lane adjoining his house than from any drinking bout with Ben Jonson. Here, too, is something which will be new to a great number :—

"Mr. Story, the great American sculptor, when at Stratford, made a very

²¹ "Shakspeare Commentaries." By Dr. G. G. Gervinus, Professor at Heidelberg. Translated under the Author's superintendence, by F. E. Bunnétt. New edition. Revised by the Translator. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1875.

careful examination of Shakespeare's bust from a raised scaffolding, and came to the conclusion that the face of the bust was modelled from a death-mask. The lower part of the face was very death-like; the upper lip was elongated, and drawn up from the lower one by the shrinking of the nostrils, the first part of the face to 'go' after death: the eyebrows were neither of the same length nor on the same level. The depth from the eye to the ear was extraordinary; the cheeks were of different shapes, the left one being the more prominent at top. On the whole Mr. Story felt certain of the bust being made from a death-mask."

We certainly think that some experts should examine the bust, and also give their opinion on the subject. The extreme length of Shakespeare's upper lip in the Stratford bust has always excited some suspicion as to the correctness of the likeness. Mr. Story's explanation at once clears up the difficulty. There is of course no necessity to formally recommend such a well-known work as Gervinus's *Commentaries*. We will merely say that Mr. Furnival's introduction gives it a new value.

If we owe the new edition of Gervinus to the zeal of Mr. Furnival, the Director of the New Shakespeare Society, we owe another equally interesting volume²² to Professor Dowden, the Vice-President of the Society. Professor Dowden's volume has one great advantage over most English commentaries on Shakespeare—he is thoroughly at home with the latest German criticisms on the poet. Most English criticism is purely textual or philological. Here we have, for almost the first time since Coleridge, æsthetic criticism of a high order, which may be put on the same shelf with Gervinus and Ulrici. Professor Dowden's work explains itself. He deals first of all with the age in which Shakespeare lived, and then proceeds to an examination of the growth of Shakespeare's mind and art, and an analysis of the plays. Such a work has long been wanting. Professor Dowden is careful to point out the ethical significance of the literary movement of the Elizabethan age, the greatest literary movement which England has witnessed, to be paralleled, perhaps, only by that of the Athenian drama. As he forcibly writes, "a man does not attain to the universal by abandoning the particular, nor to the everlasting by an endeavour to overleap the limitation of time and place." His aim is to show the abiding-reality under temporary and local forms of thought and feeling. His picture of England at the time of Elizabeth, with all its strong feelings, its patriotism, its religion, and also its superstition, is filled in with a fulness of detail which we may look for in vain elsewhere. He shows how the modern spirit of Protestantism had entirely subverted the old order of things. As he says, "the burden of the curse was lightened: knowledge was good." Men now interrogated and cross-examined Nature. The Baconian philosophy sprung into life. Beauty too, like knowledge, was confessed to be good. And this beauty was "not the beauty of the Paradise

²² "Shakespeare. A Critical Study of His Mind and Art." By Edward Dowden, LL.D., Professor of English History in the University of Dublin. Vice-President of the New Shakespeare Society. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875,

which Angelico painted, but that of Leonardo's *Monna Lisa*, and Raffael's *Fornarina*, and of the daughters of *Palma Vecchio*." Here was a strange change from the ascetism and monachism of the Middle Ages. But this was the least part of the change. This was merely the sensual side. Protestantism had taught men that conscience and not authority is his guide. This is the point to be insisted upon. If the reader of Shakspeare does not perceive this, then his reading of Shakspeare, or in fact any great poet, is utterly valueless. But to go into these questions, and others which are closely connected, would lead us far afield. We must refer the reader to Professor Dowden's pages. He plainly sees the ethical side of the great Elizabethan literary movement. In this respect his book will bear comparison with Gervinus. In one respect, however, we place him before Gervinus. Professor Dowden thoroughly understands Shakspeare's humour. He enters into it. Few German commentators thoroughly appreciate Shakspeare's jokes. They too often mistake the miserable quibbling and hair-splitting of some of his minor characters for wit. Professor Dowden is the reverse of Falstaff, he is both witty himself and the discoverer of wit in others. Mr. Henry Browne, to whose *Sonnets* we have called attention, recommends in his notes that Shakspeare should be taught in all schools. A better book as an introduction to the study of Shakspeare than Professor Dowden's we do not know.

The English Dialect Society is to be congratulated on the publication of its first original Glossary.²³ Other matters are doubtless important, but the publication of original glossaries seems to us the most important of all, as far as the Society is concerned. Other matters can wait, but the words will not wait. The author of the present Glossary, Captain Harland, of Reeth, is nearly a nonagenarian, and sets an example of energy and observation which we hope will be imitated by younger members of the Society. To many Swaledale will be an unknown land. For the benefit of those who are ignorant we may say that it is one of the most beautiful and wildest of the Yorkshire dales, running nearly due west from Richmond, parallel with its more famous neighbour, Wensleydale. To the philologist the speech of the district is of considerable importance. The vale contains a large mining population, and the mining terms will have some day to be carefully compared with those in Derbyshire and Cornwall. On the other hand, the speech of the agricultural population will have also some day to be carefully compared with that of Westmoreland on the one side, and that of the east of Yorkshire on the other. Captain Harland tells us, in reference to the miners, that as late as 1804, when the "Dales Volunteers" were stationed at Richmond, that it was found necessary to add the nicknames to the proper names in the muster-rolls of the companies, and that the custom is still partially continued. This will give some idea of the

²³ "English Dialect Society. Series C. Original Glossaries, and Glossaries with Fresh Additions. 1. A Glossary of Words used in Swaledale, Yorkshire." By Captain John Harland, of Reeth, near Richmond. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

primitive character of the population. Still Captain Harland's Glossary has not been begun a minute too soon. He says that great changes have recently taken place by the influx of strangers to the mines, and that after ten years' absence from his native dale he found the dialect greatly altered. The introduction to the Glossary has been partly written by the Rev. W. W. Skeat and partly by Mr. C. Clough Robinson. This is as it should be. Compilations of this kind can only be done by several persons working together. And here let us call attention to the notes, which we see have been added to the previous reprints of Glossaries (Series B). This, too, is as it should be. It is perfectly impossible to escape some mistakes and oversights, and the best plan is to add, as is done in the present volume, a few supplementary pages. Mr. Lunby's notes to Hutton's North of England Glossary are particularly good. We hope that he and others may be induced from time to time to add similar notes to other glossaries. Only in this way, by the co-operation of many minds, can the work of the English Dialect Society be thoroughly carried out. To return, however, to Captain Harland's Swaledale Glossary. Its riches are soon discovered by turning over a few pages. Here we find "aglet," not now used as by our Elizabethan writers for a tag or point, but only in the phrase "to an aglet," to a nicety, to a tittle, corresponding somewhat to the southern phrase "in print." Running our eye down the same page we meet with the diminutive "anklet," a short stocking or sock; and "badger," a meal-seller; a word on which the philologist has a good deal to say; and the adjective "black-avized," dark complexioned, which some years since so puzzled the readers of "Jane Eyre." Every page is full of interest. Here we may find such expressive words as "elfather" for father-in-law; "forc-elders" for ancestors, used also, by the way, in East Yorkshire; "headwork" and "toothwork" for headache and toothache; "kirk-maister" for churchwarden, also, by the way, used in the East of Yorkshire; "seeing-glass" for looking-glass, which, we believe, is obsolete in East Yorkshire. How rich Captain Harland's Glossary is we may see by looking at a few of the names of animals, flowers, and insects. Here we find "bullspink" for chaffinch (*Fringilla cælebs*), the "shelfar" of the north; the "bullspink" also and "bully" of the East of Yorkshire; "crake" for crow; "daker-hen" for cornerake; "dowdy-cow" for ladybird, the "cow-lady," "lady-clock," and "Judy cow" of East Yorkshire; "fell-fare" for fieldfare (*Turdus pilaris*); "glead" for kite; "hyven" for ivy; "kelk-keksy" for various species of umbelliferous plants, Shakspeare's "kexy;" but here we must stop. Enough has been quoted to show how well Captain Harland has performed his task. We again congratulate him on the completion of what has evidently been to him a labour of love—of being, too, the first contributor of an original Glossary to the English Dialect Society, and at his great age of nearly ninety of having set such a bright example to all the younger members of the Society. May they follow in Captain Harland's steps.

"When you can find nothing to say against an author say that his grandmother stole a pair of boots." So wrote Sydney Smith. Upon

some such principle Mr. Griswold, Poe's biographer, apparently acted. Mr. Ingram²⁴ has come forward to vindicate the poet, and we must say that he has been more successful in his whitewashing process than most vindicators generally are. Mr. Griswold appears to be wrong on nearly every important point. He has bungled where bungling would seem to have been impossible. Now we cannot examine all the charges and countercharges and refutations, but as far as we can judge Mr. Ingram has certainly disproved the most heinous offences. No one, we suppose, wishes to set Poe up as a saint. He was not exactly the sort of man whom respectable families would wish to receive into their bosoms. He was, in short, a Bohemian. He did not take care of the pence, and the pounds would not take care of themselves. He was probably careless about his dress, one of the deadly sins with respectable people. He had, too, a sharp tongue, which the most stupid respectable people could understand. He was, in short, at war with the Philistines, and he got the worst of it. But he was in truth defeated by himself, and not by the Philistines. He was, to use the vulgar saying, his own enemy. *Nemo læditur nisi a se ipso*. The fault lay in the man himself. Poe has put forward in most musical lines the excuse—if circumstances only had been different—

"If I could dwell
Where Israfel
Hath dwelt, and he where I,
He might not sing so wildly well
A mortal melody,
While a bolder note than this might swell
From my lyre within the sky."

This may be so. It is easy enough for the Philistine, who has never felt temptation, nor, let us add, one noble emotion, to deal out blame and vengeance. We can never know how much such a nature as Poe's was tried, or how much it suffered. But Mr. Ingram's book opens up a very much larger question than Poe's guilt or innocence, especially when taken in connexion with Mr. Curwen's "Studies of Literary Struggle,"²⁵ a book to which we can do no more than allude, as a portion of it originally appeared in the pages of this *Review*. These two books open up the whole question of the position of literature as a profession. There is a story told of Balzac being summoned to a family council, when an offer was made to him of joining a lawyer's firm. "I can't be a lawyer," said Balzac; "I care for nothing but literature." Every one was horror-stricken. "Are you a fool?" said his father. "I must be an author," replied Balzac. "It seems," said the mother, "that monsieur has a liking for misery." "Yes," added the father, "there are some people fit for nothing but to die in the workhouse." So the story runs in the pages of Balzac's latest

²⁴ "The Works of Edgar Allan Poe." Edited by John H. Ingram. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1875.

²⁵ "Sorrow and Song." Studies of Literary Struggle. By Henry Curwen. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

biographer. This undoubtedly was the view taken of literature some fifty years ago by all respectable people, and is still the view taken by a great many at this day. It is asked is not Grub Street still in existence? Probably so, but the houses in it are a great deal better than they were, and inhabited by a better class of tenants. The truth is that literature, though vastly better paid than it was, is still in many branches miserably underpaid. Above all professions literature requires to be well paid, because the literary man cannot, as other professional men—as a lawyer or a physician—work with the same power after a certain age. His is not routine work. We make these remarks because just now the all-important question of copyright is coming before the House of Commons, and these two books by Mr. Ingram and Mr. Curwen throw a great deal of light upon the position of literary men and their earnings.

ART.

IN the preface to his translation of Lessing's *Laocoon*,¹ Sir Robert Phillimore remarks, that it may not unreasonably be asked why another English translation should appear. Mr. Beasley's translation, which was brought out in 1859, comes as near as possible to success in the impossible attempt to give an adequate rendering of Lessing's great fragment; it would seem at least sufficient to supply any demand for a work of this class which may exist amongst those who are unable to read the original. Sir Robert answers this question by stating that he had nearly finished his translation before he could obtain a copy of Mr. Beasley's work, and he also thought that a translation, with preface and notes, which was not confined to the first part of the *Laocoon*, but included the fragments of the unfinished parts which have not yet been translated into English, might still be acceptable to the public, and conduce to a better acquaintance with Lessing's great work. In the preface Sir Robert addresses himself especially to one point. Lessing, he says (p. xxvii.), denies altogether to poetry the domain of pure description. This is true, but it should be remembered not only that Lessing was using the word poetry in a strictly limited sense, but that he was directing an attack against the position of those who maintained that "the most accurate painting of a given object must be entirely feeble and dim if compared with a good poetical description." To this Lessing replied, that accurate word descriptions have not the power of creating illusion, the poet who employs them has to supplement them by the introduction of extra-

¹ "*Laocoon*." Translated from the text of Lessing, with Preface and Notes by the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore, D.C.L., with Woodbury type illustrations. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

neous ornament or suggestive comparisons. If, says Lessing, you have never seen a given object, the painter can give you a more lively idea of its looks than the poet. In support of the contrary opinion Sir Robert Phillimore gives a number of quotations from poets and prose writers. But these very quotations go to support and illustrate Lessing's carefully guarded position. For Lessing specially states that wherever there is no question about creating illusion, where the only object is to give the reader clear and complete ideas, these may certainly be conveyed by word descriptions, and the "dogmatic poet" or prose-writer can use them to advantage. Now in going through the quotations selected by Sir Robert, wherever the verses (as in the passage from Shakspeare's *Henry IV.*) have what Lessing defines as a poetical character, the writer has had recourse to "suggestive comparison," in order to eke out the means furnished by "accurate word-description." On another point, also, it would seem that Sir Robert has scarcely done justice to his author. Lessing, as he correctly states, held that the artist ought not to express what was absolutely momentary and transitory. Sir Robert corrects this with the statement that what is to be avoided by the artist is not whatever is absolutely momentary, but that of which the inspection could only be tolerated for a moment, because it introduces that which is hideous. Now, even experience proves that Lessing's formula is strictly correct. It is a canon practically accepted by artists, that absolutely momentary action, even when it does not introduce what is hideous, though perhaps it may be tolerated in a small sketch (as, for instance, in M. Dalou's statuette of a woman threading a needle), yet would not be endurable to the eye if carried out with the definite completeness or size which could suggest reality. These points are, however, but subordinate in interest to the great question on which they depend, and on which Sir Robert Phillimore does not attempt to enter—viz., "What is the essential office as distinguished from the legitimate uses of art?" The volume contains photographs from an engraved portrait of Lessing, from the Laocoon group, and from Noble's cast of Flaxman's design, "The Shield of Achilles." The preface and notes evidence much various reading about, rather than actually on, the subject; but the information possessed by the writer is not always happily conveyed to us. The flippant allusion to Madame Dacier, for instance (p. 193), is outdone by the absurdity of characterizing Justus Josephus Scaliger as "an accomplished classical scholar."

Mr. Baxley's "Spain, Art Remains and Art Realities, Painters, Priests, and Princes"² has one great merit, the author writes with a lively interest in what he has got to say. Consequently, however absurd his criticism may be, it is rarely dull, and he is happily inspired by an honest belief in himself and in his own judgment on all subjects:

² "Spain: Art Remains and Art Realities, Painters, Priests, and Princes. Being notes of things seen, and of opinions formed during nearly three years' residence and travels in that country." By H. Willis Baxley, M.D. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1875.

Nearly three years—from and including the autumn of 1871 to 1874—were spent by Mr. Baxley in Spain in search of health. What he saw and thought during that time he has duly chronicled in the present pages. Art remains, and what he calls “art realities,” the works of great painters and great builders, the weaknesses and wickednesses of priests and princes, and the lamentable consequences coming of the last are, he tells us, their chief burthen. They have, he adds, served a use in giving to an invalid employment suited to his wants. Mr. Baxley’s style is decidedly “tall,” and his pages abound in passages such as the following: “Spain is full of pictures, natural and artistic. Sublimity is spread broadcast, skirted by the sea of old renown, and canopied by the sky,” &c., so that the reader is constantly tempted to exclaim, “which is fine, but I don’t know what it means.” His descriptions of objects are rarely precise enough to have any value. He professes indeed not to give more than “passing notices” of anything, and to this rule he keeps unless tempted by an eager Protestantism to lash out against what he conceives to be the special abuses or superstitions in the creed of Roman Catholic “religionists.” Hence we have long digressions on Mariolatry, and the Real Presence, and many pages in the second volume are devoted to “Righteousness, the Keynote of Salvation.” But as a specimen of Mr. Baxley’s criticisms on architecture, we will take a sentence from p. 35, vol. i.:—“Magnitude and grace, and harmonizing light, and shade, whatever the few and faint blemishes, cannot fail to impress the mind of kindly tendencies gratefully and beneficently. Hence one thus endowed is not likely to turn away from the Barcelona Cathedral in a dissatisfied mood.” This is rather vague, and not amusing. At Madrid he visits the Museo del Prado, and sees Venuses by Titian, which immediately inspire him. He rebukes that painter for having put too much of “Duchess plumpness” into their proportions. The phrase looks suggestive, but of what? Was Mr. Baxley thinking of *Mlle. Schneider*? Further on we get to a Holy Family by Raphael, who is much commended for the appropriate manner in which he has introduced Joseph on the scene; “he looks on,” says Mr. Baxley, “a very pensive spectator of a scene to which his relation was an incident, and not a necessity.”

“Our Sketching Club,” by Mr. Tyrwhitt, consists of a reproduction of Professor Ruskin’s “*Elements of Drawing*,” broken up by the introduction of conversations and letters which pass between the members of Our Sketching Club. This curious compound has been mixed by Mr. Tyrwhitt to the order of an American publisher, who required an elementary work on landscape. It was to begin at the beginning with the ordinary rules of drawing, to be made palatable by means of descriptions and verbal sketches. These descriptions were specially to

³ “Our Sketching Club. Letters and Studies on Landscape Art.” By the Rev. St. John Tyrwhitt, M.A. With an authorized reproduction of the Lessons and woodcuts in Professor Ruskin’s *Elements of Drawing*. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

delineate English country life and ways, and further it was mentioned, that as male and female characters existed in the book they would have to make love to each other. But this was not all, some excursions on fox-hunting were also desired. Mr. Tyrwhitt has conscientiously endeavoured to suit his American publisher, and Mr. Macmillan brings out the completed work on this side the Atlantic.

The illustrations of the new edition of "The Hanging of the Crane,"⁴ by Longfellow, are designed by Mary M. Hallwell and Thomas Moran, and carefully engraved by A. V. S. Anthony and W. J. Linton. Taken in themselves they do not rise beyond a very average order of merit, but the volume as a whole is a neat little book got up in feeble but not bad taste.

Mr. Gostwick's handsome volume of memoirs of, and translations from German Poets⁵ is illustrated by an excellent series of photographed portraits executed by C. Jäger. Parts of the memoirs, the prefatory notices on the poets of the Hohenstaufen time, and on the Master Singers and their times, have already appeared in Mr. Gostwick's handbook, "Outlines of German Literature." The memoirs though closely abridged are not unreadable, the prefatory notices are well calculated to serve the purpose of a sufficient introduction, the translations are the only weak point of a work in every other respect far above the usual average of a "pracht-werk."

The gallery of German composers⁶ seems intended to serve as a companion volume to Mr. Gostwick's German poets. The chief feature of both works consists in the attractive set of photographic portraits by Jäger which they contain. The text attached to the series of German poets is however not unworthy of the photographs which it accompanies; but the text supplied by Dr. Rimbault to the Gallery of German Composers is very meagre in outline, and matter of popular interest which should properly have found a place in pages addressed to the general public seems to have been consistently suppressed. For instance, in the notice of Beethoven we get no quotation from, or even mention of, his will, a document which is not only in itself remarkable, but which is *the* document from which we obtain a more vivid and imposing conception of the great master's character and genius than from any other source outside his musical works.

The plates in the new edition of a Selection from the Pictures in the National Gallery,⁷ now republished by Messrs. Chatto and Windus,

⁴ "The Hanging of the Crane." By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. With illustrations. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1875.

⁵ "German Poets." A series of Memoir and Translations. By Joseph Gostwick. With portraits by C. Jäger. London: Frederick Brinkmann. 1875.

⁶ "Gallery of German Composers." By Professor Carl Jäger. With Biographical and Critical Notices by Edward Rimbault, M.D. London: Frederick Brinkmann. 1874.

⁷ "The National Gallery." A Selection from its Pictures, engraved by George Doo, William Finden, John and Henry Le Keux, John Rye, Edward Goodall, John Burnet, W. Bromley, George Cooke, and others. With biographical and descriptive letterpress. New edition from the original plates. London: Chatto and Windus. 1875.

are somewhat worn. One of the best is that engraved by W. Finden after Sir David Wilkie, which has been placed as frontispiece to the volume. The Head of a Jew Merchant, by John Burnet after Rembrandt, shows too something more than common of spirit and intelligence in the rendering. The letterpress contains the requisite amount of information communicated by the usual commonplaces.

Der Psalter⁸ is a very handsome volume in point of size and type. A Book of Psalms printed in large illegible old German character, and copiously illustrated with showy woodcuts from mannered designs by Herr von Führich.

⁸ "Der Psalter." Allioli's Übersetzung. Mit original Zeichnungen von Joseph Ritter von Führich. In holzschnitt ausgeführt von Kasper Oertel. Alphons Dürr, Leipzig. 1875.

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